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1977

TOWARD UNDERSTANDING THE IMAGE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH NOVELS

by

PATRICIA R. PENDLETON

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosopy, The City University of New York.

1977

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

6/1/77
date

Joseph Bensman
Chairman of Examining Committee

6/1/77
date

William Grubb
Executive Officer

Hans-Eberhard Mueller
Dr. Hans Eberhart-Mueller

F. William Howton
Dr. F. William Howton

Norman K. Storer
Dr. Norman Storer

The City University of New York

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Chapter I

Background for this Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the social construction of reality in nineteenth century England as it identified and characterized the working class. The nineteenth century in England was, on the one hand, an era of rapidly growing industrialism and urbanism which fostered a new social identity and a new social group, the industrial workers; on the other hand, it was an age of developing mass communications in which the novel played a major role. Understanding this relationship should contribute to the understanding of how individuals and groups come to know a new social phenomenon and thus construct a new image of social reality. To this end a sample of nineteenth century English novels is selected and divided into three periods for a temporal study of the developing image of the working class. This chapter introduces the theoretical background, the methodology, and the socio-historical background of the century and in particular of the workingman to set the basis for the study.

Social reality develops through communication, and over time its image becomes standardized as a result of constant reinforcement. Communication may be the result of experience and of personal interaction, but often rests on standardized oral and written expressions that are legitimated by repetition and by reference to written documents. The nineteenth century English novel provides a relatively permanent means of communication over time and frequently deals with the emerging and developing urban-industrial world. Larger and larger proportions of the

population read these novels and it is reasonable to assume that the novels contributed to the emerging social definition of the industrializing world and its workers.

Ian Watt, in The Rise of the Novel, shows how the eighteenth century novels of Richardson and Defoe had introduced readers to the new middle class and commercial capitalism. The nineteenth century novel that dealt with English life dealt with the recognition of new phenomena: the rise of industry and the industrial working class.

Recognition of the working class creeps into the novel at the beginning of the century, blooms with the reform of the 1830's, and is consolidated by the end of the century. At first, old concepts associated with preindustrial workingmen are used to understand this new worker. From minor roles, some comic and some incidental, in which they were depicted as weak, irascible, ignorant, evil, and as victims, they are given more complexly articulated roles which often become central to the novel's plot. Finally, by the end of the century, fictional recognition of the working class is achieved. The recognition, whether favorable or unfavorable in the implicit and explicit ideologies of the middle and upper middle classes from whom the novelists were drawn, was and is a factor in the understanding and acceptance of the working class in society.

It is useful to determine from time to time what social understandings govern the characterizations of certain peoples, roles, organizations, relationships, etc., as they come to form the basis for common evaluation of their referrents in society. This is especially true in modern mass society where so much importance is placed on public opinion. Walter Lippman[1] pointed to the importance of the "pictures in our heads" in developing public opinion. One way to determine the

common images that form a basis for public opinion is to examine those that appear in literature.

This study is designed to discern the social image of the workingman in the fictional social world of the novel, and to see if and how it changed in the literature over the century. The image is determined in terms of the fictional descriptions of the social world, its demographic characteristics, and its industrial characteristics. Since the novel describes individuals and their activities, the focus must be on characters in the novels.

Relevant Research

George Herbert Mead contributed the idea that the self and society develop out of the communication process; more recently, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann have written on the social construction of reality.[2] The social knowledge that develops is shaped by the historical and social context of its origins, according to Karl Marx, Karl Mannheim, and more recently by Joseph Bensman and Robert Lilienfield.[3] Max Weber pointed out that to understand human conduct, the sociologist must look both to actual understanding from empirical observation and to explanatory understanding from interpreting the meaning of the action to the actor.[4] Robert Merton, in developing his paradigm for studying the sociology of knowledge, quoted Scheler's Die Wissensformen to justify his inclusion of social illusion, superstition, and socially conditioned errors and forms of deception as a basis for study.[5] Finally, the work of Kenneth Burke and Hugh Dalziel Duncan points to the place of literature as part of the communication process out of which society develops. More recently, Diane T. Laurenson and Alan Swingewood have reviewed the theory and methods of a sociology of literature.[6]

The work of these sociologists and social philosophers shapes the boundaries and the basis for the theory and methods of this study. Its central assumptions are:

1. Communication is a major basis for social reality.
2. The historical and social context of communication is important.
3. To understand human behavior one must link the act and the actor meaningfully.
4. Forms of bias are important to understanding.
5. Literature is a valid part of the communication process to study for understanding social reality and the social knowledge on which it becomes based.

Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann[7], following Mead, assume that individuals participate in an "intersubjective" world which is the basis of the everyday reality for individuals in society. Although no two perceive social life in exactly the same way, there is an overlap of common understanding about the reality of life which is taken for granted by all. Face-to-face interaction is the basis for social interaction and the experiential learning of social reality.[8] However, in social interaction men develop and inherit a number of typificatory schemes which contribute to and interfere with the direct experience of the social encounter.[9] These schemes may facilitate certain repeated interactions among persons of different positions in a society, such as lord and servant or buyer and seller; they may also contribute to a growing inflexibility of these social encounters. Typifications become more general when not based on face-to-face contact.[10] Over the nineteenth century there was little face-to-face contact between the members of the urban working class and those in the upper social classes. In social life, persons we are interested in and intimate with are not typified in the same way, but are individualized.[11] Berger and Luckman state: "The social reality of everyday life is thus apprehended in a continuum of typifications and of the recurrent patterns of interaction

established by means of them".[12] These typifications (or common images) become part of the body of social knowledge that is passed on through the socialization and enculturation of individuals in society.

It is through the communication networks of a society or a social group that the body of social knowledge is diffused. One's place in that network often determines the intensity, frequency, and nature of one's participation in that society. Through the use of communication networks an individual learns how others in his society judge his position in general. By using this network, he can find out whether others support his position on an issue or not. Communication networks range from limited personal ones to general societal ones or to highly restricted, specialized organizational and professional ones. Not only are there networks that deal solely with present times but a major portion of any society's communication network are those that come from the past, be it yesterday or years ago, in the form of oral, written, or art forms. Thus, these forms have validity in their own time for communication and in the future as they become part of the social knowledge which directs human perception and thought patterns.

Over time, the typifications or common images of a society or social group are subject to change as social experience corrects them in response to new experience. Berger and Luckmann suggest that aesthetic and religious experience may serve as bridges to new social realities.[13]

Sociology of Knowledge

Karl Mannheim, in Ideology and Utopia, said, "The absence of certain concepts indicates very often not only the absence of certain points of view, but also the absence of a definite drive to come to grips with

certain life-problems."[14] The nineteenth-century English novelists, in writing about the workingman and the working class, made themselves aware of the phenomenon of the workingman and began to come to grips with these phenomena. Their commercial success in the growing mass market shows that the public was not averse to reading about the workingman. The novel was a communication route by which the public was exposed in fairly large numbers to certain images of the workingman.

Mannheim's articulation of the sociology of knowledge aimed at developing a manner of empirical determination of social thought in its historical and social context. He wanted to overcome the vague understanding that man has of his own intellectual development and to develop a method of determining the human perspective so that evaluation could be separated from fact and lead to a higher level of understanding. "The problem," he said, "is not how we might arrive at a non-perspective picture but how, by juxtaposing the various points of view, each perspective may be recognized as such and thereby a new level of objectivity attained."[15] He felt that this could best be done by using demonstrable evidence of social facts and relating them to their historical and social genesis. In this way man can begin to understand how similar objects and events are conceived differently in different social settings.[16]

Sociology of Literature

Literature lends itself to research in the sociology of knowledge because of two major characteristics. First, it is a social fact; the author does not equivocate with his audience but his work stands, an observable fact: "Art works, like all symbolic expressions, are facts, not inferences."[17] Second, literature presents the dynamics of a fictional social world; the reader is able to see social behavior in the

complexity of a whole social world which enables the reader more easily to perceive social relationships. Richard Hoggart writes, " ... literature seeks a new kind of wholeness--to trace the pattern or movement that can lie behind the apparently inchoate detail of life... (the reader is given) ... the sense of human life developing in a historical and moral context."[18] Thus, the reader is able to discern not only the dynamics of social behavior, but also, its evaluation.

Madame de Stael's De La Literature consideree dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales, written in 1800, is considered the first systematic social and historical analysis of literature, according to Milton Albrecht.[19] Edmund Wilson in "The Historical Interpretation of Literature" chose Vico's La Sienza Nuova, written in 1725, as his choice for the first social interpretation of a work of literature.

In La Sienza Nuova, Homer's Iliad and Odyssey are explained in terms of historic time and geographic origins. Vico said that Homer composed the Iliad when Greece was young and passionate and burning with pride and vengeance in the region of Northeast Greece. The hero of the Iliad, Achiles, is a hero of force. The Odyssey was written, said Vico, in a calmer era in Southeast Greece when Greece was more prudent. Its hero, Ulysses, is a hero of wisdom.

Other writers studying the associations between literature and society include: G. V. Plekhanov, Georg Lukacs, Leon Trotsky, Leo Tolstox, Hippolyte Taine, John Stuart Mill, Pitieim Sorokin, Karl Marx, Ian Watt, Lucien Goldmann, Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams, John Dewey, Hugh Duncan, and Robert N. Wilson. Such work has ranged from the idea that literature reflects society to the idea that it influences and shapes society, to the assertion that it "functions socially to maintain and stabilize, if

not to justify and sanctify, the social order."[20]

Kenneth Burke[21] and Hugh Duncan[22] explain literature's part in the communication process out of which society develops. In literature, strategies or attitudes are developed that aid people in developing language and attitudes in reference to typical situations and types. For instance, stories that show the aspiring young man earning a large salary and buying a yacht reinforce as well as develop motivation to attain these things labelled "good" in life. Duncan uses the term "symbolic boasting" to refer to people's buying status symbols characteristic of the social strata to which they belong or wish to belong, and he states that symbols are motives and not merely reflections of them.[23] Thus a novel that shows a character from a poor background, earning money and buying a big yacht tends to motivate people to earn money and buy yachts as indicators of successful upward social mobility.

Diane T. Laurenson and Alan Swingewood identify three areas of study in the sociology of literature. First is the study of the literary work for the values and meanings of the social world.[24] Raymond Williams calls this the structure of feeling, and Leo Lowenthal refers to it as the core of meaning. The thoughts and feelings on subjects such as sex, class, religion, art, and social change are all there to be brought to light. The second area emphasizes the production of the literary work and has often focused on the social situation of the writer, his patronage, his alienation, and their effects on his work. The concern is with the context as a shaper of the content. The third area emphasizes the way in which the literary work is received by a particular society or audience at a specific historical moment. Laurenson and Swingewood use the illustration of Guy de Maupassant's literary reception in England

at the end of the nineteenth century, which introduced a new treatment of sex in the novel as an example of literary effect.[25] Another example is Lowenthal's study of the German middle and upper classes of the 1880-1920 period and the way they successfully assimilated Doestoevsky into their peculiar ideology.[26]

The fact that novels do influence social life has been attested before. The novels of the disenchanted intellectuals in pre-revolutionary Russia articulated the issues of revolution for a receptive audience. In twentieth century England, mass publications including the novel changed the traditional life style of the working class.[27] Alexander Kern's claim that novels like Uncle Tom's Cabin can influence groups and promote social change supports[28] Kenneth Burke's idea that literature provides the reader with strategies of action by revealing the typical relations of social life and their typical ingredients.[29] Laurenson and Swingewood add another claim for literature: "Literature, because it delineates man's anxieties, hopes, and aspirations, is perhaps one of the most effective sociological barometers of the human response to social forces."[30] Thus, the novel is recognized as an active agent in shaping social life.

The methodology used by sociologists in analyzing literary works includes Leo Lowenthal's content analysis of biographies in popular magazines, which drew samples from two time-periods for comparisons and indications of changes.[31] Irene Taviss, in her doctoral dissertation at Harvard in 1966, used similar methods to study the degree of social and self alienation in popular magazine fiction in two time periods.

Similarly, Milton Albrecht used content analysis of fiction in magazines to see if values and goals associated with marriage varied

over three categories of magazines that were directed to three different reading strata. He compared the values and goals found in the descriptions of characters' thoughts and behavior, and in the plot resolution with a list of values of the American family found in the work of J. Sirjamaki. He found that the three reading strata differed in marriage values and goals, although there was some overlap among the three. The middle level conformed most nearly with Sirjamaki's list. He concluded that short stories in wide-circulation magazines, though representing distinct reading levels, reflect the cultural norms and values of the American family.[32]

Howard Nostrand has suggested the importance of going beyond what a single author says to what is accepted as basic to the social scene by a number of authors to obtain a perspective of common social themes that are basic to social thought in any historical period.[33] He pointed to the methods of Morris Opler's systematic themal analysis and of Pitirim Sorokin's meaning-oriented methods of integration. The latter used both quantitative and intuitive themal comparisons to lead to a determination of style, form, and pattern of expression or mental constructs. Opler's method was to build from the themal expressions found in specific details of the characters' lives in the fiction and to organize them into larger and larger categories. These larger categories, he then assumed, correlate with broader national traits associated with the social life of the time and place.

The Social and Historical Context of Nineteenth Century England

In nineteenth century England, religious reading did not keep pace with the growth in literary reading, as shown by the public consumption

of novels. Thus the novel was increasingly important in introducing new phenomena into the body of knowledge that formed the basis for an expanding social reality. Richard Altick points out that the proportion of middle-class readers of literature and poetry grew as the commercial basis for readership expanded through the development of cheaper publishing and greater distribution in endeavors like the Minerva Library. Lower class readers were still at the mercy of the religious tracts and utilitarian publishing ventures.[34] However, even the Methodists, who had been forbidden by Wesley to read "large areas of literature", began to review secular books in their periodicals during the reign of Queen Victoria.[35] Secular tastes increased especially among working-class readers who rejected the proselyting literature of religious sects.[37]

In nineteenth century England the field of mass communication widened. The development of the steam printing press, together with increasing literacy and leisure, set the stage for mass publications.[38] England began to lumber out of its regional agricultural world, presided over by the landed and the aristocratic, into an urban industrial world presided over by rising artisans and a new group of city gentlemen. The Church and the Throne continued to dominate, but the changes of the day resulted in new additions and corrections to the received body of social knowledge as individuals attempted to adapt to these new situations. The aristocrats remained on their land for the most part and were not swept into the new system, leaving it to their marginal members and a rising gentry to make the necessary changes in the body of social knowledge. The Hammonds indicate that the group that became industrialists were from the old artisan class; only aristocrats with mineral deposits on their land profited to any extent from the new

industrialism.[39]

The working class, which was made up of artisans and the lower class, composed three-quarters of the total population in the nineteenth century[40] and over sixty percent of them could read to some degree.[41] Overall, it was from this group of "skilled workers, small shopkeepers, clerks, and the better grade of domestic servants that the new mass audience for printed matter was recruited during the first half of the century."[42]

The novel became the most popular form of reading material and its authors, attracted by its financial return, were recruited from the middle class.[43] They sought to live like gentlemen, and many already had a fixed income which permitted them to take the time to write rather than pursue a profession.[44] They were conscious of being members of the majority culture of the period which provided the backdrop for their writings.[45] Census figures show an increase of 200 percent in the numbers of professional writers between 1841 and 1851.[46] They continued to increase; there were 2,671 authors, editors, writers in 1851, and 11,060 in 1901.[47] At the beginning of the century, novelists like Scott were able to derive a healthy income from the sale of their products. At the end of the century, the glutting of the market by writers and the changing market conditions, larger size, the lowering cost of books, and the growth of the popular press, put the writer at the mercy of the market.[48] George Gissing's <u>New Grub Street</u> is a recognition of this.

The cost of the standard three volume novel was set with Scott's novels at thirty-one shillings six pence and remained until almost the end of the century.[49] By 1840 novels began to be printed in serial form of from four to twelve installments, thus stretching out the cost

over a longer period.[50] The shilling pamphlet novel reduced the price of a current novel by one third.[51] Circulating libraries and reading clubs also cut down the investment for the individual reader. Miscellanies, or periodicals, printed novels in installments along with other features. As the paper tax lightened over the century, production costs were lowered and circulation increased.[52] Cheap reprints also became available by mid-century.

The circulation of a novel often exceeded that of the newspaper,[53] as the great tide of mass reading began between 1827 and 1830. The vision of the expanding market was seen by the ill-fated Constable just before he went bankrupt: "Printing and bookselling as instruments for enlightening and entertaining humanity and of course for making money, are as yet in their infancy."[54] Thus, the mechanics and lowering costs of printing and distribution were extending the availability of written material, and the choice in written material was overwhelmingly in favor of the novel.

The Mechanics' Institutes finally loosened their restrictions on fiction and by mid-century there were many new tax supported libraries for light literature.[55] Scott was among the volumes chosen for the Artisan's Library in Nottinghamshire. A cottage lace-weaver in South Derbyshire used to borrow books and read as he worked by propping them in front of the loom.[56] Thomas Burt, a future labor leader, discovered and enjoyed the novels of George Eliot that he found in the library of the Blyth Mechanics' Institute in the 'sixties.[57]

Literature does more than report events. The fact of its written or published existence permits the public to recognize and discuss the issues of its subject matter. To the degree that the literature is

able to elucidate phenomena, it establishes a measuring rod or standard for perceiving these phenomena for the public. In this sense of standardizing the manner of understanding phenomena, it legitimates them for the public. Raymond Williams[58] writes that the term 'working classes' was added to the language in 1815; the terms 'class prejudice', 'class legislation', 'class conflict', and 'class war' followed.

Methodology

The sample of literature selected for this study covers different time periods of the nineteenth century to provide a broad base for understanding the development of the term "working class" and all that becomes associated with it. The first period is 1800 through 1830. The mass marketing of novels was in its infancy and the Tories were dominant in politics. The populace was becoming restive and literacy was growing. The Reform period ushered in by the Whigs beginning in 1830 indicated a change in social mood. The conditions of writing changed. The subjects written about also changed. The reading public as well as writers were increasingly confronted with the new phenomena of industrialism and urbanism and the increasing numbers of industrial and urban workers. The market had widened the field of writing. A new working class press had developed with a simple, direct style; it was concerned mostly with pamphleteering but also with novels, miscellanies, and cheap reprints; masked redos of best sellers, such as those of Dickens, flooded the penny market that artisans, shop-girls, schoolboys, and the like could afford to patronize.[59] The last period, 1870 to the end of the century, is characterized by more novels with urban settings for stories that include workingmen. In this period the reforms had extended the franchise to the workingman and provided public education for his children. Workers

formed the largest category of voters in this last period.

The authors varied in perspective and in their backgrounds; these variations affected their developing picture of workingmen. The relationships between the author's background and the developing image of the workingman in the novels can be assessed in terms of the author's regional background, family position, finances, occupation other than writing, associational support and membership, and primary relationships where such relationships can be determined.

The readership differed over the three periods. The first period readers were mostly upper middle class. The second period included more readers of the lower middle class. The widest and largest readership was that of the last period, with more and more working-class readers as well as increasing numbers from the upper and middle classes.

The data from the novels were selected and organized in terms of the social world of the novel, demographic factors indicating migrations and changes, and descriptions of industrial life. Guides for the selection of these data are included in the Appendix. The social world of the novel is concerned with class influences which account for social aims, provide the basis for conflicts, and set the basis for the patterns of social associations within the novel. The demographic factors of migrations and city development within the novel provide a view of the urbanization of the nineteenth century and the groups in society that, in the eyes of the authors, were responsible for it. Descriptions of industrial life provide the image of the worker and his life style.

In the social world of the novel, marriages are an indicator of social acceptance. Bogardus pointed out marriage at the top of his scale for social acceptance. Milton Gordon, in Assimilation in American

Life, also used marriage into the dominant group as an indicator of social acceptance. Judith Issacs, in her Ph.D. thesis (CUNY 1973) noted that the nineteenth century novel often began with a social problem and ended with a marriage.

Each period is introduced by a summary of its characteristic communication networks, communicators, and audience for the literary works, and of the historical and social conditions.

To develop the sample, the bibliographies of Keating's The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction, William's Culture and Society, Kuczynski's The Rise of the Working Class, and Thompson's The Making of the English Working Class were consulted. Also, English literature surveys for the period were consulted: Stevenson's The English Novel and Saintsbury's History of Nineteenth Century Literature. Novels were selected for the most part that dealt with nineteenth century English life and were written by authors whose works were recognized in their time. Some of the novels are not about working class life but help to develop the picture of life at the time. It is necessary to know the view of the social world of the time presented by these middle-class authors to be able to evaluate their image of the workingman in it.

The word class has been used by many sources for this study. Each user has a slightly different understanding of the term. E. P. Thompson writes, "Class is defined by men as they live their own history, and, in the end, this is its only definition."[60] Thompson does not abide by this definition as he imposes the term "working class" on groups that he sees as having similar interests and a common organizational life. Jurgen Kuczynski writes that factory workers are the nucleus of the working class, and that the term can be widened to include miners and

building workers.[61] Workers are characterized by going to places of work, not owning their tools, freedom from the responsibility for the means of production, and freedom to move from one job to another. Kuczynski adds that the upper strata of the industrial working class were so heterogeneous in the nineteenth century that they could never be seen as a unit and in fact were not in contemporary literature.[62]

The pessimistic view of nineteenth century workers' lives, as seen in the historical works of the Hammonds, the Webbs, and Toynbee, has been challenged[63] by the economists, who, using statistical analysis of contemporary records of wages, prices, etc., claim that the standard of living of the British workers as a whole actually improved during the period. Optomistic economists include John Clapham, F. A. Hayek, and T. S. Ashton. Each group attacked the other's methodology. The optimists have been attacked for using wholesale figures instead of family wages, for using unreliable data, and for not accounting for the "quality" of working-class life. The pessimists have been attacked for twisting their data to conform with their ideology. The middle-class novelists' data on the social world and the workers' place in it provide another perspective to evaluate the conditions of nineteenth century working-class life.

Gustave Le Bon in The Crowd advised the searcher after reality to turn from works of history that "must be considered works of pure imagination." He wrote: "Had not the past left us its literary, artistic, and monumental works, we should know absolutely nothing in reality with regard to bygone times."[64]

Raymond Chapman[65] writes that the good novelist is more sensitive than his contemporaries to what is going on around him. In his view, the

nineteenth century English novelists:

> . . . could give imaginative understanding of social problems to those who were still cut off from the reality. By writing novels instead of tracts, they could present all sides and help give their country the blessing of comprehension which saved it from the bitter conflicts of the Continent.[66]

Thus, for these two men, novels serve to tell the present about the past and in their own time served to extend a common understanding of social reality.

Thus, the novel is a valid source of data for understanding the social construction of reality. Accordingly, a sample has been selected to study this construction as it identified and characterized the working class in nineteenth century England. The socio-historical background, including the first use of the term working class, has been sketched in as a basis for understanding the developing image of the working class. In addition, a closer look at the historical development of the English workingman is important as a model for understanding his fictional development.

The Workingman

The workingman in this study is one who does manual labor for money wages. His history in England began with the plagues of the fourteenth century which so decimated the rural population that the lords of the manor were forced to hire people to work their lands.[67] Even earlier, some villein tenants received money for special work. As early as 1349, statutes forbade laborers from claiming excessive wages even though demand for their labor was high and their supply was low because of the mortality from the plagues.[68]

Later, these statutes were to include requirements that men must

accept work offered them at established rates for various classes of laborers, and must swear biannually before stewards, bailiffs, or other officials that they would obey the law. Infractions of the statutes were penalized by jail sentences, fines, and even branding.[69]

Another consequence of the mortality rates of the plagues was that the laborers now moved from district to district to find work.[70] That this work force had become very disgruntled by the end of the fourteenth century is reflected in the doggerel verse of the time and also in the lines of the Vision of Piers Plowman.[71] This restlessness and dissatisfaction with their conditions of life and work grew even when the workers had actually experienced an improvement in their economic position.[72]

By the middle of the fifteenth century, the mass of the English rural population were free men who sold their services for money.[73] From the fifteenth century on, the enclosures by sheep herders uprooted older agriculturists, who joined the migrating ranks of free laborers and beggars wandering over the country.[74] As the old agricultural system disintegrated, so did the town life and the crafts associated with it. The gild masters, trying to secure their disintegrating position, passed rules to protect their suzerainty over their crafts; when their rules became too arbitrary, enterprising young journeymen would set up shop in rural areas and bring their wares to the larger towns on market and fair days.[75]

Toward the end of the fifteenth century, this rural industry got a boost from the clothing trade as it began to manufacture cloth under the domestic system.[76] Under this system the merchant clothier bought the wool or other raw material and gave it out to carders, combers,

spinners, weavers, fullers, and others who did the work in their homes. He paid them for their respective parts in the production of cloth and then disposed of it at home or abroad. The clothiers were a new class of employers who put the master weaver and other craftsmen to work for wages.[77] The initiative for industry passed from the craftsman to the merchant, and as the gild power melted away, the government began to take over the control of industry.

The inventions of the eighteenth century revolutionized working conditions. Hargreaves's spinning jenny in 1764 increased considerably the amount of thread that could be produced by one man in a given time. It became profitable to set up machines in factories and to hire men to tend them. After this, the number of new machines and refinements grew by leaps and bounds. Sometimes rural weavers joined together and bought machines in common, but more often men with capital, which had previously been invested in trade, invested in the machinery and set up factories. The first machines were hand-driven, then horse- or mule-driven, then water power was used, and finally the steam engine arrived in 1790. Water power necessitated the location of factories in hilly areas, which were usually rural. Steam power brought factories to the towns. The factory system, born out of the merger of willing capital, increasing markets, machinery, new power sources, and an available labor force, caused the domestic system to decay. However, the domestic system continued into the nineteenth century by providing auxiliary production units when market demands were high.

The development of the sweat shop was another way that industry learned to deal with expanding and shrinking markets while still keeping down costs. The sweat shop was conducted in a similar manner to the

domestic system in that a contractor hired labor to produce goods. The difference was that this contractor usually had already promised the goods at a price and he set up his workmen on his own premises. Charles Kingsley's Alton Locke describes the sweat shop. Independent workmen suffered as the factory took over the work. Handloom weavers who collected 25s a week in 1800 were to collect only 5s6p a week in 1830.[78]

New manufacturing methods and new agricultural arrangements developed outside of government influence and regulations.[79] Old labor statutes were disregarded, people favored the laissez faire theories of men like Adam Smith, and resisted government controls in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[80] The government depended on tax revenues from the landowners whose cash crop was grain. To protect this source of revenue the government placed a tariff on foreign grain. The populace, forced to pay higher prices, was none too pleased and began to agitate and organized the Anti-Corn League in 1839. In 1845 Sir Robert Peel was able to bring about the repeal of the tariff and the agitation ceased.

Thus, sentiment was for enlightened self-interest to hold the social body together, or individualism under universal free competition. Market conditions prevailed, the economic indicators went up and most wages went up, yet masses of weavers were driven to town garrets and cellars as their wages grew smaller and smaller. In the countryside the cottagers (farm laborers), deprived of their common land, were unable to develop any surplus resources. Thwarted in their drive to get ahead, they were no longer as careful with either their time or their money.[81] Weavers had probably been the largest group of industrial workers in England for some hundreds of years, and after 1820 were counted as the third largest occupational group after agricultural laborers and domestic

servants.[82] Yeomen, who had been at the top of the farm laborers in prestige, disappeared entirely.[83] Men often remained handicrafters while women and children were sent into the factories to increase the family wages. The latter were easier to control and could be paid less. In 1839, out of 31,632 employees in worsted mills, 18,416 were under eighteen years of age; of 13,216 adults, 10,192 were women, leaving only 3,024 adult men.[84]

The workday was often fourteen hours long and wages, though perhaps higher than previously, were often irregular.[85] The rural laborer as well as the town laborer was separated from the land, lacked capital and administrative power, and had little prospect of rising out of the laboring class. The rapid growth of manufacturing towns caused a breakdown of the old methods of providing water and drainage, and overcrowding pushed rents up. Thus, the " ... increase of liberty of action, extension of the field of competition, the more enlightened opinions on economic and social relations, had failed to increase human happiness ..."[86]

After 1830, the government got back into the business of regulating industry. Until this time, the aristocrats had ruled; new towns and manufacturing interests were not represented in Parliament, but the decreasing rural population represented by the large landowners in Parliament did not lose any representation. The reform bills of 1832, 1867, and 1884-5 increased suffrage in England and placed local power in the hands of local taxpayers; at the same time, they diminished the power of the old landowning aristocracy.

One of the problems of new industry during the stage of water power use was that the factory often had to be placed in an area of small population which could not provide a sizeable labor force. This was

overcome by the apprenticing of children from workhouses and persons from poorhouses in the larger towns. They were apprenticed from the age of seven, often being taken from London to the spinning factories of the North. No efforts were made to educate or provide recreation for these children. Hastily constructed apprentice houses were provided as dormitories; the beds were never cold, as one shift of workers replaced another. Through newspapers the children's plight finally came to public attention, and Sir Robert Peel, who employed over 1000 such apprentices, brought the matter to Parliament. The result was the first Factory Act. It restricted the workday to twelve hours and no children under nine were to be employed. There was to be no night labor. Factories were to be kept whitewashed and to be ventilated. Each child was to be provided with at least one new suit of clothes a year, to attend religious service, and to be instructed in the "fundamental English branches."[87]

Factories moved to town with the advent of steam power. The first Factory Act had only covered the conditions of work for apprenticed children and now town children were exploited in the factories. A new act was written in 1819 to protect town children. The Half-Time Act (1844) provided that children should only work part time so that they might be educated the other part. This was followed in 1847 by the Factory Act providing a workday of only ten hours. Over the century the factory acts were extended to include more industries. By 1880 an Employers' Liability Act was passed, followed in 1897 by a Workmen's Compensation Act. By 1899 there was an act regulating housing and one providing loans for small house purchasers, guaranteed by the local authorities and to be paid off in thirty years.[88]

Trade unions grew slowly over the eighteenth century. They began

first in industries where large numbers of laborers worked in one place and came to recognize that their common interests in wages and working conditions were not always those of the employer. They were organized to obtain more favorable labor conditions for their members and also acted as mutual benefit societies for insurance and funeral costs. Trade unions required a certain level of intelligence and self-control on the part of their members as well as monetary contributions. The last of the combination acts restricting trade union organization was passed in 1880, but uninstructed public opinion that favored the factory acts was opposed to favorable trade union legislation.[89]

The most influential classes of English society opposed trade unions, fearing that they would increase the power of the lower classes. Clergymen also disliked trade unions, as they implied a discontent on the part of the worker who was supposed to be happy with his lot as a Christian. Some people also felt that the unions manipulated the workers and tyrannized employers for their own aggrandizement. Another argument against unions used by economists was that if higher wages were to be paid, fewer persons would be employed. The incompetency of the lower classes in organizing, the power of the law, and the force of public opinion against trade unions severely slowed their growth in the beginning of the century.

In 1824 the combination acts were repealed, only to be replaced in 1825. The years 1859, 1871, and 1875 brought further changes in that now trade unions were legal and could own property and organize for their interests. As each act passed, opinion against the trade unions eroded. Some trades organized nationally, like the cotton spinners in 1829; many more did after 1840, but no single union developed. One of the fastest

growing unions was the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, which claimed 67,928 members in 1890 after beginning in 1830 with only 5,000.[90] This union brought several allied trades together under one group. The nearest the unions got to a single representative organization in the nineteenth century was the joint sponsorship of annual trade union congresses. As a backlash to the trade union movement, there were organizations developed to represent the manufacturers' interests.

With this information certain hypotheses can now be formulated relating to what kinds of workmen will be found in the three periods of the study. In doing so the function of the novel in this construction of reality can be hypothesized.

Hypotheses

Thus, if the novels reflect the historical scene, one can expect to find in the first part of the century crafters disappearing under economic pressures, apprenticed children working in hillside factories, and pressures for humanitarian relief supported by public opinion while trade unionism is opposed. One can expect to find the domestic system being challenged by the factory system, and outbursts of strikes and violence by workers caught in these changes.

In the middle of the century, one can expect to find trade unionism established and town codes and representation improved, with organizations of merchants and manufacturers (in fact, for all groups) increasing in number. Even the authors organize.

In all parts of the century, one can expect to find that industrialism fosters migration from different parts of the country, probably making for more social fragmentation and segregation. One can expect that the increasing organization and segregation of the manufacturing world leads

to a new stabilization and the chances for social mobility decrease. One can expect that the segregation of the different groups in society leads to the retention of dialects, different life styles, different aspirations and possibilities, and a new social order established on the power, prestige, and property rewards of industrialism. The author's evaluation of these events can indicate whether this new, segmented world is one of tolerance and interdependence of equals where individuals may move from one position to another, whether it is a closed, hierarchical society whose interdependence is recognized and supported by all, or if the parts are in conflict and kept in position by force.

Thus, we can expect the nineteenth century English novel to do three things: to raise the readers' awareness of the industrial working class; to evaluate the industrial workingman and his place and prospects in the social world from the position of urban middle-class authors; and to indicate the acceptance of the industrial working class into the social world of nineteenth century England. In the early part of the century we can expect the novels to be concerned--if concerned at all with the worker--only with the preindustrial worker. Then as industrialism develops, the industrial worker ought to enter the pages of the novel. At first he may be viewed only nominally, but as his numbers grow, the novel is expected to expand its treatment of the worker to include a new way of life as well as a new world of work. The presence of the workingman will spark entirely new questions of his social rights and obligations which are reflected in the novels. Finally, characterizations of the industrial workingman may evolve to portray realistic characters in working-class positions in an urban-industrial world, but who have all the variations and complexity of individual human personalities. In the novel, as out-

side of it, social recognition cannot be achieved unless recognition of the individual accompanies it.

Keating emphasizes that working-class novels are judgments of the working class developed by non-working class authors which may treat the worker as equal to everybody else, justified in their complaints about society, violent and drunk, in need of social support, or a threat to society, in any case "the most important single fact about the fictional working man is his class."[91]

Following Keating, but going somewhat beyond him, we would expect that the English novelists of the nineteenth century had to face the reality of the emergence of a numerically dominant working class. They would--with difficulty--have to come to terms with the very existence of the working class although initially they lacked the categories, terms, and conceptual apparatus for dealing with it. But the inescapability of the working-class presence, would ultimately force them to deal with the workingman, if not as an individual, then with the problems that his numerical dominance created. We would expect them to have to focus their attention on the political, social, and economic as well as the moral, aesthetic, and cultural problems that both industrialism and the workingman's existence caused. We would expect them to offer solutions to these problems, but not one solution. In focusing upon the centrality and problems of working-class and industrial civilization, we would expect them to help bring into consciousness an emerging social and political order and its problems that accompanied the changing economic order.

But as the nineteenth century progressed, the very continued existence of the working class would become the basis of its legitimacy.

Novelists would have to deal with it as a fact, not as a problem. In doing so, they would have to deal with working-class characters as individuals, and they would have to accept the working class--if only because it could not be wished away. In doing so, the working class, its characters, way-of-life, environs and culture, would become part of the taken-for-granted background of English life and social structure. In this sense the working class would be less problematic. A new image of the social order would be drawn, one that could include industry, the industrialist, and the worker, and the worker could be assigned a place in it.

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PERIOD I: 1800-1830

Chapter II

Preface to Period I

Period I covers the years 1800 through 1830. These transition years of the Regency mark the change from the dominance of the traditional landowner to the coming dominance of the industrialist. They were years when the established clergy were influential. The Tories were in power, the English were victors at Waterloo. They were years of rising prices and worsening economic conditions, of continuing interest in labor legislation, of Catholic emancipation, and of the legalizing of the trade union movement. The Period I novels reflect the ebbing of the traditional aristocracy and the emergence of a new urban gentleman, but the industrial worker is only fleetingly mentioned. The period began with the ministry of Pitt and the monarchy of George III, and ended with the ministry of Wellington and the monarchy of George IV. Economic conditions worsened in Britain as raw cotton from America was cut off during the war of 1812:

> All but six of Manchester's thirty-eight mills had to close; a fifth of urban Lancashire was driven on the rates; in Nottinghamshire alone 15,000 frame workers went on poor relief. In Glasgo the weekly wages of hand-loom weavers fell from seventeen shillings six pence to seven shillings six pence. Food prices were eighty-seven percent above the pre-war level; the cost of potatoes and oatmeal had trebled.[1]

Workingmen, financially hard pressed to make ends meet, took to the strike to gain higher wages. The eighteenth century had already been host to labor disputes by wage earners.[2] Frequently, these wage earners were industrial workers such as colliers, keelmen, tinners, and weavers.[3] Some of the early work stoppages for higher wages were by craftsmen:

carpenters and joiners.[4] Rude marks the 1810 Manchester strike of cotton spinners as the first great strike of factory hands.[5] Thousands took part and strike pay was available.[6] Thus, we see that groups of people who can be included under a working class category were acting collectively in this period.

Under the old domestic system, men worked in small groups and did not easily combine in overall protest movements. Instead, they relied more on acts of violence to the house of business of the employer, or "master" as he was then addressed, to communicate their displeasure.[7] They might be farm laborers in the south or machine-breaking weavers in the north, but Wellington and his dwindling army were called out to quell them both even after his victorious return to England in 1815. Wellington would seek out the local magistrate in the rioting area and attempt to get him to head a group of servants, grooms, and huntsmen who could be rallied on horseback, armed with whatever was at hand, to disperse the mobs.[8] This kept the clash on the basis of civil order rather than of the military. Furthermore, Wellington did not have sufficient troops to put down the numerous riots over the country. The riots helped to develop a consciousness of kind among the lower orders of society.[9]

Luddism was the brand of rioting characteristic of the period. It occurred mainly in York, Lancashire, and Nottingham. The peak of the rioting was in the year 1812, when more than 12,000 troops had to be stationed in the affected areas to maintain the peace.[10] It was a revolt against the growing factory system and the use of machines in the textile industry. Textile mills were scattered over the countryside and the Luddites organized hit-and-run tactics in attacking the mills and destroying machinery. Public sympathy was on their side in the region

of the attacks.[11] The murder of one of the employers at Huddersfield, immortalized in Charlotte Bronte's Shirley, apparently dampened that sympathy, and the rioting died away.

By 1830, Johnson reports, industrial England was covered by the smoke of its factories; ports were busy; there were new iron works, paper mills, and woolen mills. Gaslight was coming to be used for illumination and the railways were spreading over the countryside. Population was growing; it had almost doubled between 1801 and 1830. Towns were crowded with laborers living in slums near factories. There was increasing agitation for reform. New towns with large populations such as Manchester and Birmingham had no representation in Parliament while small rural populations were over-represented.[12] Further, it was still the landed who were sent to Parliament, not manufacturers, let alone representatives for workers.

By 1832, Thompson says that the working class presence was the most significant factor in British political life.[13] It was about midway through the early period, around 1815, when the landed interests faced the first serious challenges by the manufacturing interests.[14] The census of 1811 showed 35 percent of the families in Great Britain occupied in agriculture, 44 percent in trade, manufactures and related occupations, and 20 percent unclassified.[15] Weavers were the largest industrial group, but competition with jobbers, mills, machines, and the economic depressions of this early period reduced them to a much smaller proportion of the work force by 1840.[16]

In London at the beginning of the nineteenth century the typical workers were craftsmen: members of the building trades, shoemakers, tailors, cabinet-makers, printers, clockmakers, jewellers, and bakers.[17]

Yet, over the country it was the cotton mill that dominated the industrial scene even though hand-loom weavers in the early 1830's still outnumbered factory textile workers.[18] The conditions of these mills are illustrated in Trollope's Michael Armstrong, Gaskell's Mary Barton, and Dicken's Hard Times, which are part of the sample for Period II of this study. In spite of the diversity of occupations and conditions, all kinds of workers between 1790 and 1830 developed a consciousness of common interests which led to the development of "trade unions, friendly societies, educational and religious movements, political organizations, periodicals--working-class intellectual traditions, working-class community-patterns, and a working-class structure of feeling."[19]

Thus, we have a sketchy picture of the proportions and kinds of workingmen in this early period. We know that workingmen had been the center of enough social disorder to be recognized by the public, and that industrialism was changing the face of the land. One would expect to see such a growing and noisy group in the pages of the novels of the time--especially since many were themselves part of the reading public.

Webb says that the working class had to be reckoned with as part of the literary audience by 1790.[20] By 1827 the prosperous artisan and the clerk had become more important than the gentleman as part of the reading public.[21] The working class, which Altick says was made up of artisans and the lower class, comprised three-quarters of the total nineteenth century population[22] and, as noted in Chapter I, over 60 percent could read to some extent. Thompson points to the union correspondence of the framework-knitters that survives in Nottingham as an indication of the literacy of workers.[23] Arthur Stinchcombe, in assessing the Protestant Ethic and its part in the development of industrial capitalism,

contends that literacy, not Protestantism, may be the more critical variable.[24]

The workers shared the idea of the importance of literacy and there was a movement toward self-help in its attainment. In addition, there were dame schools, penny-a-week schools, mechanics' institutes, Sunday schools, and evening schools run by disabled workers to teach the worker how to read.[25] Industry demanded improvements in literacy.[26]

All kinds of publications flooded the market as the costs of reading matter diminished and the size of the reading public grew. Religious tracts and utilitarian pamphlets, cheap newspapers and sporting journals, songbooks and almanacks, broadsides and advertisements, and the ever-present penny dreadfuls were plentiful in the large provincial cities and in London.[27] The price of new works in the standard three volume set was high, but small publishers fed the cheap market with reprints and number publications. In 1819, the publishers for the cheap market reported inventories worth a million pounds.[28] By 1827, Constable envisioned printing novels monthly at low cost for mass distribution, but his bankruptcy prevented implementing his plan.[29] Henry Brougham's Society for the Diffusion of Userful Knowledge got its start in 1826 and began to issue bi-weekly its library of books. Circulating libraries and subscription book clubs also provided for an enlarging literary public. Interest in the stories was not the only reason for buying or borrowing books. A book was a status symbol as well as a current topic of conversation. However, the novel did not enjoy a great deal of respectability in this period. Jane Austen felt compelled to write a defense of the novel in her Northanger Abbey.

Increasing literacy, the use of the steam press, and innovative

distribution and production methods stimulated the growth of a mass reading public between 1827 and 1830. Altick writes that the new mass audience in the early part of the century was drawn from skilled workers, small shopkeepers, clerks, and the better grade of domestic servants.[30] Fiction was more popular than religious writing in the cheap journals of the time.[31] Jane Austen, however, did not see her audience as extending beyond a small cultivated group which learned about her work mainly by word of mouth. Her works never reached mass readership in her lifetime, though they did before the century closed.[32]

Scott, the other parent of nineteenth century fiction,[33] wrote to a wider public, and his assessment of it was aided by the constant criticism provided by his printer, Ballantyne, and his publisher, Constable. Differences in taste characterized the various groups in society. William Godwin wrote for middle class readers but often his style was too raw and suited the poor man better.[34] Violence, fantasy, and the supernatural were welcome fare for the workingman. The most popular subject was crime and the best known publisher of cheap literature was James Catnatch, who began his business in 1810.[35] Thus, a large audience for the printed word in literature that included a growing number of workingmen was developing in the early nineteenth century. The authors, as noted in Chapter I, were middle class and sought to live as gentlemen on the proceeds from their writing. To be successful, they could not afford to alienate the workingmen who composed a substantial part of their readership.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the traditional social order rested on aristocratic power, prestige, and property. The aristocrats along with the gentry made up the upper orders; all others were, by exclusion, the lower orders. A new social order began to emerge along

with the rise of commerce in the eighteenth century and continued to grow with the industrialism of the nineteenth. It grew fastest in the urban areas. Men of law, government, and finance were at the top, followed by merchants, traders, and successful manufacturers; next were artisans and skilled laborers, followed by unskilled laborers and migrant workers, and at the bottom were gypsies, criminals, and workhouse inmates. The two social orders were not integrated, though there was some overlap; men of law and government, especially the military, were accepted, as were high clergy, by the traditional upper orders. These positions were usually filled by sons of good families who had not inherited title or land. The traditional upper orders carried more prestige and power throughout the country, but many at the top of the new social order had more property or wealth and lived in the grand style of the old aristocrats. At the lower levels custom and status, rather than supply and demand, continued to determine the wage scale of the time.

Framework for Period I: 1800-1830

The literature of this early period is not known for any particular works that focused on the workingman. The references noted in Chapter I were consulted to develop the sample. Authors were selected and certain titles and novel descriptions seemed to offer a better chance of encountering the workingman in their pages, such as Tales of Real Life or those that dealt with growing up in nineteenth century England. Sir Walter Scott and Jane Austen were included as authors because of their predominant place in nineteenth century fiction writing.[36] Edward Bulwer-Lytton wrote two novels in this period that are included in the sample. Also included are works of Fanny Burney, Amelia Opie, John Galt, William Godwin, and Pierce Egan--all widely read authors in their day.

The Social World

The social world reflected in the novels of the period provides the basis for the associations, conflicts, and interests of the characters. Ian Watt, in The Rise of the Novel, has documented the mixture of aristocratic and middle-class standards that developed with the rise of the commercial groups of the eighteenth century. Aristocratic families were those of ancient lineage who, in service by sword or political acumen, had long since earned their place in society and no longer worked to live. Middle-class families were characterized by commercial, and later industrial, economic acquisition and continued to work to support themselves. Many of the economically successful of the commercial group adopted the life style of the aristocrat and married into aristocratic families if they could.

Thus, the older stratification pattern did not disappear but merged with the developing stratification pattern in two ways. First, it was joined by those who copied the old life styles and married into the old families to gain prestige. Second, those aristocratic families whose fortunes had fallen often married into the new moneyed group to retain their social position. D. C. Somervell saw the aristocratic mode of life continuing to dominate the early period of the nineteenth century.[37] In the novels, then, one expects to find members of the rising middle class pursuing aristocratic life styles and intermarrying with aristocrats. One also expects to find the conflict between the bearers of the aristocratic manner and those who would aspire to it or reject it.

The preindustrial workingman under old aristocratic standards was attached to the land and his lord, and looked to the lord for direction and for support in time of need. Under the new industrial standards, the

master hired the labor of his employees and assumed no responsibility in most cases beyond providing the workplace. The worker began to look to government and later to his peers for direction and support in time of need. Some changes in the direction of a new social responsibility were in force by the opening of the nineteenth century as the government provided parish relief from tax funds. Later, the trade union movement moved to secure protection of the worker and his job in contract negotiations. First, the rights to negotiate contracts were legitimated by government and spelled out by law. Then, the workers developed demands which were accepted or rejected in negotiations with the master or masters. Thus, as the aristocrat made way for the industrialist, a change took place in the networks of loyalty and support that made up society. They should become evident in the novels of this or later periods.

Demographic Patterns of the Period

The population of Great Britain increased from 10.5 millions in 1801 to 16.3 millions in 1831.[38] Increasingly the population moved off the land into urban centers. Manchester grew from a population of 70,000 in 1801 to 142,000 in 1831.[39] The cotton industry became the backbone of Manchester; the first factory equipped with steam driven machinery was opened there in 1806.[40] The wealthy men who developed the cotton industry in Manchester and profited by it were conscious of themselves as a class, says Briggs.[41] But the town had no local government until it incorporated in 1838. In the town, squalor triumphed and the new rich moved to the rural areas and aped the life of the rural gentry. Town leadership was characterized by business and industrial methods.[42]

There was "no mutual confidence, no bond of attachment" between the upper and lower classes, according to a Manchester newspaper in 1819.[43] In Manchester, Briggs notes the following factors as important determinants of social life: social relations determined the pattern of local politics; the size of the city appeared to lessen the power of traditional social influence and accepted local leadership. Industrial prosperity determined who was wealthy and consequently who was listened to, but newness of wealth indicated a dearth of roots and of the bonds of attachment taken for granted in other places. Squalor, on the other hand, went together with increasing social segregation.[44]

The Manchester businessman was not the typical English businessman.[45] He disliked prestige without achievement, resented criticism and frustrating controls, and was suspicious of both gentry and workers, especially those who organized. Briggs says that these businessmen were energetic, tough, proud, contemptuous of the old aristocracy, and yet constituted a kind of aristocracy themselves, seeking political as well as economic power in the country as a whole.[46] The growing gap between the economic conditions of the businessman and the workingman in Manchester led the latter to develop his own organizations to represent his interests, and it was here that the union movement first became powerful.[47]

Further south in Birmingham, a city to become more important than Manchester in the later Victorian period, a different set of relationships developed between businessmen and workingmen. An older established political order in Birmingham, its greater diversification of occupations, a greater number of skilled workers, and the smaller size of its industries made for a more stable social order and at the same time for greater social mobility within it.[48] Middle classes and skilled working classes worked

together for reforms since they were more closely connected economically than were the same groups in Manchester.[49] Friendly societies rather than unions were more apt to find support in Birmingham.[50]

London was the most powerful city in the world at the beginning of the century,[51] and influenced all the other cities through its social and parliamentary dicta. It was also the center of the publishing industry. Thus, while the pattern of the social order differed from city to city and between city and country, the dominating influence was London.

Where urbanization developed at the same time as did industrialization--as in Manchester--the pattern differed from cities where industrialization developed in already politically developed urban areas--as in Birmingham. The latter had sanitary codes and legal controls which the former did not. The size of the industrial organizations and the gap between the rich and the poor also produced major differences. Where the industrial organizations were small, artisans were more apt to identify with the masters. In Birmingham, where there were many small industries of different kinds, workers and artisans united despite different occupations. The novels deal with specific regions and areas, and do not portray a uniform urban industrial life. But they indicate the centrality of London life. The urban areas included at least half England's population at the beginning of the nineteenth century; even in the country, only 28 percent of the population was dependent on agriculture for a livelihood.[52]

Industrialism

It is the third dimension, industrialism, that shaped the social world to the greatest extent. The French wars at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth increased foreign trade

and stimulated industrial growth in England.[53] This increased pressure of trade caused the birth of the commercial traveller and the death of the old fair as cities became storehouses of all kinds of goods and buying became a year-round affair.[54] On the one hand, wars developed the scale of industry in England, and on the other, they developed a disciplined work force of ex-soldiers who were trained to follow rules and regulations and were no longer tied to a social order based on the land.

As increasing trade spurred the economy, workers were able to afford better foods. When trade fell off after the end of the French wars, the price of bread skyrocketed and the workers rioted because high prices threatened to deprive them of their established diet and symbol of their improved status. Another reason for the riots in the early nineteenth century was the fear of weavers that power looms would deprive them of their work. Weaving had been very profitable in the late eighteenth century and many had taken up the craft as the enclosures pushed them off the land. Now the slackening of trade, growing inventories, an increased number of weavers, and a factory system that introduced more and more mechanization put the weaver out of work. Groups of unemployed, dissatisfied men were able to organize and to attack and destroy machinery and mills in a wave of Luddism.

Industrialism and its changing occupational order provides a resource for understanding the workingman in the novels of the early nineteenth century authors. We can conceptualize a stratification pattern of three major sections at the beginning of the century. At the top is a section based on rank and land ownership composed of the gentry and the aristocrats. The middle section is made up of a hierarchy of skilled artisans, trades-

men, and professionals. The bottom section is made up of groups such as unskilled laborers, gypsies, smugglers, thieves, prostitutes, and the inmates of the workhouses. Movement among the strata varies during the period, influenced by the changing needs of the economy and the kinds of occupations and rewards that are available for the size and development of the population. The use of the term "working class" begins in the nineteenth century and is mainly associated with the factory worker.

Early in the century, levels in the social hierarchy were referred to as upper or lower orders.[55] Around 1812[56] or 1815[57] the term "working class" began to be used. Thus, the term as such is not expected to be found in the earliest of these novels. Kuczynski claims that the machine is responsible for the creation of the working class, and that although we may expand the category to include miners and building workers, the nucleus of the working class remains the factory worker.[58] Miners who were more isolated by region, lifestyle, and work than the factory worker sometimes retained the old social bond to land and lord by pledging their offspring at baptism to their masters; mill workers did not.[59]

The heterogeneity of the upper reaches of the working class kept this group from being spoken of as a unit in the literature of the time. In fact, Cole and Postgate state that the cleavage between the skilled and the unskilled laborer was greater than that between the employer and the skilled laborer or craftsmen. The latter often attended the same church or chapel of the master. It was only with the introduction of large factories that the skilled laborer became separated from the employer and began to identify himself as labor.[60] Earlier, Rude points out, workers and masters petitioned Parliament together for their interests against those of the landowners,[61] but power-driven machinery broke the

old social relationship of apprentice and master and blurred the divisions between skilled and unskilled workers in the factory. Thus, the factory set the stage for a development of consciousness of kind among skilled and unskilled workers.[62] After the year 1771 factories were distinguished from mills where handwork continued to characterize labor.[63] In the novels of this first period, then, the relationship between the skilled laborer and the employer can be expected to differ from that which appears in the later periods, and the skilled laborer may be considered a part of the middle section of our conceptual stratification model, which includes tradesmen and professionals as well. In this early period, preindustrial workers are also considered, and their position and relationship in the social order taken into account.

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[1]Edgar Johnson, Sir Walter Scott, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1970), p. 393.

[2]George Rude, The Crowd in History: 1730-1848 (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964), p. 66.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid., p. 67.

[6]Rude footnote source: T. S. Ashton and J. Sykes, The Coal Industry in Eighteenth Century, Manchester, 1929:89-91; T. S. Ashton, Economic Fluctuation in England 1700-1800, Oxford, 1959:167; P. Mantoux, The Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century, London, 1945:19-50.

[7]Rude, p. 68.

[8]Elizabeth Longford, Wellington: Pillar of State (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 260.

[9]E. P. Thompson, Making of the English Working Class (New York: Knopf and Random House, Vintage Book, 1963), p. 194.

[10]Rude, p. 79.

[11]Ibid., p. 90.

[12]Johnson, p. 1137.

[13]Thompson, p. 12.

[14]G.D.H. Cole and Raymond Postgate, The British Common People: 1746-1946, orig. pub. 1938 (New York: Barnes & Noble, University paperback, 1961), p. 146.

[15]Ibid., p. 145.

[16]Thompson, p. 311.

[17]Ibid., p. 235.

[18]Ibid., p. 192.

[19]Ibid., p. 194.

[20]R. K. Webb, The British Working Class Reader: 1790-1848 (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1955), p. 36.

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[22]Ibid., p. 82.

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[26]Ibid., p. 717.

[27]Victor E. Neuberg, "The Literature of the Streets" in The Victorian City, 2 vols. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 199.

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[29]Ibid., p. 268.

[30]Ibid., p. 83.

[31]David W. Davies, An Enquiry Into the Reading of the Lower Classes (Pasedena, Calif.: Grant Dahlstrohm, 1970), p. 56.

[32]Jane Aiken Hodge, Only a Novel: the Double Life of Jane Austen (New York: Coward, McCann & Geohegan, Inc., 1972), p. 125.

[33]George Saintsbury, A History of Nineteenth Century Literature: 1780-1895 (New York: Macmillan Company, 1904), p. 128.

[34]Davies, p. 17.

[35]Neuberg, pp. 198-9.

[36]Saintsbury, p. 128.

[37]D. C. Somervell, English Thought in the Nineteenth Century, orig. pub. 1929, 5th ed. (London: Metheun & Co., Ltd., 1947).

[38]Cole & Postgate, p. 128.

[39]Asa Briggs, Victorian Cities, orig. pub. 1963 (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 85.

[40]Charles Moraze, The Triumph of the Middle Classes, orig. pub. 1966 (New York: Doubleday & Co., Anchor book, 1968), p. 146.

[41]Briggs, p. 85.

[42]Ibid., p. 117.

[43]Ibid., p. 86.

[44]Ibid., p. 88.

[45]Ibid., p. 100.

[46]Ibid., p. 90.

[47]Ibid., p. 87.

[48]Ibid., p. 187.

[49]Ibid.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Moraze, p. 145.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Ibid., p. 147. Moraze notes that foreign trade increased from a million tons just before 1789 to five millions in 1800, and continued to increase at this rate to mid-nineteenth century.

[54]Ibid.

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[56]Rude, p. 197.

[57]Williams, p. xiii.

[58]Jurgen Kuczynski, The Rise of the Working Class, trans. C.T.A. Ray (New York: McGraw-Hill, World University Library, 1967), p. 59.

[59]Ibid., p. 25.

[60]Cole and Postgate, p. 87.

[61]Rude, p. 72.

[62]Cole and Postgate, p. 87.

[63]Kuczynski, p. 45.

Chapter III

Seven Novels of Sir Walter Scott

Lionel Stevenson writes that Sir Walter Scott was the only writer of note between 1820 and 1830.[1] The importance of his writing in his own time is attested to by the baronetcy awarded him by the Regent. Scott's novels are panoramas that stretch over all levels of life and are organized around contrasting principles and allegiances represented in his characterizations. He contrasts justice vs. mercy, Scotsman vs. Englishman, Protestant vs. Catholic, and this lends his tales a spirit of realism.[2] Thus, Scott contributes a view of the social fabric and dynamics of the early nineteenth century with its traditional inputs, changing trends, and new types that make up its cast of characters. The background for his stories is historical; much of it was learned after a crippling disease, probably polio, sent him to live for a while in the Scottish countryside with his grandparents, where the adults spun old tales to entertain the boy.

Reared in the family home in Edinburgh, presided over by a stern Calvinist father who practiced law, Scott grew up to romanticize the life of the cavalry officer. In fact, he joined with the cavalry to help quell the bread riots of his youth. Later, Scott became a successful lawyer. His love of the romance of Scottish history persisted in his poetry and novels. He embraced the life of a gentleman and supported it by his writings as well as such political appointments as Principal Clerk of the court session. His observations and experiences with the military,

with civil riots, with the legal profession, with politics, and with earning enough to live as a gentleman are included in his novels.

Scott's political views were those of the paternalistic landowner, but he was aware of the growing urban-industrial economy. He saw the industrial slum as the greatest problem of the day and felt the manufacturers should be taxed for slum relief.[3] Yet, except for a mention of Carlisle as a grimy manufacturing town and of a hanging and a riot there, the industrial slum is not found in these stories.

Scott moved in the literary circles of his day and was a founder of the Athenaeum Club.[4] The reading of his works and a veneration for their author is noted over and over in biographies as well as in novels by Eliot, Gissing, Dickens, Martineau, Bronte, and others. He read and admired the work of Jane Austen and believed that she portrayed the feelings of everyday life better than he.[5] Publishers reprinted and recirculated editions of his works to wider and wider audiences over the nineteenth century.

The novels of Scott used for this analysis are the following: Waverley (1814), Guy Mannering (1815), The Antiquary (1816), Rob Roy (1818), The Heart of Midlothian (1818), St. Ronans Well (1823), and Redgauntlet (1825). All are set in the eighteenth century except St. Ronans Well which is set in 1800. In these novels, Scott rewrites history for the rising urban middle classes and the shaky aristocrats of his day. His work is not concerned with the growth of the industrial working class. He depicts the social world of his day by indicating the arrival of the middle class in the seats of authority and status by virtue of their hard work, honesty, and competence. Previously, life had centered around rural and regional life styles and traditional aristocratic allegiances. Scott's

novels portray the conflict and melding of the middle class, the propertied, the powerful, and the prestigious of the previous century. His characters and his unraveling of events show the decline of the traditional aristocrat (Waverleys in Waverley, Bertrams in Guy Mannering), and the rise of the gentleman who supports himself by an inherited commercial fortune (Guy Mannering in Guy Mannering), or by a commercial fortune gained before inheriting estates (Oldbuck in The Antiquary). He describes the rise of the gentleman who supports himself by his commercial efforts (Osbaldistone and Bailie Jarvie in Rob Roy), or by his professional efforts (Alan Fairford in Redgauntlet). However, aristocrats who learn to manage their finances and their land, and whose offspring intermarry with the offspring of the rising middle class, are able to maintain themselves in positions of power and influence (the promise of Harry Bertram in Guy Mannering, Lord Mowbray in St. Ronans Well). Retaining the prestige of lineage is shown by the marriage of a successful hero with the heiress of diminishing fortune but of old lineage (as in Waverley and Redgauntlet).

The fifteenth century had already had in Edward IV a king who was a merchant and who went so far as to entertain his merchant associates socially. However, merchant families did not marry their offspring into the landed families.[6] Lawyers, perhaps educated sons of rich farmers as in the Paston Family (The Paston brothers wrote letters to each other in the fifteenth century that have been preserved and document just such mobility), did sometimes marry heiresses of landed estates and so made their way into the aristocratic social world. The law was "practically the only money-making occupation that could be pursued by a gentleman" in the fifteenth century.[7]

Scott shows not only that lawyers were able to move upwards socially

to the rank of gentlemen, but that merchant fortunes could provide for such a rise in the eighteenth century. His novels indicate the changes from traditional social bonds to more rational ones, and they stress the virtues of honesty, hard work, and discipline.

One of the last major powers of the aristocrats is stripped away in Scott's novels, the power of the noble to levy and lead his own troops in battle. With the development of a central army, the autonomy of the aristocrat is broken. The central army, the militia, and the City Guard, as mentioned in these novels, provide new patterns of association as well as of authority. The militia leader in Waverley will not take the orders of the regular army major. In Waverley, The Antiquary, and Heart of Midlothian the militia and City Guard are seen as poorly disciplined, impressed with their own importance, made up of persons not previously allowed to carry arms publically, and in all cases having to be backed up with more disciplined troops when in action. All three of these novels were published before the massacre at Peterloo in 1819 where an untrained militia was unable to disperse the crowds so that Wellington's Hussars had to be called in to quell the melee that resulted from the inept action of the militia. Not only poor judgment but incompetence and lack of discipline caused the debacle of the militia. Scott's novels documented these characteristics before Peterloo.

Scott's novels illustrate rural decline and the rise of the cities around ancient castles which are used in the novels as jails and administrative centers. They also portray the urban masses and show incidences of urban rioting.

The industrial workingman is hardly seen in these novels, even though he and his problems had been public concerns at least since the fifteenth

century when two of the Parliaments of Edward IV had been forced to deal with the practice of paying preindustrial workers with useless merchandise, the over-weighting of the wool bundles given to piece-workers, and the displacement of workers in hat manufacturing due to the use of fulling mills.[8] Peasants, tenants, craftsmen, farmers, fishermen, beggars, and gypsies do appear in the pages of Scott's novels.

It is the changes, especially in Scottish life, from Catholic to Protestant, from a clan-led personal allegiance to a government-led legal allegiance, and from the aristocratic power of the landowners to the financial and political power of commercial men and professionals, that are documented in Scott's novels. Scott's sympathies often appear to lie with the more aristocratic and adventurous character than with the hard-working professional or commercial young man in his stories. The former is more often associated with rural Scotland while the latter has his roots in urban Scotland or in England. Frank Osbaldistone of Rob Roy and Alan Fairford of Redgauntlet illustrate the latter, while Fergus McIvor of Waverley, Rob Roy of Rob Roy, and Darsie Latimer of Redgauntlet illustrate the former. The urban masses are shown in the Heart of Midlothian and the independence of the new militia and of some craftsman and farmers is shown in Waverley.

The Novels

Waverley (1814)

Waverley depicts the ebbing power and prestige of the traditional landed aristocrat in both England (in the persons of Sir Everard Waverley and his rather dull nephew Edward), and in Scotland (in the dashing person of Fergus McIvor), as the forces of the two countries mobilize and meet on the field of Culloden. This mobilization to defend one's

land raises the farmer, the craftsman, and the dissenter in the ranks of the army and the militia and brings them together to fight the enemy, shaping new conduits of communication, understanding, and attachment; and finally, a new identification with English nationalism. Castle cities are shown in Waverley developing around ancient castles as centers of social control and government administration. Villages are peopled with independent, preindustrial craftsmen and farmers who no longer turn to the feudal lord for their economic support but do turn to the lord for the administration of social justice.

Sir Everard is disappointed in his attempt to send his nephew to battle with a loyal troop of men of his own retainers, for the army is no longer organized by feudal units under the command of a noble or knight, but has a professional base under high government command. One of Sir Everard's retainers does manage a place near Edward in the army, and when the latter is accused of treason the ex-retainer loyally testified to Edward's character:

> "If it was dishounourable and against Old England, the squire could know nought about it; he never did, or thought to do, anything dishounourable,--no more didn't Sir Everard, nor none of them afore him, and in that belief he would live and die that Ruffin had done it all of his own head."[9]

Edward attempts to escape capture and travels incognito in the dress of a man of his own rank to assure himself the proper treatment due his rank. An independent farmer, Jacob Jopson, and his daughter aid Edward for money at one point in his flight.

Later, Edward gets into an argument with a village blacksmith who is a Whig and suspects Edward of being a Jacobite. A Whig crowd gathers and the frustrated blacksmith in his rising rage attempts to brand Edward with a hot iron. This prompts Edward to shoot the blacksmith to defend

himself. For this, Edward is led off to the local laird's for trial. Here an army major takes him into custody for suspected treason and calls on the local militia to escort the prisoner off to Stirling castle.

The militia arrives, led by a local innkeeper, and the major is dismayed by their lack of professional demeanor and dress:

> The group of about thirty armed men who followed this gifted commander, was of a motley description. They were in ordinary Lowland dresses, of different colours, which, contrasted with the arms they bore, gave them an irregular and mobish appearance; so much is the eye accustomed to connect uniformity of dress with the military character. In front were a few who apparently partook of their leader's enthusiasm, men obviously to be feared in a combat where their natural courage was exalted by religious zeal. Others puffed and strutted, filled with the importance of carrying arms, and all the novelty of their situation, while the rest, apparently fatigued with their march, dragged their limbs listlessly along, or straggled from their companions to procure such refreshments as the neighboring cottages and ale-houses afforded.[10]

The fact that the majority of the troop had stopped to refresh themselves at a field preaching outrages the major, but his outburst at the militia leader for permitting the troop to waste time is dismissed by the militia leader:

> "I have looked into my commission. . . . subscribed by a worthy and professing nobleman, William, Earl of Glencairn; nor do I find it herein set down that I am to receive any charges or commands anent my doings from Major William Melville of Cairnvreckan."[11]

The novel ends with the failure of the Scottish cause at Culloden and the execution of Fergus McIvor. There is some blending of the Scottish and the new English order when Edward, his name cleared of treason, marries Rose Barwardine, heiress of an old Scottish noble family.

Thus in Waverley, the aristocrats are losing power and privilege. Local men led by the innkeeper rise in power, as seen by their carrying army and their challenge to the command of the major. The ties that bind are moving from those of the personal loyalty of the old retainer to the

national political allegiances of the blacksmith and the crowd. Some men like the farmer are motivated by money.

Law and its administration are central features in the lives of Scott's characters. The suspected treason of Edward, the use of the castles as jails and administrative centers, the crowd's escorting Edward to the local laird for justice after the shooting of the blacksmith, and the militia leader's refusal to take orders from someone not designated as an authority over him by his commission, all point to the triumph of law over tradition and custom in the lives of people at all levels.

Rank is still believed to have its privileges by Edward, who disguises himself as a man of rank to avoid common treatment, but this does not prevent the attack by the blacksmith. A conflict on the role of legal position is in evidence when the militia leader is not overawed by the rank of the army major and challenges the major's right to give him orders, citing his commission by the local nobleman as authority for his own leadership.

Guy Mannering (1815)

Guy Mannering relates the continuing importance of the traditional landed family status in England while their economic position has declined. Guy Mannering is a new type of gentleman whose fortunes have been inherited from both a successful merchant ancestor and another ancestor who was high in the church. He lives in the manner of a traditional landed gentleman and has pursued a successful military career in India. He is status-conscious enough not to let his only daughter marry a young military officer of unknown family and questionable finances, but when it turns out that the military officer is a lost heir to a family seat (though still without fortune), Guy Mannering rejoices in their engagement.

The apparent reason for the heir's loss of his heritage for so long has supposedly been a gypsy curse applied to his father for expelling the gypsies from the family lands. Actually the boy was kidnapped by smugglers and raised abroad, from where he made his way into the English army in India and pursued a military career.

The boy, Harry Bertram, had been cared for in his youth by a tutor whose parents had scrimped and saved to pay for his education in order that their son might rise in the world as a clergyman. Scott pokes fun at this serious-minded but good-hearted tutor, who does not appear overly intelligent.

Another occupation which has provided improvement in life style for its adherents is that of store-farmer. Scott tells the reader, in the person of Dandie Dinmont, of the improved financial and social conditions of the store-farmer's life. They are no longer considered drunkards, their houses are pleasant and commodious, and they indulge in the luxuries of life including the luxury of knowledge.

In Guy Mannering a lawyer named Glossins has been financially successful and now wishes to establish himself as a gentleman by buying the family estates of the Bertrams. His efforts are doomed. He is revealed as an opportunist whose fortunes have been based on smuggling and conniving, and he ends up being murdered by his partner in crime while in jail on a smuggling charge.

The lands go back to their traditional heir, Harry Bertram. The peasants and tenants of the Ellangowan estates gather to publically recognize him. The comments of those collected include:

> "As sure as there's breath in man, it's auld Ellangowan arisen from the dead!"[12]

> "I and mine hae been three hundred years here, . . . , and I sall sell my last cow, but I'll see the young laird placed in his right."[13]

Besides the recognition of Harry's rights by peasants and tenants, Scott, a lawyer himself, presents a proper legal presentation of Harry's case.

Thus there are indications of social mobility through the army service and inherited wealth for Mannering, through teaching for the tutor, through the improvement in trade for the store-farmer. The lawyer Glossins was morally deficient, so that although his economic condition had improved he was not able to purchase his desired social position in the Ellangowan estates.

The estates are returned to the family heir, and hopefully the rent rolls and proper management will provide enough support for their maintenance. Ancestors of Harry had tried through business methods to make agriculture support the estates, but to no avail. Business and agriculture had not been socially acceptable pursuits for the local laird in earlier times, and their pursuit estranged the family from aristocratic social circles. In addition the business manager was inept.

In Guy Mannering, traditional bonds of loyalty are present in the recognition of Harry as the rightful heir by the peasants and tenants of Ellangowan. The legal bond is present in the legal presentation of Harry's claim. Lineage is still important and recognized by both the traditional peasants and tenants and the new gentleman, Mannering. Material gain by itself is not considered socially acceptable, as Glossin's attempt at success shows. The new bonds of financial and professional success, represented by Mannering's daughter, are bound with the traditional bonds of lineage and land ownership represented by Harry Bertram in marriage.

The Antiquary (1816)

The Antiquary continues Scott's assessment of the eighteenth century world on the brink of the nineteenth. It is 1798 and two gentlemen,

traveling in a public coach from England to Scotland, strike up a conversation over common intellectual interests in history and ancient ruins. The older man, Oldbuck, has succeeded in life by means of a successful commercial career and the inheritance of the family estates late in life through the death of his brother. Thus, he has attained financial security and a degree of social emminence. The younger man, Lovel, appears to be a gentleman by his dress, manners, and ability to carry on an intellectual conversation, but his background is unknown.

Even after arrival at Monkbarns, the home of Oldbuck where Lovel has been asked to stay, Oldbuck continues to ponder the social position of his visitor:

> He was too little of the aristocrat to join the Club of the Royal True Blues, and too little of a democrat to fraternise with an affiliated society of the soi disant Friends of the People, which the borough had also the happiness of possessing.[14]

When Oldbuck asks Lovel where he fits in life, Lovel answers that he is so detached from all the world that he is independent.[15] Oldbuck advises Lovel that although he may not have friends with whom to share his success, or persons for whom he is responsible, or persons to whom he owes a debt of gratitude, he still has a Christian duty of service to others.[16] Lovel tells Oldbuck his ambition is to gain fame and fortune as a writer.

While staying at Monkbarns, Lovel is visited one night by the ghost of Oldbuck's ancestor who was the printer of the Augsberg Confession. The ghost points out the following phrase in the Confession to Lovel:

> Skill or prudence, in availing ourselves of our natural talents and advantages, will compel favor and patronage, even where it is withheld from prejudice or ignorance.[17]

Scott is saying that Lovel can earn his own way in life by a successful literary career, much as Scott had done in developing his estate Abbotsford and an aristocratic life style.

Later in the story, Oldbuck muses over the passing of friendships in life by jealousy, rivalry, envy, and other changes, so that in old age all that remain are those tied by custom or kinship; these keep one company so that they may not be forgotten at one's death.[18] He sees traditional ties and family ties as prevailing over common interests in forming the only lasting associations throughout life.

Sir Arthur Wardour, a local laird, enjoys the study of ancient ruins along with his friend Oldbuck. Wardour is financially embarrassed and hopes to find minerals of commercial value in the land to get him out of his dilemma.[19] His daughter Frances favors Lovel, but their marriage cannot take place until his social position is recognized and legitimated.

Loyalty between master and servant, and between landowner and fisherfolk is shown in The Antiquary. Sir Arthur's servant first tweaks Sir Arthur for failure to pay his wages and then suffers such remorse for the act to his kind master that he hastens to compensate for the tweaking by continuing to serve. The fisherfolk near Monkbarns tell Oldbuck how they spoke out to protect him when the poor in the area were rioting against the rich, and Oldbuck, on his part, has the grim duty of being a pallbearer at the funeral of the fisherman's son, Steenie Mucklebackit, who dies in a shipwreck.

It is the description of the fisherfolk's cottage that led George Eliot to write that the novel did more "towards linking the higher classes with the lower, towards obliterating the vulgarity of exclusiveness, than (was done) by hundreds of sermons and philosophical dissertations."[20] The cottage is described as:

> . . . there was confusion,--there was dilapidation,--there was dirt good store. Yet, with all this, there was about the inmates, Luckie Mucklebackit and her family, an appearance of ease, plenty, and comfort, that seemed to warrant their old sluttish proverb, "the clartier the cosier."[21]

The old grandmother who lives with the Mucklebackits has kept the secret of her former mistress, the Countess, for many years; now at the latter's death, she reveals the secret and with it establishes Lovel's parentage. He is the legitimate son of the Earl.

The king's bedesman, Edie Ochlitree, and the postal service serve as informal and formal communication routes. King's bedesmen, or Blue-gowns, were old soldiers who received a purse on the king's birthday and had certain begging rights in order to support themselves. They served as newscarriers, minstrels, and sometimes historians in local districts. Edie is worldly wise and he sells his silence to all buyers. When he threatens to expose the supposedly ancient ruins that Oldbuck has discovered as a fraud, the latter, enraged, tells Lovel that although he has been against poor's rates and work-houses in the past, he thinks he'll vote for them now and get rid of the likes of Edie. This is the first mention of the work-house and poor's rates in Scott's novels. Later, Oldbuck is again in sympathy with Edie and gets him out of prison. It is Edie who carries the letters that prevent the bankruptcy of Sir Arthur. The local postal service is presided over by a postmistress who with her friends reads the mail that interests her before giving it to the addressee.

At the end of the story, the characters are threatened with an invasion by the French. Whig Oldbuck, Tory Wardour, the militia, a troop of regular soldiers, the Earl's troop (he has been given special permission to maintain this personal troop), and even the beggar Edie all turn out to defend their land. Oldbuck comments that the country is in little danger when the beggar's as ready to fight for his dish as the laird for his land.[22]

The militia is described " . . . in good order, considering the

irregular materials of which they were composed, in great force of numbers and high confidence and spirits."[23] In contrast, the Earl's troop " . . . formed a very handsome and well-mounted squadron, formed entirely out of the Earl's lowland tenants, and were followed by a regiment of five hundred men, completely equipped in the Highland dress, whom he had brought down from the upland glens, with their pipes playing in the van."[24]

It is at this public joining of forces that Lovel's parentage is recognized by the Earl and the assembly. Lovel's new-found title and wealth prompt him to aid the financially pressed Mucklebackits, but since they are not able to manage their funds the money is administered by the more worldly Edie.

The traditional ties of family and place are broadened into national ties in the time of attack. And, although Scott makes a plea that talent and work make one successful in life, his successful characters are still those of lineage and land ownership. Common folk, represented by the Mucklebackits, are seen as good and loyal and contented, but untidy in their housekeeping and unable to manage their financial affairs. The public coach and the postal service are broadening communication lines.

Rob Roy (1818)

Rob Roy centers around the Jacobite uprising of 1715 and the character of Rob Roy. The romantic Rob Roy and his dynastic adventures are contrasted with the practical Bailie Jarvie, the merchant Mr. Osbaldistone, and his faithful clerk Mr. Owen and their mundane business affairs. Mr. Osbaldistone's son Frank embodies the conflict of the romantic and the practical. As a successful merchant, Mr. Osbaldistone wants Frank to take over his business someday, but Frank wants to write poetry and feels

the counting-house is not for a gentleman like himself.

Consequently, Frank is sent to stay with his roistering and wastrel cousins at Osbaldistone Hall in Scotland while his perfidious cousin Rashleigh replaced him at the counting-house. On the road north, Frank meets Rob Roy traveling under an assumed name. Later, when another traveler wrongly accuses Frank of theft, Rob Roy testifies in Frank's behalf. At Osbaldistone Hall, Frank meets the ubiquitous Andrw Fairservice working as a gardener. Shortly afterward, Andrew appears as a horse thief and an opportunist of the first order. However, Andrew's charm and egoistic logic help him to prosper and to be accepted despite his questionable behavior.

Meanwhile, Mr. Owen is jailed in Glasgow as the result of an attempt to stop Rashleigh's thievery. Rob Roy turns up to take Frank to the jail to speak with Mr. Owen. They find Bailie Jarvie, a cousin of Rob Roy and a business associate of Mr. Osbaldistone, already there. Bailie Jarvie chides Rob Roy for showing his head at the jail when there is a price on it for smuggling and for supporting the Jacobite cause. He also chides Frank for his foolishness in not staying in his father's business, while Rob Roy praises Frank for his choice, " . . . now I honour him for his contempt of weavers and spinners, and sic-like mechanical persons and their pursuits."[25] Earlier, Rob Roy had commented on the shame of having a cousin in business like Jarvie, " . . . wi'accounts, and yarn winnles, and looms and shuttles, like a mere mechanical person . . . ."[26] Later, Jarvie tells Frank what he thinks of lineage, " . . . it's a'moonshine in water--waste threads and thrums . . . ."[27]

Bailie Jarvie is not a heroic personality but an everyday one, upright and forthright. His living arrangements are noted as proper, clean,

and orderly; his housekeeper, whom he later marries, worries about his not wearing his rubbers. Scott adds a comic touch to Jarvie when in the heat of a highland battle his coat catches on a tree limb and keeps him helpless.

The trail to straighten out the affairs of the counting-house leads Jarvie and Frank into the highland. Jarvie explains to Frank that the agriculture, the pasturage, the fisheries, and other honest industry of the area cannot provide enough employment for the populace, no matter how slowly they work.[28] Thus the people are pressed into smuggling, cattle rustling, and maurauding to support their families and clans. Scott, as omniscient author writes:

> Yet even then the mountain glens were over peopled, although thinned occasionally by famine or by the sword, and many of their inhabitants strayed down to Glasgow--there formed settlements--there sought and found employment, although different, indeed, from that of their native hills. This supply of a hardy and useful population was of consequence to the prosperity of the place, furnished the means of carrying on the few manufactures which the town already boasted, and laid the foundation of its future prosperity.[29]

Government troops stop the travellers, but an attack by a band of wild highlanders soon puts them in the custody of Rob Roy's clan. Jarvie is appalled by the primitive nature of the highlanders and chides Rob Roy for the illiteracy of his sons.[30] He offers to apprentice them in Glasgow and pay the fees.[31] Rob Roy is outraged, "My sons weavers! . . . but I wad see every loom in Glasgow, bean, traddles, and shuttles, burnt in hell-fire sooner!"[32] Later, Rob Roy pays a debt due to Jarvie and Frank signs as witness, looking for another witness as Scottish law demanded, Rob Roy says, "You'll hardly find a man that can write save ourselves within these three miles."[33]

The story ends with Rob Roy again saving Frank by killing Rashleigh.

Frank returns to work in his father's counting-house and also becomes the heir of Osbaldistone Hall and the family title, now that all the intervening heir are dead.

Rob Roy dies at a ripe old age at home in his hills. Frank marries, with the blessing of his father, the Catholic ex-Jacobite Diana Vernon. Bailie Jarvie marries his housekeeper, to the ridicule of some of his friends and business associates. He insists that, after all, she was not an ordinary servant but a kin to the mythical Laird of Limmerfield. The marriage proves happy and disproves the doubting associates.[34]

Rob Roy depicts the decline of ancient rural society and its class structure. It portrays the rise of an increasingly affluent middle class. Some accept a strict middle class code while others attempt to rise by fraud and deceit. Highlanders of all traditional occupations are being driven off the land into the cities to look for work. Here they settle in districts by themselves and work in the developing manufacturing trades. Although Scott mentions these people, he does not show us much of their actual lives.

The Heart of Midlothian (1818)

The enforcement of law and justice in the city of Edinburgh between 1736 and 1751 is the issue around which the story centers in The Heart of Midlothian. The simple, close society of Scotsmen is shown as having to abide by the laws of a more complex, detached English society. English laws curtail Scotland's economy and force some of its citizens, along with adventurers like Robertson, into smuggling. English law demands death for smugglers, while the Scots think that smuggling is justified because of English controls on the Scottish economy. They see the death penalty as too harsh. Another area of difficulty in the enforcement of Scottish

law are the hereditary jurisdictions that prevailed in Scotland until 1748. The investigation of crimes was in the hands of judges, "ignorant, partial, or interested--by the habits of the gentry, shut up in their distant and solitary mansion-houses, nursing their revengeful passions just to keep their blood from stagnating."[35] Outmoded laws, such as the one stating that bringing forth a baby in secret was a crime punishable by death, exacerbated the problems of law enforcement. In earlier times this law provided certainty that the clan genealogy was properly followed in determining positions of power and rights within the clans, but it was not necessary for an industrializing England.

The reader is quickly introduced to the idea that the prison is the heart of the city and thus the city has a sad heart.[36] The action begins with the escape of one of two condemned smugglers while the populace cheers. In response, the magistrates call out the City Guard to insure the hanging of the remaining smuggler.

The City Guard is made up of ex-soldiers who serve as an armed police force and work at their trades when off duty.[37] Scott describes them as lacking in military discipline to such degree that they could not long withstand the taunts of the crowd. Captain Porteous, a tailor's son who could not manage the discipline of his father's trade, is placed in charge of the detail of eighty men who are to oversee the hanging. To further insure that the hanging is carried out, the magistrates call in a regiment of regular infantry to remain on standby alert in case of mob action.

On the day of the hanging, the crowd flusters Captain Porteous so much that he orders his men to fire into the crowd, causing the deaths of several persons and the wounding of others. The Captain is jailed

and tried for such brash behavior, and finally is sentenced to hang. The populace come out to view the event, only to be thwarted at the last moment by the King's reprieve. The populace seethes with indignation against this injustice. Scott reports that the Edinburgh mob was one of the fiercest in Europe and had risen frequently, achieving some temporary successes.

The crowd talks of the Captain's past leniency toward the excesses of the town's young nobles and gentry and of his severity against the poor. The discovery that some of the men of higher rank had added their names to the petition for Porteous's reprieve reinforces the crowd's belief that the law was enforced favorably toward the rich. Sentiment remains with the previously hanged smuggler: the crowd compares the Captain with the smuggler who helped his partner to escape when doomed himself. The riffraff are not the only ones to be enraged at this kind of justice. Scott says the more decent class of citizens had suffered losses by the Captain's firing into the mob and that it was this decent element who led the action that ensued.

As the crowd moves away from the site of the expected hanging at Grassmarket Square, an unfashionable area of mean houses, the talk is about injustice from London, of the frustrations of not viewing the hanging, and of the glories of the old days of Scottish justice when one could stone leaders who didn't please. An old seamstress complains about the dominance of London milliners. A grocer complains of English idlers who collect taxes from hard-working Scots. He muses that if the smuggler took no more than what was owed him, he was justified in his crime; but there is no justification for the crime of Porteous.

Another case at law is that of Effie Deans. While her sister Jeanie

stayed on the farm of their Calvinist father, Effie, who liked the gay life of the city, went to work in the shop of Mr. Saddletree, the saddler who saw himself as a lawyer. Effie was seduced and produced a baby whose whereabouts was unknown and is therefore considered dead. The law against bringing forth babies in secret, not the supposed death of the baby, is the legal issue. If someone will say that Effie told them she was pregnant she will be freed; if not, she will be condemned to death. Both Effie and Captain Porteous are being held in the Heart of Midlothian. It turns out that the smuggler who got away is the baby's father. He used the crowd activity that ultimately takes Porteous to the gallows as a cover to try to get Effie to escape; but she is too upset to flee. The smuggler, Robertson, is the wayward son of a well-to-do English baronet and clergyman named Staunton.

Scott reports the behavior of the hanging crowd as civil and organized. The rioters saw their duty as coming from a higher than civil authority. The crowd first overtook the guards at the city gates to prevent the cutting off of their exit from the city. Journeymen mechanics politely escorted ladies from their sedan chairs to their homes to put them out of harm's way.[38] While marching toward the prison one of the mob lost his slipper, all stopped, looked for it, and waited till it was replaced before marching on.[39] These actions had been reported to Scott as actually occurring. After the mob had attacked the prison, found their man, taken him and hanged him, they put down their weapons and went home in all directions, leaving the magistrates again to assume authority.[40]

The news of the event, when it reached the English court, caused Queen Caroline to make an adverse comment on Scotland which tended to draw the Scots closer together.[41] Scott comments:

> Perhaps one ought to be actually a Scotsman to conceive how ardently, under all distinctions of rank and situation, they feel their mutual connexion with each other as natives of the same country. There are, I believe, more associations common to the inhabitants of a rude and wild, than of a well-cultivated and fertile country: their ancestors have more seldom changed their place of residence; their mutual recollection of remarkable objects is more accurate; the high and the low are more interested in each other's welfare; the feelings of kindred and relationship are more widely extended, and, in a word, the bonds of patriotic affection, always honourable even when a little too exclusively strained, have more influence on men's feelings and actions.[42]

The Crown's demand that the names of the organizers of the riot be made known from the pulpits of the Church of Scotland further increased Scottish solidarity.[43]

Meanwhile, Effie wastes in jail, but slowly her urge to survive comes back and she asks her sister to save her. Unfortunately, Jeanie cannot tell a lie even to save her sister's life. Reuben convinces Effie's father, the religious Davie Deans, who fears that law breaks down religion,[44] to hire a lawyer to defend Effie and not to leave the trial entirely in God's hands. Dumbeidikes, the local laird, offers to pay for Effie's defense.[44] Now, Mr. Saddletree implies that government may subvert the law by suggesting that money will do some good in buying support in Parliament for Effie's defense.[45]

Deans, as a farmer, was noted for his husbandry, care, and success, while Dumbiedikes's farm "argued neglect and discomfort; the consequence, however, of idleness and indifference, not of poverty."[46] The country laird is seen in the character of Dumbiedikes as grasping, exploitative, and inept personally, and yet not without humanity and some insight into human affairs.

Effie's trial ends with a verdict of guilty and a recommendation for mercy from the Crown. Jeanie walks all the way from Edinburgh to

London to beg a reprieve. On the way she is waylaid by Meg Murdock, a gypsy, and her daughter Mad Madge with a band of highwaymen. Mad Madge helps Jeanie to flee the robber's nest and inadvertently Jeanie lands at the home of the Stauntons where she meets George, alias Robertson the smuggler and seducer, who is recovering from an illness.

In London the pardon is granted and Jeanie starts the journey homeward. On the way she witnesses a rioting mob ill-treating Mad Madge at the hanging of her mother. The crowd was made up of boys and girls in high spirits, some of the "lower rabble of more mature age," and they are joined by some burley butchers and graziers whose cattle had recently suffered a disease which they laid to witchcraft. This is not the rational, organized crowd of the Porteous hanging, but one emotionally charged and superstitious. Furthermore, Scott places this event outside Carlisle, a grimy manufacturing town which he disliked having to pass through on his way from London to the rural scene of his beloved home at Abbotsford. Mad Madge dies later of the effects of the crowd's mistreatment. Broadsheets describing her mother's death were hawked by peddlars in the towns Jeanie passed through on her route home.

Farmer Dean's daughters marry. Jeanie marries the local parish clergyman, Reuben Butler, and is happy. Effie marries her seducer, the son of the baronet, and is unhappy. Their son, unknown to them, has survived and become a thief and murderer. He murders his own father in a robbery attempt and is arrested. Jeanie discovers the awful truth and helps the boy to escape the country while Effie goes off to a convent to spend the rest of her days.

Scott ends the book with a plea for virtue: "The paths of virtue, though seldom those of worldly greatness, are always those of pleasantness

and peace."[47]

In describing the carrying out of law and justice, Scott contrasts Effie's case, where the letter of the law is followed and mercy sought from the Crown, with the case of Porteous, where the Crown's mercy is overruled for the justice meted out by the crowd. Thus these Scotsmen abide by their own ideas of justice, including the idea that it is all right to smuggle if one only steals what is "rightfully due." Furthermore, in the case of the butchers and graziers at Meg Murdock's hanging, occupational frustrations stimulate a brand of justice based on superstition. In all cases there is a built-in resentment of English laws and their enforcement.

The stern discipline of Deans, the religious farmer, is contrasted with the neglectful Laird Dumbeidikes in Scott's descriptions of their respective farms. Two rioting crowds are contrasted: one, well-organized and goal-oriented, hangs Porteous; the other, a whirling, roisterous mob, hangs Med Murdock. The former is made up of serious minded workmen and tradesmen whose actions have been planned; the latter is generated out of the high spirits of the young, some rabble, and some frustrated butchers and graziers. No industrial workers are presented except for the mention of the politeness of the journeymen mechanics in escorting the ladies home the night of the riot in Edinburgh. Both hangings occur in urban situations. The hanging of Porteous is in a run-down, no longer fashionable city square. The hanging of Meg Murdock is outside the grimy city of Carlisle.

Scott is certainly pressing for more enlightened judicial rulings for Scotland and an easing of the fetters of taxes, etc., that inhibits Scotland's economic development. He was knowledgeable on economic

affairs and some of his essays, written under the pseudonym of Malachi Malagrowther, influenced Parliamentry voting.[48]

Scott also indicates in the Porteous hanging mob that the rising group of craftsmen and tradesmen are not irrational, but capable of judging their affairs and organizing to carry them out. The mob at Meg Murdock's hanging was of a different order. Besides the resentment of the Scots for English law, Scott also writes of resentment on the part of the poor (the Edinburgh crowd) toward the gentry and nobles who are given preferential treatment under the law.

St. Ronan's Well (1823)

St. Ronan's Well shows us the decaying village life of 1800. Two centers of social activity representing the old and the new are introduced. The old is represented by the inn run by Meg Dodds, descendant of a serving couple who once worked for the aristocratic Mowbray family and then made good at innkeeping. Her parents had moved upward from servants to tenants and then to owners. Their only daughter was well-off by the standards of the day. Meg is marriageable but has refused all offers preferring to remain mistress of her own fate. She has refused over time "three topping farmers, two bonnet-lairds, and a horse-couper."[49] There is good food and clean accommodations to be had at Meg's inn but few visitors fill her rooms. Instead, the newly rich of the day are to be found at the inn at St. Ronan's Well, where Lady Penelope Penfeather holds sway over a society made up of a doctor, a lawyer, a soldier, a shipowner's widow, a jaded baronet and his upstart wife, and other assorted fortune hunters and social climbers. The only challenge to her preeminence is the occasional presence of the local laird, Sir Mowbray. Life at the Well is concerned with gossip, cards,

dining, and courting. Life at Meg's inn in the past had been busy with sportsmen of noble families. Newspapers are so avidly read at the Well that their circulation must be controlled for fear of their wearing out.[50] The inmates of St. Ronans also pester Mr. Potts, the bookseller, for the latest novels.

Two half-brothers who arrive separately in the area are at odds over a title, an inheritance, and a woman. Valentine has assumed the title, the inheritance, and the woman in a mock marriage. Francis is the rightful heir to the title and the inheritance and loves the woman, Clara Mowbray, the dupe of this marriage, who still lives with her brother (the marriage was kept secret), but she has lost her sanity. Valentine stays at the Well while Francis lodges with Meg Dodds. At Meg Dodds's inn is also a successful commercial man called Mr. Touchwood. He supports Francis's cause and pays Valentine's valet Solmes for information. Solmes works for monetary reward regardless of person or principle.

The local laird, John Mowbray, who has been gambling away his sustenance, is duped by Valentine at the gaming tables. Discovering Valentine's duplicity, Mowbray challenges him to a duel and kills him. To escape prison for murder, the laird joins the army where he learns discipline and care of his purse so that after his return the lands of Mowbray flourish.

While he is away, Clara dies and Francis, broken-hearted, goes off to a monastery; the rich Touchwood is left with no heirs. His first act after the tragedy is to buy the inn at the Well and have it demolished.

At one point in the story Touchwood complains to another of the changes in the country in the forty years he had been away:

> "I left your peasantry as poor as rats indeed, but honest and industrious, enduring their lot in this world with firm-

> ness, and looking forward to the next with hope--Now they are mere eye-servants--looking at their watches, forsooth, every ten minutes, lest they should work for their master half an instant after loosing time--And then, instead of studying the Bible on the work days, to kittle the clergyman with doubtful points of controversy on the Sabbath, they glean all their theology from Tom Paine and Voltaire."[51]

Another time, a party at Mowbray's castle is crashed by "two raw lads from a certain great manufacturing town" who wear Highland plaids but possess no Gaelic tongue.[52] This is the only mention of industrial workers but a free, non-industrial, work force is described as:

> . . . that hopeful class of imps who pick up a precarious livelihood about places of public resort, by going errands, brughing shoes, doing the groom's and coachman's work in the stables, driving donkeys, opening gates, and so forth, for but one tenth part of their time, spending the rest in gambling, sleeping in the sun, and otherwise qualifying themselves to exercise the profession of thieves and pickpockets, either separately, or in conjunction with those of waiters, grooms, and postillions.[53]

In St. Ronan's Well, we see a change in the lives of servants as the parents of Meg Dodds had moved to innkeeping. There is also a change for the worse in the family and finances of the local laird. A new society of dissipation and games has replaced the lusty old society of sportsmen. The commercial success, Mr. Touchwood, retains his financial solidarity throughout the novel but does not gain human fulfillment. He notes the change over the last forty years in the peasantry's attitudes toward work to one of clock watching. Mention is made of two lads from a manufacturing town as gate crashers at a party, but that is our only introduction to the urban lower class.

Redgauntlet (1825)

In Redgauntlet, Scott contrasts a rising line of legal professionals with a dying line of aristocrats. It is 1770 and our heroes are two law students who are good friends, Alan Fairford and Darsie Latimer. The

latter has been staying with the Fairfords in Edinburgh while pursuing his studies, but he tires of the law and takes a trip to the south. He has a private income and the taste and manners of a gentleman, and he finds it difficult to discipline himself to the role of law-apprentice. Alan's father, though he likes Darsie, is relieved to see Darsie go, as he believes the boy to be a poor influence on his son as far as work is concerned. Alan is heading for a higher position at the law than his father held. His father held a higher position than his grandfather had.

In the south, Darsie tries some fishing and runs into a local dispute between the traditional followers of the sport of salmon spearing and the new corporation of Quakers that has set up nets at the mouth of the Firth and gone into the salmon business. The efficiency of the Quakers' nets has cut off the game for the sportsmen. Darsie meets the proponents of each side and spends some time with each. Finally, the sportsmen are so enraged that they attack the fishing station and during the attack Darsie is spirited away. Scott took this incident from a real event.

The deeper intrigues of the Stuart uprising now come to the fore. It seems, unknown to himself, that Darsie is of the Jacobite family Red gauntlet that had been deprived of its lands for its activities in the last uprising of 1745. The mysterious sportsman is actually Hugh Red-gauntlet, Darsie's uncle. He is thoroughly dedicated to the Stuart cause and hopes to have his nephew assist him in raising troops to restore the Stuart line. Once Darsie is enlightened, he and his uncle discuss the fate that shapes men's ends. Hugh says that nothing occurs by chance and that freedom of action belongs to no man. All men, according to Hugh, are tied down by fetters of moral duty enmeshed in the web of

destiny.[54] Darsie claims inability to know the answer to the question of man's destiny and says all that man may do is to "live honestly and die hopefully, without being obliged to form a decided opinion upon a point so far beyond our comprehension."[55]

The home and garden of the Quaker businessman, Joshua Geddes, is described by Darsie in a letter to Alan as overly artificial for Alan's more simple and natural taste. Though Darsie initially enjoyed his stay with Joshua, he soon became bored and went off for a few days and returned only to get caught in the affair of the fishnets. Hugh Redgauntlet talks of the Quaker's nets as "greedy devices with which he ruined a manly sport," and of Joshua as "one of those who, by dint of long prayers, can possess themselves of widows' houses--he will quickly repair his losses."[56] Alan Fairford's father was not in favor of the Quakers either:

> . . . pestilent set of Quakers--a people who own neither priest, nor king, nor civil magistrate, or the fabric of our law, and will not depone either in civilibus or criminalibus, be the loss to lieges what it may. Anent with heresies, it were good ye read "Snake in the Grass," or "the Foot out of the Snare," being both well-approved tracts, touching these doctrines.[57]

Before he was spirited away, Darsie had met blind Wandering Willie, a minstrel who had been a follower of Darsie's father and who promises to be loyal to Darsie, too.

Peter Peebles is an indigent comic character, for whom Alan is to plead his first case in court. Peter is a drunkard and a legal pendant. He has no principles but he uses the principles of the court to get his way. Peter's lack of principles has caused the ruin of others such as Nanty Ewart, the sprightly skipper of the smuggling ship, the Jumping Jenny. Nanty is educated beyond his occupation in life; he spouts Latin to Alan who is following the trail of Darsie on board the Jumping Jenny.

Nanty lives by his wits and exertions, but cares for no man. It is he who finally fells the villain, Cristal Nixon. The latter is in the employ of Hugh Redgauntlet and has his eye on marrying Lillias, Darsie's sister who, the reader understands, is far above him. His treachery earns him an early death, but in dying he also kills Nanty.

The professional hero, Alan, competes with the hereditary hero, Darsie, for first place in Redgauntlet, with the former winning out in romantic style by winning wife and fortune. We are shown changes in fishing from the sport of the aristocrats to the business of a Quaker corporation. Scott draws the final curtain over the Jacobite hopes in this novel. Hugh, the exemplification of the Jacobite cause, sails away after the unsuccessful attempt at rebellion to live with his principles. Darsie, heir to the family title, stays in England to pursue the English life to which he has been raised. Old rank--Lillias--is married to the new money of Alan gained in the legal profession. No factory workers or manufacturing are encountered in these pages.

Thus the novel again documents the decline of the indigenous aristocracy and their political and economic and moral way of life. It also documents the rise of the commercial interests and the survival power of those aristocrats who can make a shift to the new sober commercial classes. And finally, industry is not a factor in the story.

Summary

Social World of the Novels

Scott's treatment of his main characters reveals his view of aristocratic and middle-class standards as well as the relative position of each class in society. The basic relationships that tie social life to-

gether indicate the changes he saw going on around him. And a look at the social types that marriage joins together in his novels gives an insight into how Scott saw personal actions reflecting these social changes.

Edward Waverley is a recognized aristocrat at the beginning of Waverley. Harry and Lovel, the successful heroes of the next two novels (Guy Mannering and The Antiquary), are of unknown lineage at first, but are revealed as aristocrats by the novels' ends. The hero of the next novel, Frank Osbaldistone (Rob Roy), begins as a clerk in a counting-house but gains title and land before the end of the novel. In the Heart of Midlothian, a farmer's daughter is the heroine who succeeds by virtue of the mercy of the Crown and her own uprightness. St. Ronan's Well contains no personal successes. Francis goes off to a monastery in grief over the death of Clara. However, his right to title, inheritance, and the woman were established. Of the dual heroes of Redgauntlet, it is ultimately Alan, the professional, who triumphs while Darsie's aristocratic world diminishes. Alan does not succeed to any title, but does succeed in the professional world as lawyer and is able to marry the daughter of old lineage. Scott's novels preside over the demise of the aristocratic world and the rise of the professional and business worlds. But the ultimate criteria of mobility is still recognition as or intermarriage with an old family.

The aristocrats who are established at the beginning of the novels, from Sir Everard (Waverley) to Lord Mowbrary (St. Ronan's Well) and Hugh Redgauntlet (Redgauntlet), show a diminished power and fortune. Sir Everard can no longer train and supply his own troop to attend his nephew. The Earl in The Antiquary must get permission to retain his troop intact. The Bertram lairds (Guy Mannering) have dissipated their

fortunes. Sir Arthur (Antiquary) is in financial difficulty. Rob Roy is a hunted criminal and Sir Hildebrand Osbaldistone and his sons are dissident wastrels. Lord Mowbray (St. Ronan's Well) is not even a sympathetic character; his fortunes are mightily depleted and he quickly gambles the rest away. Hugh Redgauntlet is the last giant of a crumbling period; with him the political potency of his family ebbs. The young aristocrats like Edward Waverley and Lovel, established in the earlier novels, are seen upholding tradition by marrying wives of aristocratic lineage and diminishing estates.

By contrast, the middle classes appear more successful, at least in business and professionally, and that seems their concern. Oldbuck stands out as a Whig in his early pro-Napoleon stance, but with the threat of the French invasion he is drawn back into expressing his nationalist identity over ideological purity. Hugh Redgauntlet, an aristocrat, made the opposite choice in choosing political principles over his homeland. There is no memorable middle class character in Waverley. Guy Mannering is a successful retired soldier who has money from the estate of a successful commercial uncle and prestige from membership in a notable old family, but no title. His is hardly a middle-class success story, and his respect for the authentic aristocratic families is seen in his accepting Harry as a prospective son-in-law. Oldbuck (Antiquary), on the other hand, was a successful commercial man before inheriting the family title and land. Further, his interests show him as educated and something of an intellectual. Mr. Osbaldistone in the background of Rob Roy is a successful merchant and remains so. Bailie Jarvie is also a commercial success and does not care about lineage. Jeanie (Heart of Midlothian) and Reuben are successful members of the middle class.

Touchwood (St. Ronan's Well) is very successful in business but fails in his personal life. Joshua's (Redgauntlet) life is seen as pleasantly middle class, and his setback at the fisheries is only temporary. His kind will prevail. And Alan (Redgauntlet), the epitome of middle-class success, is a financially successful lawyer who is also socially successful.

There are a few shady middle-class characters, including Glossins (Guy Mannering), Cristal Nixon (Redgauntlet), Andrew Fairservice (Rob Roy), and Nanty Ewart (Redgauntlet). The first two are upstarts who are cut down for their greed. Glossins manipulates affairs until he is able to purchase the Ellangowan estates, but this does not bring the sought-after status. He is finally toppled when his treachery is uncovered. Cristal Nixon's treachery ends in his death. Neither of these two were given any appealing characteristics. Nanty gets a near-hero's death as he slays the dragon Nixon, only to be slain in return. Only Andrew Fairservice succeeds by dint of opportunism and unquenchable perseverance.

Traditional power and authority are giving way to legal-rational forms in Scott's novels. However, there are some holdovers. While the authority to raise troops that rested with the local aristocrats has gone to the government in London, the traditional authority and influence of lineage and land still prevail as a basis for prestige. Successful merchants and professionals marry the offspring of old lineage and land.

Traditional bonds include those of loyalty between master and servant (Waverley, Guy Mannering, St. Ronan's Well), loyalty to family (Redgauntlet), loyalty to clan (Rob Roy), and to principles (Hugh Redgauntlet) in Redgauntlet. In addition there is a duty to society and to a Supreme Being, as illustrated by Oldbuck's reminder to Lovel in the

Antiquary.

Legal-rational bonds include the law and legal authorizations as in the case of the militia leader in Waverley who refused to follow the verbal orders of the major, or of Rob Roy who had the payment of his debt legally witnessed, or of Effie's trial (Heart of Midlothian) which followed the letter of the law. There are also the calculating bonds of material reward, intellectual attainment, and social success. The farmer in Waverley who aids Edward for money and the valet Solmes in St. Ronan's Well who informs for money are instances where calculation of reward prevailed over traditional bonds of loyalty. The intellectual bond is illustrated in the meeting and relationship of Lovel and Oldbuck (Antiquary). Lovel, before he learns of his parentage, is an individual without traditional ties except for Oldbuck's reminder of his duty to society and to a Supreme Being after he expresses a feeling of alienation from all social bonds.

The tutor's parents in Guy Mannering calculate that education as a clergyman will bring their son a higher status in life. Glossin, in the same novel, calculates his success by a bit of symbolic boasting (Duncan's term) in the purchase of the Ellangowan estates. The people at St. Ronan's Well calculate their social enhancement in participating in the life there rather than at the inn of Meg Dodds. The ghost in the Antiquary suggests that skill and the use of natural talents and advantages can make for social success without the advantages of lineage and position. The ghost seems to speak for Scott.

Patriotism and nationalism are made up of both traditional and legal-rational elements. Scott describes the traditional patriotism of the rural Scotts (Heart of Midlothian) and the clan loyalties (Rob Roy), which

develop over time out of continuous association. He also emphasized nationalism, which joins all types together in defense against a threatened French invasion (Antiquary). One can think of patriotism both as traditional and as a rationally calculated joining of diverse groups to maintain one's style of life. Traditional patriotism was defended by troops raised by the local lairds. A more modern nationalism is defended by troops levied by law to represent the nation.

Scott painted the supporters of traditional bonds in the characters of Rob Roy and Hugh Redgauntlet, to name two, as romantic but diminishing in power and influence. The legal-rational bonds, represented by Bailie Jarvie and Mr. Osbaldistone (Rob Roy) and Alan Fairford (Redgauntlet) are mundane but growing in power and influence.

The group-oriented traditional bonds of Rob Roy and Hugh Redgauntlet give way to the individual-oriented rationale of Andrew Fairservice (Rob Roy) and Glossins (Guy Mannering), to the business-oriented rationale of Jarvie and Osbaldistone (Rob Roy), and to the detachment of Lovel (Antiquary). However, the collective response to the threat of the French invasion (Antiquary) indicates that individuals pursuing their own ends can act together in a common defense.

The marriage bonds indicate how aristocrats and middle-class professionals and commercial people felt about lineage, land, and economic success. The economic condition of the landed aristocrat was stagnating and no longer provided enough to sustain the old estates and life style. Economic decisions and monetary rewards accrued to the commercial interests while legal decisions, at the heart of changing allegiances and authority, were making the efforts of lawyers more important and rewarding. Thus we see marriages in the first three of the novels are

between men with title, land, and fortune, and women of good lineage and salvageable lands or fortune. Rob Roy shows a change--a groom who, beside the title and land, has a successful commercial career in the counting-house of his father. His bride is lovely and personable and of ancient, noble lineage but, as the family was Jacobite, has no land or fortune. The Heart of Midlothian contains the happy union of a farmer's daughter and the local clergyman, and the tragedy ridden union across class lines between the farmer's daughter and the heir to a title. In St. Ronan's Well, illegal alliances cloud lineage and inheritances, and prevent a love match. Redgauntlet shows the successful professional man, Alan, marrying the young lady of ancient lineage. The values and characteristics associated with the rising success of the workaday world provide success for those characters who embody them.

Growing literacy and the circulation of printed matter indicated by the broadsheets of the hanging (Heart of Midlothian), the novel and newspaper reading (St. Ronan's Well), and the postal service (Antiquary), are developing paths of communication in Scott's novels. The application of the values of honesty, hard work, and competence produce success, as seen in Bailie Jarvie (Rob Roy) and Alan Fairford (Redgauntlet). These can be compared with the failures of Glossins (Guy Mannering), Valentine (St. Ronan's Well), or Darsie (Redgauntlet).

Demographic Factors

In these novels cities have grown up around ancient castles which are now used as jails or administrative centers. Edward (Waverley) is taken off by the militia to the castle at Stirling for justice. Effie is imprisoned in the old castle at Edinburgh (Heart of Midlothian).

The city is also the center for cultural and economic dominance.

London, the most powerful city at the time, influences the thinking of the populace of Edinburgh, as seen in the comments of the populace as they walk home from the hanging place (Heart of Midlothian). The Scottish populace resents the power of London but it is one of the facts of life. They rationalize Scottish smuggling by pointing to London oppression by tax and fee. In Rob Roy the reader hears how the starving Highlanders move down to the city of Glasgow and take up new occupations that help support the growth of manufacturing. These Highlanders lived by themselves in the city.

Military action brings some temporary migrations across Scotland, providing new associations. The expelling of gypsies from the land (Guy Mannering, Heart of Midlothian) sends some into smuggling and others into being highwaymen. The public coach provides transportation and new associations in the Antiquary.

Some small villages, like that in St. Ronan's Well, are stimulated by a migration of socialites in search of fashionable pleasures.

Industrialism

The industrial world is not to the liking of traditional aristocrats like Rob Roy. Its workers live in cities in Scott's novels (St. Ronan's Well, Rob Roy, Heart of Midlothian). These include the raw lads of the great manufacturing town, the Highlanders starved down from the hills into Glasgow, and the journeymen mechanics of Edinburgh. They are recruited from starving Highlanders and from imps, thieves, and pickpockets (St. Ronan's Well). The Highlanders live by themselves in the city. The raw lads are gatecrashers at a laird's party. The journeymen mechanics politely escort ladies off the streets of Edinburgh before the crowd action. But order breaks down now and again as seen by the rioting

urban crowds (Heart of Midlothian).

Some servants still retain old relationships based on personal loyalty between worker and master as exemplified by Sir Arthur's servant (Antiquary) and the ex-retainer of Sir Everard (Waverley). However, Touchwood complains in St. Ronan's Well how the peasants have turned clockwatchers now that money wages have replaced the old bonds of loyalty. Furthermore, money is able to buy information from workers about their employers as with Solmes (St. Ronan's Well). Money can also buy support, as the farmer in Waverley was paid to help Edward escape.

Traditional workers like the fisherman Mucklebackit and his family (Antiquary) are seen as happy and contented but slatternly in their life style and unable to manage their financial affairs. They, however, remain loyal to the persons and secrets of their traditional betters.

There is some social mobility from the servant position over generations, as noted by the inn owned and run by Meg Dodds, whose parents were servants.

Thus Scott documents the decline of the order that fell at Culloden, an order that is being replaced by a new middle-class order that has not yet entirely solved its problems. The problems are the rise of the mob, the decline of rural life, the urban poor, the exploitation of Scotland by England, the moral decline of the aristocracy, and the failure of the new middle class to develop a uniform code equivalent to the code of honor of the old aristocracy.

Scott is only dimly aware of the industrial working class. His own preference for the regional rural life of the aristocrat may be the reason for his placing the rioting, grimy horizons, and hangings near the cities and industrializing life. Scott does not decide for us whether the new

business ways of the Quaker are to be desired over the adventure of the old sportsmen, or if the money-grubbing of the rising professional and businessmen is to be preferred over the leisure pursuits of the old aristocracy. He indicates the change to the new monetary determinants of life based on legitimate work, and at the same time laments the passing of the romanticized life of old. He points to the mediocrity and boring quality of the business life style and its supporters and at the same time to the over-weening arrogance and self-interest or dynastic dedication of the old aristocrat.

Arthur's Vision

Scott's vision of life, as shown in his novels as well as in his actions and stated beliefs, is that of a practical man whose application to work has brought him success in life. He values the life of a lord as he romanticizes it and creates for himself a pleasant version of this life at his estate at Abbotsford that is dependent not on lineage and land but on his successful writing. He is a man who makes himself.

In Oldbuck's admonishment to Lovel (Antiquary) Scott reminds his readers that there is a duty to one's fellow man as well as to a Supreme Being. No specific theology is defined in this statement except the thought that one has social responsibilities and that perhaps there is some larger Being than man, revealing a hierarchical idea of man's place in the cosmos.

A less sympathetic character, Hugh Redgauntlet (Redgauntlet), counsels Darsie that men are enmeshed in a moral duty shaped by destiny. This belief and Hugh's interpretation of it causes his exile and the decline of his fortunes. Scott shows different characters embracing different visions of cause-and-effect in life. Darsie, who is a more sympathetic

character, responds to his uncle that knowledge of destiny is beyond comprehension and man can only live honestly and die hopefully.

The law is not beyond questioning by Scott and his characters. The crowd that hangs Porteous (Heart of Midlothian) is seen as rational and organized. Having determined that justice was not done, they undertake to carry out the deed. In focusing upon the problems of Effie's case, Scott shows how laws can be time-bound and not socially useful or morally just. The crowd at Meg Murdock's hanging is emotional and superstitious and causes the death of Mad Madge. Scott points to reason as the proper basis for law and justice--not to a Being outside of life or to predestined fate or even to traditional law. However, law is at the heart of the city, as seen in its product, the jail.

Scott romanticized and dramatized his own life in terms of the traditional good life as this was possible in the flux of Regency England, where money and competence as a lawyer and writer could maintain the gentleman's life and his social acceptance. His imagination creates a romantic glow around the lives of dynastic heroes such as Rob Roy or Fergus McIvor or even Hugh Redgauntlet, but while their persons may be romantically attractive, the worlds they represent are not. The starving, ragged, illiterate, maurauding class of Rob Roy and Fergus McIvor appeal only to the young adventurer. Although Darsie is attracted by the romantic, handsome person of his uncle, the idea of shouldering the moral duty of destiny is abhorrent to him. And, though Scott makes Frank Osbaldistone and Alan Fairford rather limp characters, he paints Bailie Jarvie as comic, Joshua's life as comfortable but boring, and Jeanie's uprightness as causing a great deal of difficulty and almost the death of her sister. Still, virtue is the path for Scott: "The paths of virtue,

though seldom those of worldly greatness, are always those of pleasantness and peace."[58] This virtue is associated with Scott's middle-class characters who work for a living.

Thus Scott provides the fictional picture of the social world of England as it enters the nineteenth century. The economic, political, and social positions of the aristocratic landowner (Mowbray) and the traditional leader (Fergus, Rob Roy) ebb as those of the moneyed professional (Alan Fairford) and the successful commercial man (Touchwood, the Quaker Joshua) gain. The population is seen on the highways and urban mobs are in evidence. Industry is drawing workers to the cities as seen by the migration of starving highlanders, the journeymen mechanics of Edinburgh and the raw lads from the manufacturing town who crashed Lord Mowbray's party. They are not personally introduced to the reader. In the next chapter the authors and the novels discussed show the development of a new urban gentleman, concern for tradesmen's morals and manners, and the beginnings of concern for the exploitation of factory workers.

Notes to Chapter III

[1]Lionel Stevenson, The English Novel (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1960), p. 225.

[2]Edgar Johnson, Sir Walter Scott: The Great Unknown, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1970), p. 355.

[3]Ibid., p. 576.

[4]Ibid., p. 878.

[5]Ibid., pp. 977-8.

[6]Mary Clive, This Sun of York: A Biography of Edward IV (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1974), p. 133.

[7]Ibid., p. 67.

[8]Ibid., pp. 107, 276.

[9]Sir Walter Scott, Waverley Novels, Illustrated Library ed., Waverly, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass.), 2:185.

[10]Ibid., pp. 47-48.

[11]Ibid., p. 49.

[12]Scott, Waverley Novels, Guy Mannering, 2:299.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Scott, Waverley Novels, The Antiquary, 1:69.

[15]Ibid., p. 187.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid., p. 155.

[18]Ibid., p. 217.

[19]The Hammonds in The Town Laborer, pp. 7-8 wrote that rising industrialists came from highly motivated craftsmen and apprentices in society and that only landowners with commercially useful mineral rights were able to profit by industrialization.

[20]George Eliot, "Natural History of German Life," Westminister Review X ns (1856):54.

[21]Scott, The Antiquary, 2:59.

[22]Ibid., p. 283.

[23]Ibid., p. 292.

[24]Ibid., p. 293.

[25]Scott, Waverley Novels, Rob Roy, 2:74.

[26]Ibid., p. 71.

[27]Ibid., p. 115.

[28]Ibid., p. 113.

[29]Ibid., pp. 23-24.

[30]Ibid., p. 254.

[31]Ibid., p. 255.

[32]Ibid., p. 256.

[33]Ibid., p. 259.

[34]Ibid., pp. 288-9.

[35]Scott, Waverley Novels, Heart of Midlothian, 1:37.

[36]Ibid., p.32.

[37]Ibid., p. 53.

[38]Ibid., p. 98.

[39]Ibid., p. 111.

[40]Ibid., p. 115.

[41]Ibid., p. 116.

[42]Ibid., 2:197-8.

[43]Ibid., p. 145.

[44]Ibid., 1:172, 177.

[45]Ibid., p. 211.

[46]Ibid., 2:7.

[47]Ibid., p. 405.

[48]Johnson, pp. 973-6.

[49]Scott, Waverley Novels, St. Ronan's Well, 1:19.

[50]Ibid., p. 82.

[51]Ibid., pp. 230-1.

[52]Ibid., 2:31.

[53]Ibid., p. 176.

[54]Scott, Waverley Novels, Redgauntlet, 2:15.

[55]Ibid., p. 17.

[56]Ibid., p. 21.

[57]Ibid., 1:141.

[58]Scott, Waverley Novels, Heart of Midlothian, 2:405.

Chapter IV

A Miscellany of Authors and Their Novels

The novels discussed in this chapter cover aspects of Period I and the Regency life which Scott left untouched. They include: Amelia Opie's Tales of Real Life (1802) and New Tales (1806); William Godwin's Fleetwood (1805); Fanny Burney's The Wanderer (1814); Jane Austen's Mansfield Park (1814), Emma (1815), Northanger Abbey (1816), and Persuasion (1818); Pierce Egan's Life in London (1821); John Galt's Ayrshire Legatees (1821) and Andrew Wylie (1822); and Edward Bulwer-Lytton's Pelham (1828) and Paul Clifford (1830).

Aristocrats, rural gentry, urban gentlemen, ladies, the socially mobile, and tradesmen dominate their pages. Their plots indicate different criteria for the social acceptance of their characters. There are signs of changes in the social life of both city and country. In Scotland, we read of upstart weavers and, in London, of the life of Regency swells, young men of fashion. Even Jane Austen's rural gentry are rocked by London life.

The first two authors, Opie and Godwin, were considered radicals in their day; the next two, Burney and Austen, were proper traditionalists; and the last three give an insight into the liberal position as they attempted to document and come to terms with a changing social reality. These authors had different perspectives of and different exposures to the bourgeoisie that developed unevenly throughout England. Only one of these authors, Bulwer-Lytton, was of aristocratic birth. Among the

fathers of the remaining authors were a doctor, an historian, and several ministers. Fanny Burney's father was attached to the court and she herself was for a while a lady-in-waiting. Court life included foreign assignments and travel within England so that her novel follows its name The Wanderer.

Egan and Bulwer-Lytton wrote of London and its life while Austen, who disliked London, wrote of rural areas to the south and west of the city. Opie and Godwin, considered radicals in their day, hailed from Norfolk and included regional settings in their work as well as the London of their adulthood. Galt wrote of the Scotland of his birth and the London of his adulthood. All of these authors, however, came to London to publish their work.[1]

There are differences in the readership of these novels. While Godwin's suited the poor man,[2] Austen's appealed to a more cultivated audience.[3] Fanny Burney's novels were more widely read in her time than were Jane Austen's, although the latter's works have been more widely read since then. Burney's The Wanderer earned £ 7000 for its author[4] while Austen's Mansfield Park published in the same year 1814 earned less than £ 350 for its author.[5] Yet all of these novels and authors, according to both Saintsbury and Stevenson, are representative of the period.

The place of the novel in the nineteenth century social life was viewed differently by the various authors. Fanny Burney saw the novel as an exercise for the imagination which "points out the path of honour; and gives to juvenile credulity knowledge of the world, without ruin or repentence; and the lessons of experience without its tears."[6] William Godwin used his novels to expose the exploitation of child labor in French silk mills and push for social reform; similarly, Amelia Opie

attempted to expose certain social problems that developed in a changing social order. Pierce Egan introduced the life of the London swell to his readers and encouraged the young to take up the exciting life of the city, while Jane Austen illustrated and extolled the standards of conduct and life characteristic of the rural gentry. Edward Burney-Lytton explored the question of how birth and environment affect the development of an individual by his imaginative fictional recreations of London life based on his observations, and Galt showed his readers how a young cottager could move up and be accepted by way of the legal profession.

The Authors and Their Novels

Amelia Opie

The perspective of Amelia Opie, a young lady of fashion who became a novelist and a Quaker, gives her reader a notion of some of the problems of social change at the beginning of the century. She saw the problems of tradesmen raising their children outside a traditional community dominated by the authority of the local lord and local landowning customs. She presented an unfavorable view of ladies who follow impulses of generosity rather than heed the costs and payments required by the orderly market dynamics characteristic of a commercial economy. And finally, she portrayed the nouveaux riches who attempt to buy their way into the upper circles of social life. Her two books of Tales (1802, 1806) contribute to the reader's understanding of the changes in social life that occurred with the movement from an agricultural society to an industrial one. Uniquely, for her time, she used a person other than a gentleman or a lady as a protagonist in some of her stories.

"Austin and Wife" tells of a shopkeeper, Austin, who has moved to

another town from that of his birth to open a business. He and his wife hope to raise their son to be an honest tradesman. Austin's rearing of his son includes the withholding of pleasure as punishment for undesirable behavior and the rewarding of good behavior. Austin's tradesman friend, who is also trying to raise a son to be a worthy member of the community, believes that corporal punishment is the proper discipline for raising a son.

Both men agree that in the tradesman's world more than in others, it is necessary to inculcate the importance of honesty at a very early age. Austin comments on this importance:

> " . . . I look on our class in society, as it is the most numerous next to the lowest order of all, to be, as it were, the chief depository of a country's virtue and a country's happiness, as our morality has not those artificial fences which guard the higher orders. The gentlemen, beginning, from the class immediately above us till one comes to the highest of all ranks, a rank above restraint because above responsibility, is restrained from lying, fraud, and so forth, by a sort of factitious honour, if he has not the real one. He is always acting a part, and must abstain at least from ungentlemanly vices, though he may not have good principles. Therefore, though he may game, intrigue, and run in debt, he is not exposed to those temptations which in a humbler walk of life lead to lying, to dishonest practices in trade, to swindling, to the road, and to the gallows".[7]

While the gentleman's son can be kept from lying by feelings of shame and the threat of being called out in a duel if he is caught, there is no such moral tradition for tradesman's sons.

The mother's indulgence undercuts Austin's attempts at discipline, and the boy grows up to be a robber and unknowingly robs his own parents one night and contributes to the murder of his mother. Neither does the son of the other tradesman become an honest tradesman. Opie seems to be saying that calculating ends and means in child rearing are not enough to produce a worthwhile member of society. A traditional code of honor

has aided the shaping of gentlemen but there is nothing like this for tradesmen. Tradesmen do not yet have a pride of common identification with each other.

In "Lady Jane and Lady Anne", another of the Tales of Real Life (1802), Opie illustrates in the lives of these two friends and ladies of fashion how sympathy to those one sees and kindness on impulse are not the backbone of the good life for society. It is more important that one follow the rules and regulations and pay one's bills at all times so that the poor and the workers will not be destitute. She emphasizes the web of economic relations that guide the proper functioning of social life and disparages impulsive generosity to the poor. Lady Jane is the impulsive lady, and Lady Anne is the judicious one. Lady Jane does not pay her bills, and orders more than she can pay for. She is generous with persons exploiting her largesse. Finally, a florist who is in debt because Lady Jane does not pay him, commits suicide; and his wife, enraged with grief, stabs Lady Jane to death. Lady Anne does not initially receive credit for her humanity in tending to her affairs properly, but slowly her worth is seen and recognized. It seems that the traditional noblesse oblige via personal impulse must give way to economic regulation for the proper functioning of social life.

In "Ruffian Boy", one of the New Tales (1806), Opie shows a beautiful young lady being pursued by a vengeful young man whom she had spurned earlier as a nouveaux riche. His manners made him totally unacceptable to the young lady, but he persists, and he has money earned by his self-made parents. Ultimately, the young man is jailed and the heroine believes that prison, if it is properly regulated, will help the young man to

learn moral and religious truths and habits of industry which will reform his heart and ways and that afterwards a life of penitence to God will reconcile him to life.[8] Thus Opie sees the economically mobile rejected socially by the upper circles because of a lack of upper-class manners. Further she expresses the notion that religion and God reconcile one to one's place in life. Opie's social recipe for a moral tradition, for fulfilling one's economic obligations, and for staying in one's class, as seen in her Tales, resembles the thought of Burney and Austen more than that of the radical Godwin. Opie's upbringing was in aristocratic and upper-middle class social circles in London, which would account for her traditionalism. It was only as an adult married woman that she became a Quaker and renounced the social whirl.

William Godwin

William Godwin was a leading radical of the early part of the nineteenth century who advocated the overthrow of existing systems of government, religion, family, and accumulated private property as it existed in his day. His novel Fleetwood (1805) tells the story of a young English gentleman and provides a vehicle through which Godwin can communicate the harshness of child labor in a textile factory and the callous way the conditions were accepted by the townspeople of Lyons, France. By using a French textile mill Godwin could better avoid the anger of English manufacturers. It is the first and best illustration of factory conditions in our sample.

In the novel, the young Fleetwood is told the story of the youth of Ruffigny, an old friend of his father. As an orphaned child, Ruffigny had been sent by an uncle, anxious to get control of the boy's estate,

to Lyons to live with a working-class family and to work in the silk mills at the age of eight. The family had two sons who impressed the young Ruffigny as "sordid and groveling in their habits."[9] The father of the family explained to Ruffigny, as he escorted the boy to his first workday at the mill, the "advantages" of the silk mills to society in general and to parents in particular. In the first place, one did not have the bother of paying for an apprenticeship and of being a journeyman for seven years as in some trades. Secondly, work was found for those as young as four years old so that they were not a burden to their parents. Because of their employment, children were not seen running wild and ragged about the streets as in other towns. Instead, they were trained to be quiet, orderly, attentive, and industrious. There was no poverty in the town, nor idleness, nor rioting, nor debauchery because of the employment at the mills.[10]

Ruffigny found the factory to be organized on four floors, with power provided by one horse on the ground floor. Three to four thousand reels, or swifts, lined the walls and were in constant motion winding the silk from the bobbins. Men, women, and children of all ages were working in the mill. Each child had to maintain the threads of fifty-six bobbins. When a thread broke it was the child's responsibility to turn the swift, find the broken end, and join it to the broken end of the bobbin. They each had a space of about ten feet to pace in. Children who were too short carried a stool or wore iron buskins on their feet to elevate them. This prevented them from developing a natural walking gait which made them visible to the populace. The children appeared sallow, with flaccid muscles and vacant stares. Their workday was from six to six, with one-half hour off for breakfast and one hour for dinner.

The adult Ruffigny explains to Fleetwood that the child's development must take place in freedom for intellectual and physical growth, and that the factory environment interferes with this process. Ruffigny thinks that everyone should be able to develop competence enough to permit themselves to plan and to provide for themselves. He points out that even gypsies and savages have more freedom for physical development than the mill children, who suffer deformities and retarded growth from an early age and will probably not be productive enough in their adulthood to support themselves.[11]

Although impressed at the time with Ruffigny's story, Fleetwood does nothing to work to improve child labor conditions. Instead, he returns to his London literary circle, even though he considers very few of its members to be worthwhile acquaintances. He runs for Parliament by calculating and manipulating the response of voters rather than by supporting reform. He now sees himself as a calculating modern man because he was able to select a goal and pursue it to the end.[12] Nevertheless, he bemoans the passing of the great families of the past in the coming of a "commercial and arithmetical" England led by upstarts, "fattened on the vitals of their fellow-citizens" and who have caused the moral strength of England to be dissipated.[13]

Godwin tends to look to the past as stronger morally, and to see country freedom as superior to urban work. He does not see social benefit arising from working in the silk mills except, ironically, when he has the workman telling Ruffigny about the lack of poverty and idleness in the town because children of four years and above are raised within the mill at work. His pleas for protecting the child from exploitation are directed to the old middle class of "moral sinew" and established family, since

the modern man is too opportunistic in his own interest to act on behalf of children.

Fanny Burney (Madame D'Arblay)

Fanny Burney, in The Wanderer (1814), relates the trials of a gentlewoman who must earn her own living in early nineteenth century rural England There are no industrial workers in the novel, but the reader is shown the conditions and kinds of work available to a lady of the period who would remain a lady. Rural laborers in the novel are shown as coarse, and the dream of the romantic rural life is shattered for the heroine. The need for proper lineage and its documentation, in addition to the proper behavior and associations for membership in the upper orders, makes social mobility almost unknown. The tradesmen try to ape their betters and gain acceptance socially. They have the money, but not the social graces, lineage, or associations to make them acceptable. Craftsmen even lack money since the gentry do not pay their bills.

The heroine Ellis uses her talents as a needlewoman, singer, and harpist to support herself. Her wanderings permit the reader a look at the countryside, the social order, and the economic scene. She notes the differences between working people and the gentry in the language and manners used by each group. Thus when Ellis is wandering through New Forest a carter takes her for one of the loose local girls. His coarse talk is not what a lady of Ellis's position would expect from a carter:

> "Why you be us betimes, my lovey! Come and Ize give you a cast."
> This was followed by terms of coarse endearment, then, accompanied a more pressing desire that she should advance.[14]

Ellis has the manners and language of a lady, but she has no bona fide position; and this gap is also shown by the ambiguity of Ellis's

position with the gentry. Even though the gentry in the story take pity on the stranger and carry her to her destination she must ride in the carriage with the maids.

The occupations open to the wanderer are very limited. Although a position as opera singer is offered to her, Ellis refuses, and Harliegh, her suitor, is relieved because her acceptance would have closed the social door between them. Ellis attempts to live-in as a governess, to live on her own and work as a milliner in a shop, and, finally, to take pupils for harp lessons. None of these attempts are successful.

To get the job at the milliner's, Ellis has to pay an apprentice fee and promise not to work independently for three years. Working at the milliner's changes Ellis's ideas about working women:

> . . . her compassion for the milliner and the work-women somewhat diminished; for she found that their notions of probity were as lax as those of their customers were of justice; and saw that their own rudeness to those who had neither rank nor fortune, kept pace with the haughtiness which they were forced to support, from those by whom both were possessed.[15]

Working at the milliner's also changes Ellis's ideas about the gentry. A character in the story comments on the failure of the gentry to pay its bills and the effects:

> "We ought all of us to be ashamed of being warmed and dizened in silks and satins if the poor weavers who fabricate them, and all their wives and babies, are shivering in tatters; and to toss and tumble ourselves about, on couches and arm-chairs, if the poor carpenters, and upholsterers, and joiners, who have had all the labour of constructing them, can't find a seat for their weary limbs!"[16]

When Ellis decides to take in pupils for harp lessons, she is told by Miss Arbe, her patron in this undertaking, to take tradesmen's daughters as pupils as well as the gentry's daughters, since tradesmen are more apt to pay their bills. Thus while the gentry do not pay, tradesmen like

Mr. Tedman, the grocer, have gotten rich and are anxious for their daughters to be as accomplished as those of the gentry. Ellis is also warned not to treat the tradesmen's daughters the same way as she treats the gentry's daughters but to offer the former only the undesirable hours for lessons. Without special treatment the daughters of the gentry would not come as pupils, and without the gentry pupils, the lessons would not be socially desirable to the tradesmen's daughters; and without the tradesmen's daughters the teacher might not be paid. Mr. Tedman is seen by Ellis as coarse but civil and well-intentioned, while his daughter is simply vulgar in her attempts at social climbing.

Ellis, unable to support herself in the town, turns to the countryside to find peace and tranquility. She goes to live with a pleasant old woman in a picturesque cottage. At first, she considers the life of the farm laborer as free from anxiety:

> Paid for his work by the day, the labourer had not anxiety for the morrow, the ground he was to plough, or till, or sow, was not his own, the goodness, badness, and variations of the weather touched not his property, nor endangered his subsistence. Be the seasons, therefore, what they might, he was not to be pitied . . . .[17]

Later, she decides:

> . . . no view of amelioration to his destiny enlivened his prospect; no opening to better days spurred his industry; and, as all action is debased, or exalted, by its motive; and all labour, by its object; those who struggle but to eat and sleep, may be saved from solicitude, but cannot be elevated to prosperity. He could not, therefore, be envied.[18]

Miss Burney's novel portrays the aristocratic standards of life of her time. Her novel paints large gulfs between those who follow the aristocratic pattern and others. It is not enough to have the manners and language of the aristocrat to be accepted, one must also be certified by established parentage. Further, one must not participate in activities

or occupations considered unworthy of the aristocratic life style. The restrictions on how a lady may earn her livelihood and still remain a lady are indicated by Ellis's attempts at singing, teaching, and sewing and the response to these attempts by the characters of the novel.

Miss Burney does not romanticize the worker; for example, she notes that the honesty of the women working in the milliner's shop is as lax as the gentry's justice. Nor is the country life romanticized, as she finds that although the farm laborer has no anxiety over the results of his labors, he is unable to contemplate any betterment in his position in life. (Burney indicates that the farm laborer is alienated from the fruits of his production in the same way that Marx would later indicate that the industrial laborer is alienated).

No industrial workers are seen in her pages, but there is evidence of some changes pressing at the traditional society in the action of the tradesmen who, having attained affluence, now seek social acceptance by the gentry. At the top of her social order, Burney places the aristocrat. She stresses the refinement of aristocratic characters in the novel and the coarseness of all others. Below the aristocrats are the land-owning gentry, followed by the tradesmen who have become rich, the hard working craftsmen, and at the bottom the carter and the farm laborer.

Fanny Burney attempts to develop her characters from experience in the novel and not from traditional romantic ideas of the happy, carefree peasant; she is a traditionalist in not permitting her heroine to marry until her lineage is established as above reproach. Thus she describes the traditional class system of England and emphasizes its impenetrability, but does document the rise of the trading, merchant class--which she dislikes. She appears to be unaware of the industrial worker.

Jane Austen

The world of Jane Austen's novels is the pleasant, virtuous world of the rural gentry and does not include the industrial worker. In fact, even servants are hardly noticed. The city of London, although only indicated from afar, is a place of high social life that is often the center of corruption for one or more of her characters, such as Frank in Emma or the Crawfords in Mansfield Park. Her characters are country gentry and none of her heroes claim aristocratic lineage. The gentry in the country are seen socializing at house parties, seeking suitable marriage partners (ones with proper family connections and/or ones with adequate finances), and going off to Bath for the social season. Miss Austen is concerned with the proper standards of gentry life and the problems of finding a suitable husband in rural areas where there are limited family contacts of the right sort. Bath proves popular because so many of the gentry descend upon it in the social season that the young daughters of the gentry may find an approved marriage partner. But, as we see, scalawags like William Elliot in Persuasion and the upstart family of the Thorpes in Northanger Abbey also frequent Bath, seeking opportunities to advance in life.[19]

Austen, who never married, lived the life of a daughter of the country gentry. Her father was an Oxford-educated clergyman and she had a good education. The money she earned from her writings was very welcome, yet, following her ladylike standards, she refused to publicize her novels and depended on word-of-mouth advertising among a cultivated group to develop her audience. Over the century her novels gained in fame and in size of audience.

She knew London from visits, traveling through it to visit her brother

and his family in Kent as well as from living there for a short time with another brother; but she preferred the Hampshire countryside of her birth. Her brother Henry took care of the publishing and sales of her manuscripts so that she did not learn the trade side of her occupation first-hand.

Northanger Abbey (1816), written in the eighteenth century but not published till 1816, is a tale of a rural clergyman's daughter from Wiltshire, Catherine Morland, who visits Bath and is at first taken in by the superficialities of the social scene and its manipulators, especially as represented by the Thorpes. She meets Henry Tilney, a general's son, at one of the social affairs and falls in love with him. Henry's father frowns on his son's relationship with the heroine because she is not well-to-do. After Henry's sister manages to marry a titled man of fortune, she is able to persuade her father that the union of the Morland girl who is of acceptable parentage and a modest dowry will not be too disastrous. The marriage then takes place. Northanger Abbey is the family home of the Tilneys. While Scott's heroes brought financial support to brides of good lineage, Austen's heroines must provide a degree of both to their gentry bridegrooms.

Servants are mentioned only eight times in the novel, which is remarkable considering what a large part they played in the life of the nineteenth century gentry. Even when they are mentioned they are not seen personally. Evidently Austen either was uninterested in their lives or felt her audience was.

In Mansfield Park (1814), set in Northampton, servants are again sketchily drawn. However there are exceptions. Beddeley, the butler at Mansfield, is mentioned several times by both name and in incident. Mrs.

Bertram's maid, Chapman, is important to the story in a small degree as she helps Fanny prepare for a party. Rebecca, the slatternly serving girl at Fanny's home in Portsmouth, is mentioned several times and complained about as she does not live up to standards; and standards are important to both Fanny and Austen.

Fanny Price comes to live with her aunt and uncle at Mansfield Park and falls in love with her cousin Edmund, who loves Mary Crawford. Mary and her brother Henry are visiting at the parsonage at Mansfield Park. They return to London from time to time to partake in its social whirl where Henry causes a scandal by running off with Edmund's married sister. Mary returns to the London social scene because she will not marry Edmund if he becomes a clergyman. Edmund, as the second son, cannot inherit the Park and its living. He chooses to be a clergyman, which suits Miss Fanny Price very well. Fanny and Edmund are married with the blessing of the family and move into the parsonage. The moral standards of the London socialites do not measure up to those of Austen's rural gentry.

Emma (1815), dedicated to George IV, develops a portrait of the social scene to a greater degree. Its setting is the "large and populous village of Highbury."[20] Emma, the younger daughter of Mr. Woodhouse, is settling down to a spinster's life with her father after her sister's marriage and removal from the scene. Mr. Woodhouse is a widower. Over the course of the story, Emma is attracted to the worldly Frank Churchill, but she finally settles on the mature Mr. Knightly. Churchill participates in the social life in London now and again, and Mr. Knightly has business affairs that necessitate trips to London occasionally.

One of the main characters, Mrs. Weston, has been a governess. She is married to a man who has made his wealth in trade, but both are acceptable

in the social circle of the snobbish Emma. Emma, however, does take exception to the social acceptability of Martin, a farmer, who wants to marry her friend Harriet. He is honest and hard-working, and Harriet is an unacknowledged daughter of unknown parentage. It is only at the end of the story when Emma has matured that she approves of their union. Also included in the social circle of Highbury are the grocer's wife and the local school teacher. The apothecary is considered a social upstart and is given rather humorous treatment by Austen.

Mr. Knightly, the perfect gentleman, wins the approval of Mr. Woodhouse for marriage with Emma. At one point in the story, Mr. Knightly cautions Emma of her duty to protect the feelings of those not as gifted and well-off as she. At another point Emma does her duty toward the ill and the aging by calling on an ailing cottager.

Persuasion (1818), is the story of the courtship between Anne Elliot, the daughter of a baronet, and Frederick Wentworth, a naval officer. Anne is one of three daughters of a widower whose baronetcy will be inherited by his nephew because he has no sons. Some years before the story opens, Anne had refused an offer of marriage from Frederick on the advice of an older friend, Mrs. Russell, who did not think a naval man was good enough for Anne. Anne's father rents out the Hall in Somerset and takes his unmarried daughters to Bath to look for husbands. William Elliot, who will inherit the title and the Hall on his uncle's death, meets the family in Bath and is attracted to Anne, which pleases her father.

It is through the gossip of a nurse and a landlady that the character of Mr. William Elliot is ascertained and found to be wanting. Anne romanticizes the nurse's role and what visions it can provide of human life:

> Women of that class have great opportunities, and if they are intelligent may be well worth listening to. Such varieties of human nature as they are in the habit of witnessing! And it is not merely in its follies that they are well read; for they see it occasionally under every circumstance that can be most interesting or affecting. What instances must pass before them of ardent, disinterested, self-denying attachment, or heroism, fortitude, patience, resignation--of all the conflicts and all the sacrifices that enoble us most. A sick chamber may often furnish the worth of volumes.[21]

For the rest, servants are sometimes given names but there is no elaboration of role or character at the working class level. Anne and Frederick are united with the family's blessings in the last pages of the novel.

Austen has shown us the life of the gentry as she knew it: the quiet, family-controlled social world where the father's consent is necessary for marriage; the marriage partners, rarely found nearby but sought out in the social world of Bath; the financial basis of the family by inheritance, a minister's living, or a military appointment. These men are not sought out by London belles, and the good men do not go to London for the social life. In fact, the rural gentry are content and do not seek change. However business does call even the good Mr. Knightly to London now and again.

In Emma the world of the gentry has grown so small that the gentry are forced to socialize but not to intermarry with social inferiors and upstarts; the latter are far more numerous. In Austen's world there are no manufacturers who have risen to live the life of the landed as there are in Fannie Trollope's novel in Period II of this sample. The economy based on land supports only a few gentry in each area, and they are not increasing in numbers.

Austen's novels show a decrease in the vitality and size of the traditional rural gentry, who were being forced out of their comfortable

cocoons to contend with the changing social mores of London life, their own diminishing numbers, and a thinning economy. Finances were as important a part of the marriage contract to them as they were to Scott's failing aristocrats. Unlanded naval officers are now accepted as suitable partners for the daughters of the gentry, and if one looks ahead to Austen's unfinished novel Sanditon one sees that the gentry finally succumbs to commercial enterprise.[22]

Austen's rural gentry do have a moral tradition of duty and obligation to others, as seen in Emma's visits to the cottager and in the morally upright Fanny Price who supports the gentry code of respect for the clergyman. Scott, an aristocrat by choice, paints clergymen (as in the tutor in Guy Mannering) as rather foolish, but Trollope and Austen, daughters of rural clergymen, see them as sound moral and social leaders of the community.

Pierce Egan

Pierce Egan, the first great journalist of sports in England, gives a view of city life from the point of view of a couple of swells in Life in London (1821). No industrial workers are seen in his pages but a "mechanical class" is indicated in the social hierarchy Egan paints. Evidently there were enough men tending the machines of the industrializing city to be recognized as a special group. Egan illustrates the segregation of life styles in London, showing that the West End is for fashionable society and the East End for others. He supports the idea that the lower orders, from dustman to common soldier, have more fun in life than their superiors, but they are not always honest. Representatives from all walks of life meet at such events as dog fights, and sometimes the young swells go slumming in the grog shops of the East End, but this is dangerous

because the elements frequenting that area are always ready for a fight. Tom, the hero of Life in London, is an example of second generation wealth, which he says is the generation that can afford to pursue a life of gaiety.[23]

The book opens with an illustration of Egan's view of the social hierarchy of the time in the form of a column with a Corinthian capital where the king and the flowers of society are placed. The base on which the pillar stands is composed of the vegetables of society. Below the king are the nobles of high birth who look with contempt on commerce. At the same level as the nobles, but labelled as "outs" are the respectable merchants. The merchants are described as having arrived at this "stilted place in life" by talent or luck with more upstart pride than the nobles, and they are fastidious about mixing only with "upper" customers. Tom and his country cousin, Jerry, representing the young swells, are on the next level. Below them are the mechanical persons who are seen as honest, industrious, merry, and independent. Also on this lower level and labelled "outs" are the ragtag and bobtail, who live at any price to see a bit of life. Thus Egan places the merchants as high as the nobles but not as acceptable, while lower in society the mechanical persons are at the same level as the ragtag and bobtail but they are acceptable to society.

Egan's popularity was so great that he was publically known as the "Glorious Pierce". He was presented at court at the command of the Prince Regent, George IV, to whom the book was dedicated. Life in London became such a craze in London that Tom was seen as the ideal man about town.[24]

London life is portrayed as competitive among the talented seeking social acceptance. Egan's Tom approaches life with zest, and his roaming over London gives Egan a chance to characterize many of its typical in-

habitants and their hangouts. One of the themes of the book is that city life is exciting and one should get out and experience it in order to enlarge one's understanding of humankind.

In one area of London the speech of the workers who live there is written with a v replacing the w in words, indicating a Germanic type of accent. There were evidently settlements of foreign workers in London in this early part of the century from Germany or Holland.

John Galt

John Galt, a Scotsman like Scott, studied law in London, but always retained his regional affiliation with Scotland in his literary works. His Scottish characters speak in dialect, and the situations he writes about, especially in The Ayrshire Legatees (1821), dramatize the differences between Scotland and England. In Andrew Wylie (1822), he shows the rise of a young Scotsman from cottager in Scotland, to law clerk in London, to lawyer and friend of aristocrats, to landed baronet, and indicates Scottish views on social mobility and the changes due to the rise of manufacturing.

The Ayrshire Legatees (1821), his earlier work, is the story of a Scottish clergyman and his family who hear that they are to profit by an inheritance and go to London to see about it. The novel is a series of letters between the various members of the family to their friends and acquaintances back home. When the family arrives in London their Scottish rural manners get a jolt. The English servants threaten to walk out over the penurious ways of the family. The father is shocked that the English servants wear shoes even while cleaning. The family is befriended and manage to move into the social life of London where the young son enjoys

himself. He writes to his friend that to join his circle of wealthy, college educated, and professional young men did not require "the ingredient of birth" as a qualification.[25] The daughter marries a young officer of a good family in London, while the parents thankfully return to Scotland where the whole town turns out to meet them.

Andrew Wylie, the hero of the book of the same name, is born of a cottager and is raised as an orphan in Scotland by his grandmother. He becomes a student of law and goes to London to take a position as a law clerk. Here he works his way up in position and prestige as well as worldly goods. He even gains a baronetcy through his patron the Earl of Sandyford which enables him to go home to Scotland and ask the hand of the daughter, Mary, of the local laird in marriage. The laird gives his blessing and the two are wed.

Servants compose the workman element for the most part in the story. They are not as refined, developed, or as intelligent as the gentry. Flounce, Lady Sandyford's maid, complicates the plot now and again by her servant's gossip. Bell Lampit, the laird's servant, had been educated by the same tutor as the laird's children and Andrew but this has not changed her way of life or her conception of herself. The only strange effect of her education is that she goes around spouting quotations instead of singing ballads like the rest of the servants.

The Earl's housekeeper is introduced tongue-in-cheek as a person impressed with her own importance:

> She was a tall and ample personage, with a gentle oscillation of the head, which seemed to indicate a lofty sense of her own supremacy . . . and her feet were in none of those slip-slop things that are fit only for the bedchamber, but decorously installed in high-heeled red morocco shoes . . . .[26]

On being complimented on her attire the housekeeper makes a formal curtsey equal to any seen at court. Although servants may ape the manners and dress of their betters, and even share their education, they do not become gentlefolk.

Andrew overcomes his fear and mistrust of gypsies to defend a group of them against an unjust accusation of murder. In doing so he employs the influential position of the Earl of Sandyford by having him read the defense in the courtroom and wins the case. From this shining position of democratic idealism the author turns, in the words of the old laird, to some negative ideas on the upstart weavers, now manufacturers, who are riding in carriages and force the laird to buy one to keep up the appearances of his lofty position. He says to Andrew;

> " . . . it was a black day when poor Scotland saw the incoming pestilence of the cotton-jennies. The reformers and them were both cleckit at the same time, they'll live, and thrive, and, I hope, will be damn's thegither."[27]

Continuing his conversation, the laird talks of Macandoe, the manufacturer;

> "He was the get of a Kilwinning weaver . . . and gaed intil Glasgow when the cotton-warks began, when he got credit, but whether by stealing clues (wound balls), or setting windmill bills agoing, I never heard the rights o'. When he took possession of the Friersland, I was obligated, out o'the respect due my family, to buy a chaise; for he has got one, and wi'horses and flunkeys too that they say my lord himsel'hasna the like o'. It's enough Sir Andrew, to gar a body scunner (feeling of disgust) to hear o'weavers in coaches wi'flunkeys ahint them. Mary would fain hae had me to cultivate a visitation-acquaintance with him, for, as she said, Mrs. Macandoe didna want sense, and one of their dochers was at Edinburgh school, learning manners wi'her, and was a fine lassie; but I would as soon sit in a Relief Kirk as darken the door o'ony sic cattle."[28]

The old grandmother remonstrates with the laird that good has also come from the arrival of the cotton-jennies. She reminds him to think of the widow who found work so that she could support her children, and of

the young man who found work and was able to marry.

Andrew's response is that the new industry has caused the price of butter and cheese to rise, and also rents, laborer's wages, and the cost of hats and coats.[29] Mary comments that she is surprised that her father is prejudiced against those who rise in the world because of their talents and merits and points out that the founders of all the good old families must have originally sprung from the people in a similar way. The laird agrees, but mentions the fact that there is a difference whether one moves up because of talents and merits with a sword or with a shuttle.

Galt gives another picture of the faithful servant. When the old laird dies, his faithful servant Thomas is depicted as sunk on his knees with head, uncovered and bowed, for the whole interment, until the turf is laid forever on the grave, in homage to his master.[30]

In the Ayrshire Legatees Galt contrasts the penurious Scotsman with the free-spending Londoner. The difference in affluence between the two may have something to do with the trade restrictions placed on Scotland that Scott was concerned with in his novels. Galt also indicated that lineage is not as important for social acceptance in London as in Scotland. The wealthy, the college educated, and professionals are participants in London social life even without belonging to a notable family by birth.

As for industrialism, we have seen in Andrew Wylie that some weavers were profiting by the cotton mills in Glasgow. Further, they were using their profits to live a life as much like the gentry and aristocrats as possible, even sending their daughters to the same schools to learn manners. Even though Galt does not tell us of the industrial worker, he does tell us of the rise of a striving group of weavers who become manufacturers as the textile industry grows. They are not acceptable to the

old laird, however, who says that whether you make your money by the sword or the shuttle makes a difference in your social status.

Edward Bulwer-Lytton

Edward Bulwer-Lytton was born a gentleman in London. After a Cambridge education he married a lady of whom his mother disapproved and he was cut off from the family purse. This set him to earn a living by the pen. As a young man, he was a reformer and was elected to Parliament. Later he returned to Parliament as a conservative. He inherited the title of Baron of Knebworth and the family lands. He is the only born aristocrat in the sample. Pelham (1828) and Paul Clifford (1830), two of his early literary efforts are included in this sample.

Pelham provides a view of nineteenth century social relationships in England between aristocrats and others, and illustrates the views of the former. In Paul Clifford the reader is introduced to the slums of London from the perspective of its inhabitants for the first time in the sample. Its well-born hero seeks to gain material success in life by way of the occupation of highwayman.

Pelham (1828), is the story of a young man growing up, and resembles Godwin's Fleetwood. Henry Pelham, the young gentleman, is advised by his mother how to get on in the world. She warns him against Whigs: " . . . a horrid set of people . . . vote for Roman Catholics, and never get into place; they give very good dinners . . . you may as well make the most of them."[31] Thus like Fleetwood, Henry is taught to calculate his interests rather than to accept the customary attitudes of the English gentleman. The world of Henry Pelham is one of house parties, dining out, gossip, and small-talk. Henry manages his social affairs and is able to

marry his love, Ellen Glanville, the sister of his unhappy friend Reginald.

Reginald has had an affair with a young woman too low in station for him to marry. When another gentleman forces his attentions upon the young woman while Reginald is away, she, being a very sensitive young lady, becomes insane and consequently dies. John R. Reed in Victorian Conventions (1975) writes that madness is one of the conventions of Victorian literature and often indicates the slipping away of purity in life. Reginald, seeking revenge, inadvertently causes the death of the offending gentleman. He is taken to jail to be held for trial.

His friend Henry hires a pickpocket to gather information to save Reginald from the gallows. Henry and the pickpocket venture into the vilest part of London where the rogues hang out. The language is colorful: "Toddle, my bob cull; we must track up the dancers and tout the sinner."[32] All turns out so that Reginald is acquitted, the guilty party is hanged, and the pickpocket is awarded with an annuity for life from Henry.

Thus good persons and bad persons exist in all walks of life. But there are problems in judging persons of different walks of life. Even the language used is different and they live in separate parts of town. The tragic situation would not have come about between the two young people in love if they had been in the same station in life and able to marry, or if society did not discriminate against marriages joining persons from different stations in life.

Paul Clifford (1830), begins with a tempest in the worst quarters in London. A dying woman, whose clothes indicate a higher station in life, is entrusting her young son to the care of Miss Marjory Lobkins, who runs a hostelry. Paul Clifford, the child, is raised by Marjory who sees that

the boy is tutored in Latin and other subjects just as a gentleman might be for she believes that this education will make Paul into a gentleman.

At age sixteen, Paul meets Augustus Tomlinson, a ne'er-do-well who lives well through his abilities as a highwayman. Paul is impressed by Tomlinson's standard of living when he visits the latter's lodgings.

Ned Pepper, another acquaintance, takes Paul to the theater, where Paul sees Lucy Brandon and falls in love with her; but at the theater, lightfingered Ned lifts the watch of the girl's uncle. Paul is caught and accused and goes off to jail where he renews his acquaintance with Tomlinson. The two escape from jail and set up a ring of highwaymen with Paul as their leader. He takes the name of Captain Lovett and becomes successful at his trade.

Lucy and Lovett, or Paul, meet again at a ball in Bath and now the attraction is mutual. Lovett is finally caught and is tried before Lucy's uncle, a hanging judge. After the guilty verdict he finds out that Lovett is really his son. He writes a note for clemency and dies from a heart attack. The note has its desired effect and Paul is then transported instead of hanged.

Now that he knows his family is acceptable he proposes to Lucy before being banished and lets her know that he will return for her. He escapes from his place of exile and arranges to have Lucy picked up from England and they sail to foreign shores to live out their lives. Since Lucy has inherited the family fortunes there is enough to live on so that Paul does not have to go back to being a highwayman.

Bulwer-Lytton gives us a hero who is a criminal. However he places the blame on the pressures of slum life, the yearning for material success, and the boy's education at the hand of professional criminals whom he

meets in jail as well as in his slum existence. Later when he falls in love with a girl above his supposed station he does not mention marriage until he finds that his lineage is also acceptable. This, we are led to assume, is the way an honorable gentleman acts. The marriage of Paul's parents had deteriorated because the judge, his father, had married beneath him. Over time the judge had become bored with a wife who was not his peer and had paid a man to run off with her; but she returned to take away their son Paul. Even though of gentle birth, her son grows up associating with criminals and takes on their way of life. He also learns more about crime when he is jailed after being wrongly accused of stealing the judge's watch.

In Pelham, Bulwer-Lytton illustrates how the young Henry calculates his interests in society, although he is loyal and active in the cause of his friend. In Paul Clifford, Bulwer-Lytton explores the effects of birth and the effects of environment on the development of a child. He indicates that physical attributes such as native intelligence may go along with birth, but life style and habits are gained from one's environment.

In both stories we see the segregation of life and life styles, both physically in the slums of London and socially in the separation of activities. However money enables Clifford to assume the life style and manners of a gentleman which permit contact with the socially approved at Bath. And at the theater, Ned Pepper and Clifford meet the Brandons, so there are public places of social contact across social levels.

Summary

Social World of the Novels

The social worlds of these novels varies from those of tradesmen to

gentry, to aristocrats, with the greatest attention given to the gentleman who may be gentry or aristocrat. The aristocrat is bound by lineage and traditional patterns of life, the gentry is bound geographically and traditionally, and the tradesman is bound occupationally but has not yet developed traditional life patterns.

In London, persons of talent, achievement, wealth, and education are found associating with those of proper family and title. Egan's Tom exposes the reader to the new fashionable urban life. Bulwer-Lytton's Paul Clifford challenges the idea that gentle birth makes for a proper character since he becomes a highwayman. His Pelham and Godwin's Fleetwood depict calculating modern men. Galt's Andrew Wylie is upwardly mobile because of hard work in the legal profession and patronage. Weavers are seen as an upstart group--as textile manufacturers who are challenging the status of the rural laird (Galt). The mechanisms for success in these novels is hard work, calculation of modern conditions, and expanding markets.

In Burney's, Austen's, and Opie's novels the route to success is following the traditional patterns of honor and duty and the morals of a new economic tradition: paying one's bills. Lineage and its maintenance by the aristocrats or gentry class remains an important characteristic for success. But Bulwer-Lytton in Paul Clifford introduces the importance of environment in the proper development of the child, even one of good lineage. Education is important, especially for the socially mobile Andrew Wylie and the daughters of tradesmen and manufacturers, but it will not create a gentleperson as seen in Galt's Bell Lampit from Andrew Wylie or in Paul Clifford.

Communication in these novels is mainly by gossip, and transportation

is by coach, cart, horse, boat, or foot and is channeled along social and commercial routes.

Demographic Factors

A mix of social types, including gypsies, are seen on the high roads in these novels, migrating, traveling, trading, and robbing. The young gentlemen go to London to become "swells" and to make their way up in life. Young ladies of the rural gentry are transported to Bath to mix socially with their own kind and perhaps to find an acceptable husband. The tradesman moves to another town to set up shop.

The city of London is made up of all sorts who, though they may participate together in some public events, live out their respective life styles in different parts of the city. The regions where the poor are housed are not safe for gentlemen, and we do not hear of a lady venturing there.

The countryside is populated by the landed and the laborer. The former lead a highly developed social existence according to these novels, while the latter lack refinement. Though they work hard they cannot expect to rise in society. The only exception is born a cottager, Galt's Andrew Wylie, who goes to London and makes his way via the legal profession and patronage.

Industrialism

In these novels the preindustrial social world is being shaken by the newer forces of industrialism. In Godwin's Fleetwood the reader is directly introduced to the factory and its effects. Industrialism enters the novels and affects the established social world by bringing wealth into new hands (those of grocers, upstart weavers, and highwaymen) and changing the regional rural dominance of the English countryside. London

is now central to social and business life. Riots and mob action are not important in these novels.

There are no industrial workers mentioned by Burney, Opie, or Austen. Burney does show the problems of a lady who must earn her living in lady-like occupations. Burney's descriptions of rural workers as well as the woman milliners is not romanticized. She sees the rural worker as coarse and straining to survive, and the milliners as rude and not always honest. To Burney's accepted occupations for ladies (governess, music teacher, and milliner), Austen adds nursing as an accepted occupation.

Mechanical persons are included in Egan's stratification model toward the bottom of the middle part. They are seen as honest, industrious, merry, and independent, but who they are and what they do is not explained. Some of Egan's city workers speak with a foreign dialect, indicating non-native workers. Egan's workers are seen as having more fun than other people, but not always as honest.

Godwin tells us of the exploitive child labor in the French mills. Children are recruited into factory life so young that their health is marred and even their gait develops abnormally from wearing the iron buskins.

Bulwer-Lytton shows the reader the effects of being raised in a city slum and associating with criminals in and out of jail. Even with good lineage and a gentleman's education, Paul Clifford becomes a highwayman. Galt shows the weaver turned manufacturer as economically successful and able to afford the material status symbols of the day but resented by the traditional aristocrats.

Thus the picture of the workingman that emerges shows physical distinctions (Godwin), foreign elements (Egan), language differences

(Egan, Burney, Bulwer-Lytton), and occupational segregation for ladies (Burney, Austen). Workmen are coarse (Burney, Godwin), speak in dialect (Burney, Egan, Bulwer-Lytton), and are dependent on their betters for their existence (Burney, Godwin, Galt). Farm laborers are no longer able to develop a surplus and rise in life (Burney). The common land where once they could have planted an extra garden is no more. The poor live in separate areas in the city of London and are seen as rapacious and irresponsible (Bulwer-Lytton, Egan).

Authors' Visions of Life

Burney supports the aristocratic manners and morals of her day and yet sees progress as a desirable goal. This progress is not based on leaping over social barriers, but on the development within one's proper sphere of life. She notes the limited life of the farm laborer and the barriers to a gentlewoman who must earn her living. She also notes with distaste the social climbing of the tradesman. She is not romantic about the agricultural rural existence and does not notice the industrial urban existence in her novel.

Egan is enthusiastic over the vitality of life in London, although the young swells are self-destructive and we see Tom's country cousin going back to live the comfortable life of the country squire. Egan pushes for one to experience all phases of city life, yet he cannot quite throw off the idea of the good country life. Perhaps this was partly because of what his audience believed in. His hero pursues the pleasures of the life of fashion.

Austen remains with the idea that the ruling standards of life are those of the country gentry; only by complying with their standards does one find success and contentment in this world. It is a success that is

in harmony with the life of the community. This includes the traditional rural existence and patriarchal authority. For the daughter of a minister, her novels are singularly free of religious references. The ministry is seen as a poorly paid profession that requires dedication and moral uprightness.

Opie points to obedience to God and penitence as the proper controls for social man, but she also counsels that rules and regulations of economic life must be adhered to by all classes and that the old noblesse oblige must give way to these economic regulations. She sees a moral order in the past that is lacking in the present. The tradesmen in her story lack identification with their own kind and have not yet developed a moral code. Godwin shares this view that the established families of the past presided over a stronger moral tradition. His ideal for the future is for individual self-determination and self-suffieiency. Thus these two radicals view the moral order of the past as stronger but no longer applicable. Godwin even views the agricultural rural life as superior to the industrial urban one. Godwin's gentleman lacks a sense of social responsibility and calculates his own interests in social life.

Opie and Burney share the view that the gentry do not pay their bills and that this is causing economic strain for the craftsman and tradesman and other wage earners. In Opie's story retaliation comes in the form of murder, while in Burney's story an attempt is made by a member of the gentry to shame others into paying their bills. Certainly Opie's response to the problem is the more radical of the two. In both cases the gentry shows a lack of moral responsibility, but Burney's character assumes it exists as he uses shame to stimulate the moral code of responsibility for one's debts.

Bulwer-Lytton sees the physical and social development of an industrial, urban society being responsible for the development of social deviants like highwaymen. He is for the social reform of jails and slum life and the betterment of the life of the poor, but he is against sexual liaisons and marriages over class lines. He disdains the gentleman Pelham for being calculating.

Galt is a practical man like Sir Walter Scott and does not ponder the philosophic question of ultimate dominance but stays with the active urban and industrializing world. He sees that it permits the attainment of traditional status symbols for the weaver-manufacturers, but the fact of their numbers, quick rise in society, and challenge to the establishment causes resentment and keeps them from being socially acceptable. On the other hand, through hard work and competence, in selected professions and through patronage, individuals may ascend socially and economically.

These authors are not willing for outside groups, whether tradesmen, manufacturers, or any person lower on the social scale to be accepted as peers.[33] They acknowledge their right to economic progress and the need for social reform, but deny the right of the rising classes to mix socially with their betters.

According to Bendix, the ideology of the early nineteenth century had turned from the evangelical idea that the rich must protect and care for the poor to the idea that the poor must learn moral restraint and depend on themselves.[34] Opie and Austen give an indication of this trend while Burney's farm laborer indicates the limits placed on some lives because of economic organization and ownership; and Godwin's factory child shows the exploitation of the laborer by manufacturing interests. For Galt, it is the moral restraints of the hard work necessary for success

that controls individuals. For Egan, there are no restraints except those of fashion and taste. Bulwer-Lytton points to the restraints of peer association, slum segregation of the poor, and the difficulties of attaining the high standard of living desirable in that day. His hero, Paul, sees that standard when he is introduced to Tomlinson, the criminal, and his life style.

Thus we see that Lukacs's idea that ideology does not impair the telling of reality by the nineteenth century realist authors bears up to scrutiny as Burney, a traditionalist, shows the alienation of the farm worker and the breakdown of moral responsibility of the gentry in their failure to pay their bills.[35] Opie and Godwin, radicals, affirm the greater moral integration of the traditional way of life, though indicating that it is breaking down. As long as the authors rest their work on empirical observations rather than on opinions, and as long as their characters are constructed from historical reality, a single reality of the social world emerges from them.

The idea that the poor could attain moral restraint implies that they are not eternally depraved and can attain virtue. The question in these novels is whether moral restraint is to help the poor in their places or to permit social movement and change. Where industrial urban society has developed and where the commercial interests are becoming affluent, change is coming whether or not the establishment decrees it. Numbers, density, lack of models of the old order, lack of concern from the old order, competition for scarce status symbols, a recognition of the desirability of material consumption and of the possibility of attaining a high level of such consumption, all work to the breakdown of the old order and the development of the new in these novels.

Period II continues with the growing problems of industrialization and urbanization that occur after 1830. The Period II sample of novels focuses directly on industrial problems for the most part and the reader sees how individual workers and their families fared. The authors call on the middle-class reader as well as the working-class reader to solve the growing problems of the workers' existence. The middle-class reader is called upon to assume some social responsibility for the worker, and the worker is called upon to accept his place in society under the leadership of his betters.

Notes to Chapter IV

[1]Levin L. Schucking, in The Sociology of Literary Taste, orig. pub. 1923 in German, 1st English trans. 1944, this translation by Brian Battershaw from 3rd revised German ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), notes the development of an English national literature because of London's being the publishing center.

[2]Donald Davies, An Enquiry Into The Reading of The Lower Classes (Pasedena, California: Grant Dahlstrohm, 1970), p. 17.

[3]Jane Aiken Hodge, Only a Novel: The Double Life of Jane Austen (New York: Coward, McCann & Geohegan, Inc., 1972), p. 125.

[4]British Authors, 1936:97.

[5]Hodge, p. 124.

[6]Fanny Burney, The Wanderer, 5 vols. (London: Longmen, Hurst, & Brown, 1814), p. xvi, 1:10.

[7]Amelia Opie, Tales of Real Life, orig. pub. 1802, from the Works of Amelia Opie, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: James Crissy, 1843), 2:55.

[8]Opie, New Tales, orig. pub. 1806, from the Works of Amelia Opie, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: James Crissy, 1843), 2:465.

[9]William Godwin, Fleetwood, orig. pub. 1805, revised, corrected, and illustrated with a new Preface by author (London: Richard Bentley, 1832), p. 91.

[10]Ibid., pp. 94-95.

[11]Ibid., p. 98.

[12]Ibid., p. 171.

[13]Ibid., p. 173.

[14]Burney, 4:251-2.

[15]Ibid., 3:109.

[16]Ibid., 2:317.

[17]Ibid., 4:332.

[18]Ibid., p. 333.

[19]Bulwer-Lytton in Paul Clifford names Bath as the place where Lucy meets and falls in love with the notorious Captain Lovett at a public ball.

[20]Jane Austen, Emma, orig. pub. 1815 (New York: Washington Square Press, 1964), p. 3.

[21]Austen, Persuasion, orig. pub. 1818 (New York: New American Library, Signet Classic, 1964), p. 148.

[22]Sanditon, Austen's unfinished novel, shows the gentry actually migrating to the seaside and developing a commercial resort to maintain themselves among their own kind.

[23]Pierce Egan, Life in London (London: Sherwood, Neely, & Jones, 1821), p. 181.

[24]Cambridge History of English Literature.

[25]John Galt, The Ayrshire Legatees, orig. pub. 1821, this edition in John Galt Works, vol. 2, ed. Meldrum and Roughead (New York: AMS Press, 1968), pp. 169-70.

[26]Galt, Andrew Wylie, orig. pub. 1822, this edition in John Galt Works, vols. 3 & 4, ed. Meldrum and Roughead (New York: AMS Press, 1968), 1:212.

[27]Ibid., 2:272.

[28]Ibid., p. 273.

[29]Ibid., pp. 274-5.

[30]Ibid., pp. 379-80.

[31]Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Pelham, orig. pub. 1828 (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1840 edition of collected works, reprinted 1848), p. 188.

[32]Ibid., p. 436.

[33]E. S. Bogardus, "Race, Friendliness and Social Distance" Journal of Applied Sociology 2:3 (January-February 1927), pp. 272-87.

[34]Reinhardt Bendix, Work and Authority in Industry, orig. pub. 1956 (Berkeley: University of California Press, California paperback ed., 1974), p. f.22-116.

[35]Georg Lukacs, Studies in European Realism (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1964), pp. 137, 139, 171, 70.

Coda--Period I

The economy of England was strained at the end of the Napoleonic wars and its steam-driven factories suffered illegal strikes while rioting over worsening conditions broke out in the countryside. Workers, part of a growing population, migrated from their home parishes for work into industrial areas that were growing into cities.

The novels show the traditional rural landed society giving way both in the waning rural economy of the gentry and in the dynamic burgeoning life of the city, to the dominance of professionals and Parliament. Scott's Alan Fairford and Frank Osbaldistone are successful socially and economically while the fortunes of the traditional aristocrats like Rob Roy and Darsie ebb. London disrupts the life of Austen's gentry, acts as an arena for the growth of Galt's gentlemen of talent and achievement and of Egan's, Godwin's, and Bulwer-Lytton's gentlemen of fashion. Opie's rising tradesmen are without a moral code. In the novels the traditional moral order is waning and as yet there is no new one to take its place. Lineage remains the important base of social status along with legitimate economic success.

The industrial worker, seen only marginally in the pages of these novels, is not governed by customs and finds himself outside the traditional web of patrimonial society and his survival dependent on national market conditions. His settlements and patterns of work as indicated in the novels of Scott, Egan, and Godwin separate him physically and socially from the middle and upper classes. Egan's mechanical person

is a new kind of independent and industrious artisan who is above the "ragtag and bobtail" at the bottom of the social hierarchy. In Galt's Andrew Wylie, some weavers turned manufacturers have been able to purchase the gentry's life style but are not yet socially accepted by the traditional gentry.

This early period was a time of migration and change when the thoughts and beliefs of the authors were fixed in the old frame but the activities they observed and related were part of the new. For the most part the authors were gentlemen or ladies. Bulwer-Lytton was the only born aristocrat among them, and Egan the only professional journalist. They wrote unabashedly to earn money to support their life styles.

The readership was broadening and included many skilled workmen as well as clerks and shopkeepers and servants in this early period. They became aware in reading Scott's novels of the intrusion of the industrial worker on the changing social scene and the growing economic strength of industry in the success of Galt's weavers turned manufacturers. They were introduced to Egan's mechanical persons who enjoyed a social position above the lowest social ranks. They were also introduced to the child laborer and his physical exploitation. They were not given a personal characterization of an industrial worker, but rather a nominal one. The place of the industrial worker was not yet defined within the social order.

PERIOD II: 1831-1870

Chapter V

Preface to Period II: 1831-1870

Period II of the sample covers the years 1831 through 1870. They were years of Whig power and reform legislation. Harriet Martineau spoke of the period beginning with November 1830 as year 1 of the People's Cause.[1] They were years of growing prosperity and of growing competition between the domestic system and the factory system of labor. They were years of Chartist and anti-Corn Law agitation, of the Great Exhibition, and of the Crimean War. The period began with the ministry of Earl Grey and the monarchy of Queen Victoria and ended with the ministry of Disraeli and the imperial monarchy of Victoria.

Whether or not the living standards of the working people in this period had improved over the eighteenth century is still subject to controversy, as noted in chapter I of this paper. Rude[2] and Thompson[3] argue that workers who had become used to certain improvements in diet and life styles, such as eating wheat bread, would see their condition as bad if these improvements disappeared, regardless of the relationship between wages and prices. Between 1837 and 1842 there was a severe depression, "the grimmest period in the history of the nineteenth century."[4] This is the period of the Chartist agitations, the anti-Corn Law riots, and the Captain Swing and Rebecca riots; all indicated a dissatisfaction of the working population with their situation in society. Yet the period was marked by a growing gross national product.

The Reform Bill of 1832 did not increase the political power of the

workers who were still without representation:

> The 1832 revolution, consequently, had handed political power over to the middle class from the aristocracy. The new rulers indeed continued for many years to act through members of the upper class . . . these Whigs, and in due course the Tories who succeeded them in office, were directly responsive to middle-class opinion and needs. They were even less than the old government responsive to working-class opinion, for they had now no fear of it. The working class had been kept outside, and the exclusion was entirely successful.[5]

The population, according to the figures of the census of 1841, were now distributed in the following occupational areas:

Trade and Manufacture	3000,000
Agriculture	1500,000
Mining, Quarrying, Transit	750,000
Total Employers and Employed	5250,000
Domestic Servants	1000,000
Independent Persons	500,000
Educated Pursuits (Professions and Fine Arts)	200,000
Government Officers (Army, Navy, Civil Service, and Parish Officers)	200,000
Alms-people (paupers, prisoners, lunatics)	200,000
Residue of Population 3,500,000 wives 7,500,000 children	11,000,000
	18,350,000.[6]

Taking out one million to account for employers in the category of Employers and Employed leaves over four million in the laboring classes. Add to this figure the domestic servants and the children and wives of the employees and the laboring population is clearly the largest segment of the population during the period.[7] All of these people were manual laborers, and their social status was different from all other groups.[8] Within the laboring population, however, there were great differences. The most important factor in this difference was the wage rate. The

family was the unit for measuring this rate because most members worked and if their wages together were in the range of 30s to 40s a week they were making ends meet fairly well.[9] Harrison includes agricultural laborers in his category of laboring population and they were the largest single group in the labor population, according to the census statistics of 1851; the next largest was that of the textile workers and weavers.[10] While the gross national income of Great Britain was rising from 1830 through 1851,[11] the conditions of different groups of workers did not increase at the same rate; and many faced a marked decline in their income.

Along with increasing national income there was an increasing population which was concentrating in the urban areas; nine cities had more than 100,000 population by 1851, while in 1800 only London had over 100,000.[12] Thus along with the conflict between the domestic system and the urban factory system of labor, there were added problems caused by burgeoning populations in urban areas, resulting in changing patterns of employment, a changing political order, and overtaxed city resources for housing and sanitation. It was also a young population, with 45 percent of the population of England and Wales being under the age of twenty in 1841.[13]

Although estimates of the literacy rates of the period range from two-thirds to three-fourths of the working class,[14] the actual quality of the literacy was dubious: only 55 percent of those entering marriage in 1838 could sign the register.[15] People who had been taught to read in schools forgot how to after years of disuse.[16] In 1851 over 2 percent of private school teachers still signed with a mark.[17] In 1845 23 percent of the males were estimated to be illiterate, and 49 percent of the

females.[18] Harrison notes that this illiteracy "constituted a barrier to the spread of middle class ideology."[19]

The reader of the working class became more and more important. The subject matter he enjoyed was more often the vulgar and more brutish fiction.[20] The Mechanics' Institutes, circulating libraries, increasing retail outlets, and promotional schemes all encouraged the working-class reader.[21]

The number of readers with money for books grew so much in this period that publishers could no longer ignore the middle and the lower-middle-class readers who made up the majority of the audience.[22] Over 100,000 families earned annual incomes of over £ 150 which enabled them to spend 5s or 6s for a book.[23] Magazine serialization spread the cost of a book over a longer period, encouraged their purchase, and even brought down the price of the final bound and published volume.[24]

Radicals made a special effort to improve the literacy of the workers in order to develop their political consciousness.[25] "In this way a reading public which was increasingly working class in character was forced to organize itself."[26] It did so by breaking into two parts: by 1832 one more middle-class group concerned itself with the Anti-Corn Law League while the other developed the Chartist movement.[27]

The ties that bound writer and reader were stronger in this period than they were to be later.[28] Economic conditions and the increasing circulation of books and periodicals fostered this relationship. There was a common bond in that readers and the authors tended to come from the same class.[29] The dominant literary form which expresses this tie between writer and reader in this period is the novel.[30]

Harrison notes that there were very few records of working-class

family life in the early Victorian period so that the observations of middle-class novelists became important in revealing the conditions of their lives.[31] Chapman adds that it is reasonable to suppose that themes which frequently recur in the literature of a period will reflect the general presuppositions of that period.[32]

Framework for Period II: 1831-1870

The novels selected to represent this period include the industrial novels named by Raymond Williams in Culture and Society, some suggested by P.J. Keating in Working Classes in Victorian Fiction, and others suggested by Jurgen Kuczynski in the Rise of the Working Class. All of these deal directly with the working class and their living and working conditions. A few other novels were selected, like Cranford by Gaskell, Middlemarch by Eliot, and Deerbrook by Martineau, for contrast with the former novels because they do not deal directly with the working class but with the middle class and upper middle class in rural rather than urban environments and with non-industrial occupations.

Social World of the Period

Harrison estimates that there were about 300 families at the top of the landed hierarchy near the middle of the nineteenth century.[33] These families were characterized by incomes between £ 10,000 and £ 50,000 a year. They had both town and country houses and owned about 10,000 acres of land. Their heads sat in the House of Lords and their families intermarried. They lived on a grand scale of lavish hospitality and were served by staffs of forty to fifty servants.

Next in line came the country gentry, about three thousand strong,[34] whose incomes were between £ 1,000 and £ 10,000 a year, and who lived on

1,000 to 10,000 acre estates. There were some knights and baronets among them, but about 2,000 were village squires living on 1,000 to 3,000 acres of land. The gentry did not support town houses and lived year round on the land, occupying themselves with village and county matters. They rented out much of their land. It was the custom to will the land intact to the oldest son. The country gentry lived a life of leisure for the most part. As justices of the peace, the gentry represented government in rural England and dispensed justice.[35] They made fox-hunting an "elaborate ritualistic and exclusive cult."[36]

The landed continued to dominate English life through this period.[37] Although the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 indicates a shift of economic and political power to the industrial and commercial interests, British agriculture continued to flourish into the 1870's.[38] Landed members were a majority of the House of Commons beyond 1867.[39]

Rising industrialists began to weaken the power of the landed but the former continued to defer to the social and political leadership of the landed.[40] Successful industrialists and merchants joined the ranks of the gentry by marriage and by buying estates. It took three generations to develop new gentry.[41] The fact that younger sons of the gentry could not and did not inherit the estate meant that they were forced into professional and business worlds to make their way, and thus the sons of old families often mingled with the sons of the rising families. Financially distressed noble families often married their young to rising industrial fortunes. Society thus continued to be held together by the traditional bonds of deference to the landed.[42] Harrison cites the reinforcement of these bonds by the self-confidence and authoritative style of the landed, their assumption of an inborn right and duty to lead others,

their superior education, and often their physical endowments which set them apart from others.[43] These characteristics are exhibited over and over in the characters who succeed in the following novels (Michael Armstrong, Oliver Twist, and Felix Holt to mention a few).

Landowners, large and small, supported the life of the gentleman.[44] A gentleman was of gentle birth and owned an estate able to support him in the enjoyment of leisure. A gentleman possessed qualities of honor, courage, and consideration for others. These qualities were defined by an understood code of what was "done" and was "not done". Harrison states that this concept of gentility functioned as an agency of social discipline.[45] Opie's tradesman in her story recognized this fact. Disraeli's stories comment on the fact that the industrial groups in society have not yet developed such a code for social control.

Below the aristocracy and the gentry were the middle classes.[46] Income, occupation, education, religious affiliation and style of home determined one's position within this group.[47] At the top, the middle classes mixed with the aristocracy and intermarried with them.[48] Financial success in banking or commercial affairs created a small financial oligarchy in London. Out in the regional areas, industrialists flourished as they entered the social scene. Railroads provided new fortunes and new social positions for many in this part of the country.

To be part of the middle class, one's income had to meet a certain minimum, be continuous in nature, and derive from non-manual pursuits.[49] A basic income of £ 300 a year was essential to middle-class position.[50] However, many earned as little as £ 150 a year and some clerks and teachers less than £ 60.[51] This gave them incomes lower than a skilled artisan's.[52]

The house of the middle income person was of a "suitable size and location"[53] and the furnishings were "substantial, elegant and with an increasing emphasis on comfort."[54] Food, dress, carriage, and domestic service also had to come up to certain standards.[55] Young men were to put off marriage until they could afford the proper trappings of middle-class life.[56]

Central to the middle class was the "cult of the home and the sanctity of the family."[57] Home was private and comfortable.[58] Art was sentimental and realistic.[59] The husband stood at the head of the family and the wives did not go out to work.[60] Marriage was the approved life goal of women.[61] The pattern of late marriage and sexual continence for Victorian ladies created a strain in family relationships and fostered the growth of prostitution. Harrison states that the business of prostitution was greater than now in the cities of England.[62] Estimates of the period put the prostitute population at 50,000.[63] The seduction of servant girls and working girls by men from the upper and middle classes was common.[64] Prostitution was considered the Great Social Evil by the Victorians.[65]

The middle classes built the fence of respectability, purity, and prudery to mark itself off from the underworld of crime and prostitution. The laboring classes deferred to the middle class respectability and accepted their positions as employees.[66]

Religious observance was followed by two-thirds of the populace of the time[67] but rural religious observance was higher than urban observance,[68] a fact that Dickens noted in some of his novels. The Church of England dominated rural religious life while non-conformist sects tended to center in towns.[69] In the mind of the workingman the Church of England

supported Tory principles.[70] By mid-century changes occurred in the Church and the ministry to the city slums began,[71] a fact which receives more attention in the novels of the last third of the century than it does in this period. This ministry represented the acceptance by the middle classes in the city Churches of a duty toward the laboring classes.[72] But workingmen did not become vicars.[73] The Methodist church that served as a training ground for middle-class values,[74] but its organizational principles also served as models for radical organization.[75] The Methodists had the largest following among the working classes,[76] although by mid-century the Catholic hierarchy was again permitted in England to serve, among others the many Irish immigrants.[77]

The working classes and some of the middle classes pushed for religion which accepted the right of private judgment and had no creeds or ecclesiastical hierarchy. Protestant evangelicalism, Harrison points out, was a basic ingredient in the dominant ideology of the time.[78]

Demographic Factors

By 1851 the population of the British Isles reached 27.3 millions.[79] A fall in the death rate, the maintenance of a high birth rate, and the immigration from Ireland accounted for this tremendous growth.[80]

Manchester grew from 182,000 in 1831 to 303,000 in 1851; Birmingham, from 144,000 to 233,000.[81] The fastest growing town was Bradford, which had grown from 13,000 in 1801 to 26,000 in 1821, to 104,000 in 1851.[82] By 1851 over half of the inhabitants of Leeds, Sheffield, and Norwich had been born in town; over a quarter of the inhabitants of Manchester, Bradford, and Glasgow had been born in town.[83]

Industrial towns developed around specific industries and tended to remain middle sized with from 25,000 to 200,000 inhabitants.[84] Smoke

blackened these early towns, housing areas were congested, water pollution was common, and disease was rampant.[85] The rich and the poor tended to be segregated over time in these towns.[86]

Manchester incorporated in 1838 as a town and passed a borough Police Act in 1844 and a Sanitary Improvement Act in 1845. Before that time there was no clearly defined way to deal with the problems of civic order and sanitation. The working class population of Manchester made up more than two-thirds of its total population, with the cotton industry employing 80,000 persons in 1851.

Industrialism

The factory system began to replace the domestic system as the pattern for industrial work. At the beginning of this period the factory system was confined mainly to the textile industry, but it soon began to reach into other areas.[87] While the domestic system had organized work on a jobbing basis through middlemen in the rural areas, the factory system drew the workers into urban factories where power machinery supplemented the efforts of the workingman and larger numbers of workers were employed.[88] The requirements and efficiency of machine operation began to determine the course of workers' lives. No longer could they work when they felt like it, but had to present themselves at the factory when the whistle blew and quit when it blew again. Artisans who had observed Monday as a day off after the exertions of the weekend found that the factory system did not permit a slack workday. Punctuality, orderliness, and thrift became valuable attributes of success in the industrializing world.[89]

Literacy and the printed word tended to destroy traditional work habits and substitute new ones.[90] The spread of the printed word was

helped by the library movement, first organized in Manchester, and by 1860 Birmingham established a penny rate levy to support a central reference library, reading room, newsroom, museum, and art gallery, plus four lending libraries with newsrooms across the city.[91] Self-help became the ideal for the workingman who would get ahead,[92] while the goal for working-class respectability came to mean a high regard for knowledge and print.[93]

Henry Mayhew divided the working classes of the 1860's into three major parts: those who will work; those who cannot work; and those who will not work. At the top of those who will work were the laboring aristocrats made up of highly skilled artisans who created their products for both the select market and for the mass market that was fast growing in the urban centers.[94] Those who created for the select market were well organized and their wages, work-methods, and marketing arrangements were based on custom.[95] They earned 30s to 40s a week on a fairly steady basis.[96] The others were less organized and prey to competition which forced their earnings down.[97] The artisans who worked for the select market merged with the lower middle class in economic and social position.[98] The artisans who worked for the mass market shared an economic and social life style with the skilled worker.[99]

There was a great division between the artisans and the laborers below.[100] The laborers were divided into skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled.[101] Differences in education and intelligence separated skilled from unskilled. Mayhew saw the artisan as educated handicraftsman while the laborer needed no educational apprenticeship.[102] Trade unions existed for the skilled and not for the unskilled.[103] Wage differentials separated the skilled from the unskilled and the two groups even drank at

different pubs.[104]

The degree of skill necessary to do the job is the criteria that Mayhew used to separate the laborers into a stratification pattern.[105] This was difficult to distinguish for the many assorted groups of laborers. The navvy, or construction worker that built the railroads and docks of the nineteenth century, was king of laborers.[106] Navvies were characterized by physical strength and daring, they drank and ate more than any other laboring group, and were known for their rowdyness.[107] The handloom weavers who faced the growing competition of the machines in the factory were also at the top of the laboring population. In the 1860's and 1840's the handloom weaver continued to exist alongside the factory loom workers as he was able to provide extra production in boom times. However, in periods of a falling economy he was first to be hit by economic hardship.[108] Below the handloom weavers in standing came the factory hands, street traders, framework knitters, agricultural laborers, coalminers, coalheavers, coalbackers, and domestics.[109]

In the category of those who could not work, Mayhew estimated that a third were fully unemployed, another third were partially unemployed, and the rest disabled due to age, disease, or accident.[110] Poor Law statistics show that in 1844 over 9 percent of the population, nearly one and a half million persons, had been given relief either in the work-house or outside it.[111] Employment in factories or otherwise was not continuous so that thousands were unemployed at any period of time.[112] Thus this group of unemployed laborers must be considered as a special category of the laboring population. Weather, fashions, and part-time employment all contributed to this category.

Among those who would not work Mayhew included criminals and

vagrants. At the top of this hierarchy were the gangs who lived at middle-class standards of life.[113] Below them came the shoplifters, high class pickpockets, and housebreakers and burglars.[114] Next in order came the sneaksmen who robbed tills in shops and stole from out-of-door carts or displays.[115] Then came the horsestealers, embezzlers, forgers, and fences.[116] Even though crime often afforded a middle-class standard of life, this comparative prosperity might be disrupted at any moment for a longish spell in prison or for transportation to the colonies.[117] Lower down were beggars who were not necessarily habitual criminals but might be.[118] The passage was often from tramp to beggar to thief to convict.[119] Mayhew estimated the prison population of the period at 150,000.[120]

The stratification of the working, middle, and upper classes is thus based on distinctions of income, residence, and occupation. Working people earn up to £ 300 a year and are often found in towns and work at skilled and unskilled manual tasks. Middle-class people earn £ 300 on average, live in towns and villages, and do non-manual labor. Upper classes are landed and often have town residences also, their income ranges from £ 1,000 to £ 50,000 a year, and they work at their social life. Factory Acts were passed in this period to control the factory conditions, hours of child labor were established, and schooling for factory children established. These facts of life are evident in the novels that follow.

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[9]Ibid., pp. 22-23.

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[17]Davies, p. 53.

[18]Ibid.

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[20]Davies, p. 55; Altick, p. 292.

[21]Altick, pp. 191, 295, 301, 292.

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[27]Ibid.

[28]Raymond Chapman, The Victorian Debate: English Literature and Society 1832-1901 (New York: Basic Books, 1968), p. 347.

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[32]Chapman, p. 346.

[33]Harrison, p. 90.

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[35]Ibid., p. 92.

[36]Ibid., p. 94.

[37]Ibid., p. 89.

[38]Ibid., pp. 96-97.

[39]Ibid., p. 97.

[40]Ibid., p. 95.

[41]Ibid., p. 98.

[42]Ibid., p. 89.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid., p. 99.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Ibid., p. 101.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Ibid., p. 104.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Ibid., p. 105.

[54]Ibid.

[55]Ibid., p. 106.

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[59]Ibid.

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[61]Ibid., p. 117.

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[63]Ibid.

[64]Ibid., p. 119.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Ibid., p. 121.

[67]Ibid., p. 122.

[68]Ibid., p. 123.

[69]Ibid., p. 124.

[70]Ibid.

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[77]Ibid., p. 131.

[78]Ibid., p. 133.

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[94]Harrison, p. 24.

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[99]Ibid., p. 25.

[100]Ibid.

[101]Ibid.

[102]Ibid.

[103]Ibid.

[104]Ibid.

[105]Ibid., p. 26.

[106]Ibid., p. 41.

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[108]Ibid., p. 30.

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[110]Ibid., p. 49.

[111]Ibid., p. 48.

[112]Ibid.

[113]Ibid., p. 53.

[114]Ibid., p. 52.

[115]Ibid., p. 53.

[116]Ibid.

[117]Ibid.

[118]Ibid., p. 52.

[119]Ibid.

[120]Ibid., p. 54.

Chapter VI

Novels of Trollope, Martineau, and Disraeli

Fannie Trollope's Life and Adventures of Michael Armstrong (1840), Harriet Martineau's A Manchester Strike (1832), and Benjamin Disraeli's Coningsby (1844) and Sybil (1845) portray the world of industry and the industrial worker. They were meant to influence the attitudes and actions of the reading public towards industry and the industrial worker. Mrs. Trollope's novel illustrates the callous treatment of the child worker and the social disdain that isolated them in society. Her book was directed at motivating child labor reform and was written for the enfranchised and their families.[1] Miss Martineau wrote A Manchester Strike as one of a series of tales for Illustrations of Political Economy which were written to teach the worker to abide by the laws of political economy, based on the dynamics of supply and demand in a world of limited resources. Her novel Deerbrook (1839) was directed to a more middle-class audience and tells of the changing social world of the village.

Benjamin Disraeli wrote for a socially and politically conscious audience, probably upper middle class and aristocratic, which had some knowledge and interest in political affairs, but his novels recognize the existence of the industrial working class. Coningsby is concerned with the passage of the first Reform Bill and its consequences, and the social rise and acceptance of manufacturers. Sybil explores the division between the "nation of the rich and the nation of the poor" as the trade union movement develops. In both novels Disraeli is concerned with pre-

serving the sovereignty of the crown as the nation's unifying authority.

The Authors and Their Novels

Fanny Trollope

Fanny Trollope's Life and Adventures of Michael Armstrong (1840) is an attempt by an upper middle-class lady to draw attention to the terrible plight of child labor in England. Fanny was the daughter of an Anglican minister, the wife of a lawyer, the mother of a large family, and enjoyed a fashionable social life. A Tory by conviction, she did not seek to turn out the conservatives, push for democracy, or foment a revolution. She sought, instead, "to establish British morality and Tory politics."[2]

In the story there is the kidnapping and indenturing of young children for the work force of factories in the hills of Derbyshire where guild and town regulations do not function. These children are made to work at the machines till exhausted and are given the least amount of care and lodging possible to keep them working. Malnutrition and disease are ever present in the unsanitary and unhealthy surroundings where no allowance is made for rest and recreation. Some factories provide education in the form of classes after the long day's work, or Sunday schools after the children have worked till midnight on Saturday. Masters who provide these schools are often considered enlightened and benevolent by those who had not seen the factories.

The hero of the story is Michael Armstrong, a poor widow's son of nine years of age, who is "kidnapped" and indentured into the work force in the Deep Valley cotton mill where the machinery is kept running whenever a big order is due: "When one set of fainting children were dragged from the mules another set were dragged from the reeking beds they were about to occupy, in order to take their places."[3]

Mary Brotherton, an heiress to a manufacturer's fortune who lives as rural gentry in the same town in which lives Michael's family, decides to investigate the conditions of child labor and perhaps to find Michael and return him to his family. In the first factory she enters, "the hot and tainted atmosphere seemed to weigh upon her spirits as well as upon her lungs."[4] Mr. Bell, the rector of Michael's hometown church, had told her that 200,000 children were employed in factories in England. The thought of their little bodies being subjected to "the fist, the heel, or the strap of the overlooker" and the terrible din of the machinery almost causes Mary to faint.[5]

The second factory that Mary visits has a Sunday school attached to it. Messrs. Robert and Joseph Tomlins had built a school room at their own expense and on Sunday they held Sunday school there. The religion practiced is evangelical in nature. The children appear "more worn and weary, more miserable lean, and more frightfully pallid" than the children at the first factory.[6] The Sunday school starts at seven in the morning. Mary attends and finds the children come in half asleep because they had worked till midnight on Saturday.[7]

Mary has to bribe her way into the Deep Valley Mill to see the children. She is permitted to view the children at mealtime without the overlooker Sharpton's knowledge. A factory girl, Fanny, misinforms Mary that Michael is dead, and Mary takes Fanny from the mill in place of Michael.

Actually, Michael is ill, a fact unknown to Fanny, and he later escapes from the mill. He is befriended and employed by a farmer in Westmoreland. Here Michael profits physically, emotionally, and economically. Because of his indenture papers Michael is liable to capture and return

to Sharpton and the mill until he reaches the age of twenty-one.

On a sentimental journey back to his old home Michael comes across some handbills in a public house calling for a general meeting and signing of a petition by the residents of Yorkshire for the lowering of the hours of child labor to ten hours a day. This legislation is designed to change the conditions of the workers and represents the efforts of the Rector Bell.

Meanwhile, Mary has taken Fanny and Michael's older brother Teddy, whose mother is dead, to live as her companions in Europe. Mary educates them to be gentlefolk. Michael finds his way to them and they all live happily in a castle on the Rhine that Mary has built to house them. There is a hint of romance between Mary and Teddy, but Trollope, who knew her class-conscious English audience, did not dare to marry a work-boy and an heiress in her pages.

Trollope's child laborers, like Godwin's, are physically inferior, but her heroes, Michael, Teddy, and Fanny, are physically attractive and are often taken to be of a higher station in life. Unlike the house servants in the story, the factory workers have little contact with those above them socially; nor do they benefit from hand-me-downs or kitchen leftovers or even the example of the good life of those of greater power and prestige in life.

Mrs. Trollope's workers are not socially mobile on their own but can rise only through the power and money of the heiress. Education, money, and patronage may make them into gentlefolk, but they are still not acceptable, the author determines, as gentry to an English audience. The story centers upon the petitioning going on at the time to enact Parliamentary laws to protect child labor, and it is the rector of the

local church that is in the forefront of these reforms.

Harriet Martineau

For Harriet Martineau, "novels were to show what man could be, not what he is, and so how he could be made better."[8] She wrote A Manchester Strike (1832) to show workers that challenging the laws of political economy was futile. Miss Martineau, the daughter of a Norwich manufacturer of French-Huguenot ancestry and the Unitarian faith, began her writing career as a Whig but came to regard herself as a radical. She saw the poor as superior to the aristocrat because the poor were aware of reality; for her, however, the best of society resided in the manufacturing middle class from which she came and whose members often asked her to write articles and tracts in their interests.[9] She saw strikes as useless even though she professed support for some workers' friendly societies and unions.[10] She was a member of the Anti-Corn Law League and wrote for other causes as well. She worked to make the cottages on her land at Ambleside into examples of proper drainage and ventilation. Her writings and publishing prompted her move to London, where she gained fame in literary circles and was able to meet other authors such as the Kingsleys at the Carlyles. She enjoyed short friendships with George Eliot and Charlotte Bronte, but her deafness, bluntness, and tendency to gossip limited her social circle.

A Manchester Strike cautions the working class reader to whom it was directed that no matter how poor the physical conditions of industrial life, and how low the wages go, the worker cannot gain by striking. To improve the conditions of his life, the worker must understand the laws of supply and demand (political economy) and regulate his numbers by birth control and limiting the workers in an area.

The story begins at let-out time at a factory. The reader is introduced to three workers: the sober and upright Allen, the drunken Field, and the oafish Clack. Talk of a strike fills the air as wages have just been reduced and the workers are already unable to make ends meet. The silk weavers have just had their wages reduced 45 percent.[11] Allen's lame eight year old daughter Martha supplements the family income by working in the factory for three shillings a week.[12] In case of a strike she will continue to work. The area where the workers live is described as unsanitary, "there were heaps of rubbish, pools of muddy water, stones and brickbats lying about, and cabbage leaves on which the unwary might slip, and bones over which pigs were grunting and curs snarling and fighting."[13] Conditions are so poor that the workers "have nearly forgotten the taste of animal food and even sigh for bread as a luxury."[14]

Allen is a union man whose father had been jailed long ago for union activities when the combination acts were still in effect. He has the respect of the other workmen for his sobriety, industry, and his position as a good family man. He is aware that workmen who lead strikes are apt to be fired from their jobs and to be blackballed for future employment, but the men persuade him to be their leader.

Clack is noisy in his demands for a strike, and for not compromising with the managers. He is the first union organizer portrayed in our sample and is not portrayed sympathetically. He is a prototype for those who follow in the novels of Dickens and later in those of Besant. The more conservative union members tend not to follow him, but he is an expert rabblerouser and helps to carry the day for the strike.

The workers draw up petitions to state their demands, and put up placards to call for meetings of the workers and for a protest march.

Thus Martineau sees these factory workers as literate.

The masters and the workers meet but do not resolve their differences. One master warns the workers that the masters will be able to hold out longer in a strike for they have money capital which is more flexible than the labor capital of the workers. This master asserts that the power of setting wages rests with the workers and not the masters. Martineau later explains that the workers are responsible for their numbers, and it is a scarce labor pool that drives up wages, so that the responsibility for curbing the numbers of workers by controlling the size of their families and the number of workers rests with the workers.

The three masters in the story provide different working conditions and different wages in their respective factories. Their families are not seen, but their homes, dress, ale, and horses are noted as superior to those of any of the workers. Their thinking is also superior in its rational logic to that of the workers, according to Allen.

The union workers meet each day in the tavern, a common after-work meeting place for all workers. Their wives are against the strike as they realize the hardships it will bring. The crowd, led by such as Clack, is fickle; originally for Allen, they turn against him. Their slogan is "Liberty and cheap bread". After the end of the unsuccessful strike, Allen loses his job and the book closes with a view of him as a street sweeper, the only job he can get to support his family. Martineau judges this to be proper retribution for anyone who would challenge the immutable laws of political economy.

Thus Martineau's message is that neither Parliamentary laws nor the arbitrary action of the masters can set wages, which are a function of the amount of capital available and the supply of labor. Her view of

the industrial worker is that they range from the sober Allen to the drunken and the rabble-rousing. The living conditions of the workers are unsanitary and their wages poor simply because they have failed to control their numbers.

Martineau studied her subjects before she wrote of them. She once spent a night in a workhouse and found it to be comfortable and agreeable.[15] On another occasion she went down in a coal pit to observe the miners in action. It is to her credit that the workers' publication, the Poor Man's Advocate (September 29, 1832), commended A Manchester Strike as realistic.[16] Her readership for the tales of political economy was calculated by her publisher Fox as around 144,000 persons.[17]

There are no industrial workers in her novel Deerbrook (1839) which is the story of social change in a small town. The local baronet is defending his crumbling power and influence against the onslaught of science and the law represented by a young apothecary who has won a local election. The dwindling economy of the town, based on a coal yard, a lumber yard, and some granaries, increases thievery in the area, and causes the superstitious populace to turn to gypsy fortune tellers and magic to remedy their misfortunes.

Rumors set up by the baronet direct the frustrations of the populace against the apothecary. A mob stones him and attacks his house and his surgery.

An epidemic sweeps the area and a young lady nurses a poor family back to health, only to discover that they were the people who robbed her previously. The poor family is depicted as superstitious, coarse, slovenly, and dirt-poor.

Both the young lady and the apothecary forgive the attacks on them

by the poor. The apothecary says, "We will forgive these poor people . . . they are lamentably ignorant, you see."[18]

Martineau sees the rural populace manipulated into vengeful mob by the baronet, to whom they turn as traditional leader rather than to the rational leadership of science and law represented by the apothecary. She believed the superstitious, ignorant agricultural worker to be the most helpless and degraded class of workers in England, as some factory workers were well-off.[19] Thus she is the first of this sample to give the impression that the industrial worker, though suffering from adverse economic conditions, is better off than the traditional rural worker.

Benjamin Disraeli

Benjamin Disraeli, whose fame rests mainly on his political career, introduced the political novel to the English reader. His education was of life as much as it was of books because his father was a highly respected man of letters and moved in a circle of political and aristocratic acquaintance. This gave the young Disraeli an early introduction to the centers of power and the arguments of the powerful.

In Coningsby (1884) and Sybil (1845), he examines the industrial world from the viewpoint of the breakdown of the moral traditions of the rights and obligations of the old ranks of peasantry and the failure of the industrial order to develop its own moral tradition. In much the same way, Amelia Opie was concerned over the lack of a moral tradition for the tradesman trying to raise his son to honesty. He upholds the sovereign as the proper repository of power and authority in the changing world as she represents all the people, while the member of Parliament represents only local interests. And although he bemoans the lack of a developing industrial moral tradition, he is not against the coming of

industry and depicts ideal factories and benevolent masters. He looked to the Tory aristocrat to join hands with the proletariat in a new moral order that could combat the inroads of commercial Whiggery.

Coningsby (1844) does not tell much about the industrial working man but it presents a picture of how their appearance on the scene was shaking the Tory foundations of England in the years after the passage of the Reform Bill and into the "hungry forties". It had the greatest success of all Disraeli's novels in his lifetime.[20]

The story is built on the developing relationships of the aristocratic world, represented by Harry Coningsby, with the world of the wealthy manufacturer, represented by the family of Mr. Millbank. Harry Coningsby and the young Oswald Millbank are in the same circle of friends at Eton. Although Oswald has been raised to abhor anything aristocratic, his family moves in aristocratic circles, has marriage connections with them, and finally buys a country estate. His sister Edith marries Harry over the objections of her father, who warns of the misery that might come to a woman who married out of her class.[21]

Disraeli is concerned with the manner and physical appearance of his characters. One character is described by "his short upper lip (which) indicated a good breed."[22] Oswald is described as "not blessed with charm of manner" though he was respected.[23] The author comments, "perfect good breeding . . . is the result of nature and not of education."[24] From these quotations one would conclude that Disraeli believed in the genetic transmission of social character, but that is not completely true.

Mr. Millbank, a sympathetically drawn character, stands against traditional transmission of position and custom to some degree; he believes in a natural aristocracy of achievement. He sees that custom interferes

with law, "the manners of England preserve it from its laws."[25] He points to the ancient lineage of England as peasant in nature, not aristocratic, because that of contemporary aristocracy does not go back even as far as the Normans; he cites the first parliament of Henry VII, where there were only twenty-nine temporal peers, and notes that by the present day (1844) not even five of these peerages still exist. The basis for aristocratic lineage, according to Mr. Millbank, rests on "the spoilation of the church; the open and flagrant sale of its honours by the elder Stuarts; and the borough-mongering of our own times."[26]

The changing position of the laboring classes in society is discussed over brandy and cigars at a dinner party in the country. The Poor Law is discussed both by those who feel it will elevate the laboring classes, and by those who believe that it encroaches upon traditional patterns of support that are more satisfactory. The Whig element sees the Poor Law as another Magna Charta while the Tory element sees the erosion of traditional peasant rights. The Tory element believed in the parochial constitution over the political constitution.[27] One young Tory points to the erosion of rights and privileges as the order of the peasantry and says that the laboring classes must be recognized as a rank with certain moral rights and obligations in society.[28] The young man agrees that physical comfort cannot be institutionalized to any great extent because it must vary according to economic conditions, but that moral conditions may be institutionalized and should be. Another responds that the spirit of the age, which is one of utility, is against developing a rank characterized by moral attributes.

At another time, the worldly Sidonia speaks for Disraeli when he talks of the monarchy as the government for advanced civilizations, and

that although political compromises can be tolerated in "periods of rude transition" ultimately public opinion fostered by literacy and the printing press will "appear in the form of one who has no class interests" and the House of Commons will fall away and the sovereign will again become divine.[29] The corruption of election time with the hiring of gangs, bribed by money and drink to demonstrate, would also disappear.[30]

The young men of Harry's circle are disillusioned with both Tory and Whig. They wonder at the meaning of the term "the people". Using Coningsby as spokesman, Disraeli argues for the virtual representation of all by the sovereign as superior to the actual representation of the few by Parliament. Coningsby says, "the only power that has no class sympathy is the sovereign."[31]

The young Coningsby makes a tour of factories to try and understand the social and economic world of manufacturing. He visits a Manchester factory and finds the spindles singing merrily and the steam-engine roaring "in jolly chorus like a strong artisan handling his lusty tools, and gaining a fair day's wages for a fair day's toll."[32] In the weaving room he sees as many as fifteen hundred girls of all demeanors working. He visits Mr. Millbank's model factory, and the author describes it ideally in marked contrast to the description of the factory in Dickens's Hard Times or in Trollope's Michael Armstrong:

> In a green valley of Lancaster . . . a clear and powerful stream flows through a broad meadow land. Upon its margin, adorned, rather than shadowed, by some very old elm trees, . . . rises a vast deep red brick pile which, though formal and monotonous in its general character, is not without a certain beauty of proportion and an artist-like finish in its occasional masonry. The front which is of great extent, and covered with many tiers of small windows, is flanked by two projecting wings in the same style . . . in the centre, the principal entrance, a lofty portal of bold and beautiful design surmounted by a statue of Commerce.[33]

Coningsby saw the mill as "fitted up by a capitalist as anxious to raise a monument of the skill and power of his order, as to obtain a return for the great investment."[34] The clerk who shows Coningsby around the mill relates how Mr. Millbank "had pursued (plans) both for the moral and physical well-being of his people; how he had built churches, and schools, and institutes; houses and cottages on a new system of ventilation; how he had allotted gardens; established singing classes."[35]

Disraeli recognizes that the industrial world has developed to such an extent that it must be incorporated into the social order in its own. It has not assumed the rights and privileges of the old order, and although its rights and privileges at the present are tied to laws and Parliamentary representation, they are insufficient for the moral development of the industrial social order in society. Disraeli looks to the printing press and literacy to bring an awareness of the common identity of moral rights and responsibilities of all Englishmen under the sovereign.[36] He supports ancient lineage, but advises the reader to inspect the basis of specific lineages to evaluate their worth. He supports natural leadership and community over government. His descriptions of factories are idealized and he portrays manufacturers as responsible and paternalistic toward their employees and in one case even providing singing classes.

In Sybil (1845) Disraeli romantically joins the world of the industrial worker, represented by the beautiful Sybil, with the aristocratic world, represented by Charles Egremont, in marriage. The times are those of growing trade unionism, unrest over economic distress, agitation against the Corn Laws, and Chartism. Sybil, who exercises a moral leadership over the working people who know her, traces her lineage to Old English aristocracy and practices the Catholic religion. Her

"good blood" helps make the marriage more palatable to the nineteenth century English reader. Disraeli was just as aware as Trollope was of the effects of marrying persons of different classes on the English reading public so he has the new Mrs. Egremont spend a year in Europe with her husband to get used to the ways of a lady.

The conditions, attitudes, and actions of country and city workers, employers, and aristocrats are described in Sybil. Sybil's father Gerard is an inspector in a factory. He and Sybil live in a pleasant cottage with bookshelves filled with the works of philosophers.[37] The rural factory where he works is well-ventilated and covers several acres; one large room holds more than two thousand workers. The employer provides housing, schools, and a church for his workers, and gives them a half-day to get in their weekly provisions. He pays them at the factory to overcome the "expensive and evil habits which result from wages being paid in public-houses."[38] Yet Gerard is a political agitator, seeking to improve the conditions of the "people", and obtaining for them " . . . rights consistent with the rights of other classes."[39] Sybil also wants justice for the "people" and for Labor to be as much respected by Law and society as Property.[40]

Not all mill owners are as beneficent as the one who runs Gerard's mill, and in any case, no employer could protect the worker against the credit that merchants would extend before payday to the worker, entering the debt into what they called a tommy-book and charging exorbitant rates. Some mill owners extended credit to their workers and even charged the worker for breakage and poor workmanship so that on payday the worker did not receive full pay.[41]

Another economic crisis resulted from the high mortality of the

children and the consequent burial costs. This problem was resolved by the workers' organizing and joining burial clubs where the costs were met by weekly or monthly dues.

Disraeli shows the factory system winning out over the handloom weaver. At first, the latter could continue his autonomous existence and profit in good markets, and survive in poor ones through the factory wages of the other members of his family. But the factory also competed for the workers' family. In the story a young girl, who can support herself on her wages, decides to go to the city and work, leaving her father and the rest of the family without the benefit of her wages.

Young female factory workers are seen as keeping house in very nice rooms, gaily dressed, neatly groomed, and wearing real jewelry.[42] Some girls migrate to the city to work because of boredom with country life and distaste for the training and education programs required at their present workplace.[43]

In the city, Devilsdust and Dandy Mick are two industrial workers. They belong to the Shoddy-Court Literary and Scientific Institute which subscribes to three newspapers for the enlightenment of its members. It is here that Devilsdust and Mick hear the radical Stephen Morley, the worker-journalist, who encourages them to join the workers' cause. Mick is initiated into the brotherhood of a trade union with all its associated secrecy: masks, night's darkness, and blindfolds.[44] The secrecy appears necessary because various members of the union have lost jobs when their employers found out about their membership, as Martineau's character did in A Manchester Strike. The union meeting features hymn-singing, prayers, and the Bible for taking the oath of membership.[45] These London workers also have an extravagant "Temple of the Muses" which provides entertainment

and refreshments.

Disraeli, a man of London life, paints the country life as dull both for the mill worker[46] and the aristocrat[47], yet the city has its detrimental side:

> The houses, the population, the costume, the manners, the language . . . were of a different state and nation to those with which the dwellers in the dainty quarters of the city are acquainted . . . dark streets of frippery and old stores, market-places of entrails and carrion, with gutters running gore, sometimes . . . enveloped in the yeasty fumes of a colassal brewery, and sometimes . . . of lanes teeming with life, and where the dog-stealer and the pickpocket, the burglar and the assassin found a sympathetic multitude of all ages; comrades for every enterprise; and a market for every bounty.[48]

Sybil feels uneasy in London and tells Egremont, "Tis a great prison. How strange it is that, in a vast city like this, one can scarcely walk alone!"[49] He walks with her and they pass "through several clean, still streets, that had rather the appearance of streets in a very quiet country town, than of abodes in the greater city in the world, and in the vicinity of palaces and parliaments."[50]

Egremont, as a member of Parliament, works very hard to discover the conditions of workingmen's lives. Gerard applauds his application to this task and relates all that he knows. Work and self-application are praised in the novel for both the aristocrat and the worker. One of the pressing problems that Gerard brings up is what will be done to accommodate the tremendous immigration of more than 300,000 persons yearly into England.[51] No answer is attempted. Egremont's elder brother, Lord Marney, is antagonistic toward the growth of industry, and in favor of better military and police control to stop rick-burning and riots. He even hopes that the mills are stopped so that "one might live like a gentleman again."[52]

The two nations, the rich and the poor, are seen as separate worlds of

different breeding, intercourse, subsistence, and laws by Gerard.[53] Sybil sees the gulf as impassable, with the upper classes depending on government and social networks, and the working classes depending on secret societies, trade unionism, and conspiracy. While upper-class people struggle to gain titles and land, the workingman struggles for subsistence and survival. Charles Egremont counsels the workers to accept the natural leadership of the sovereign. As individuals, he and Sybil bridge the gap between the two nations by marriage. He teaches her to turn from her book learning and to learn from experience and observation in life, as Disraeli himself did, and in this way he is able to overcome some of her prejudices.

Thus Disraeli applauds life as education, work as virtue, and the sovereign as the proper respository of power. He sees good and bad persons in both the nation of the rich and that of the poor. He acknowledges that conditions of work, housing, and credit exist that need remedy. But he insists that the way to improvement is not by secret societies, agitation, and Chartism, but by trust in the sovereign; the chief enemies are "commerce" and Whiggery that divide the nation.

Summary

Social Worlds of the Novels

The social worlds of these novels are based on separate classes with little or no social mobility. Oddly enough, it is Trollope and Disraeli, the Tories, who sympathize with competent individuals who try and rise in society, but they decry the attempt of the working class to elevate its position. Martineau, the avowed radical, keeps her character in their place by allegiance to the mechanical laws of supply and demand which threaten personal Armageddon to those who challenge them.

At the top are manufacturers and their heirs in Trollope's novel, in Martineau's A Manchester Strike, and in Disraeli's Coningsby. In Martineau's Deerbrook and Disraeli's Sybil, the clashes of changing social worlds are evident. Time is on the side of the apothecary in Deerbrook and meanwhile he forgives the ignorant; thus social responsibility lies with the knowledgeable, and science and rationality will win over tradition. In Sybil, Disraeli shows the increasing segregation of the world of the industrial workers in the urban lives of Devilsdust and Dandy Mick, and its size increasing to the point that it can support its own institutions. As yet, however, their institutions are legitimate but shabby copies of traditional ones, the Shoddy-Court Literary and Scientific Institute being an example, or not legitimate, as the secret union organization.

The social bonds of tradition still hold in Deerbrook, but are being challenged. In the other novels new social bonds based on the economic ties of industrialization and urbanization and devoid of a moral tradition and a rank of rights and obligations prevail. The reader's sympathies are aroused by attractive protagonists who struggle to rise and succeed in the social world. Success is not entirely based on the individual's efforts, as patronage in Trollope's novel helps Michael Armstrong to a life of material success within a small social circle. For Disraeli success is marrying into and being personally fully accepted by the highest groups in society, and this, too, is not done solely by the individual's competence and hard work and attractiveness, for the acceptable lineage of the marriage partner of lesser status is revealed to the reader. Disraeli stands between the traditional and the modern, attempting to show that the traditional standards are also indicators of the modern standards of success. He tries to merge the best of both worlds.

Demographic Factors

Fertility rates are too high for the workers in A Manchester Strike, according to Miss Martineau. For Trollope and Disraeli, mortality rates are too high; Disraeli's workers belong to burial clubs to help meet the costs of death. Disease and epidemics are characteristic of the period (Trollope, Martineau).

Migrations of this period include those of the child workers to the hill factories (Trollope), those of the gypsies to the rural area where people were turning to fortune-telling and magic in their misfortunes (Martineau, Deerbrook), and those of the young factory girls to the city (Disraeli, Sybil).

Industrialism

The industrial world is not maligned by these novelists. It is a fact of life, and the authors concern themselves with the social problems it has generated: child labor, unionization and strikes, the decline of the traditional village life, and the rise of the city. Manufacturers are an accepted part of the gentry in Trollope's novel, and they are the gentry in Martineau's A Manchester Strike, while Disraeli shows their increasing acceptance among the country's elite young men at Eton and in marriage with aristocrats.

It is the worker whose problems of social acceptance, life standards, and political representation are of greater concern. Trollope's novel is a plea to help the exploited child laborer, not only by befriending one as Mary Brotherton did Michael Armstrong, but to push the voting public to vote for Parliamentary legislation that will protect the entire group. Martineau rationalizes the poor economic conditions of the worker to their own inability to conduct their lives advantageously by controlling their

numbers, and attempts to teach this lesson of political economy to the literate worker. Disraeli is concerned with the split in society between the "nation of the rich and the nation of the poor" and counsels against the conflicts of class interests and for the unification of national interests under the sovereign.

The child worker is described by Trollope as exploited, physically pale, and listless, reinforcing the image created in Goodwin's novel. Among the male adult workers, Martineau and Disraeli hint of a lack of sobriety, and Disraeli has his employer (Coningsby) pay the men at the factory to prevent the drunkenness that follows the common practice of paying them at the public-houses. The industrial workers in these novels tend to be literate, and in Disraeli's novels we get a picture of workers who are working hard at self-improvement and see some of the institutions that are developing around this drive.

But no matter how much these workers develop themselves they are not apt to learn the manners of those above them in society with whom they have little contact, and the pressure of the already "arrived" to maintain their status is against the rise of the worker socially. Furthermore the traditional established group requires reassurances that their exclusiveness of lineage will not be ignored in the competition for status.

Factories are described as existing in both rural areas in these novels and in the city (Disraeli, Sybil). These factories are steam-powered in Disraeli's novels and mule-powered in Trollope's. Factories are supplied with machines. Disraeli idealizes the plants, the work, the masters, and even gives the workers a sympathetic, if vulgar, vitality.

The economic survival of the industrial worker depends on family wages. When the young factory girls see that they can live on their own

and buy themselves pretty things, many decide to leave their home towns and their families, causing an economic crisis, as well as changing family authority patterns.

Workers (Martineau, Disraeli) are organizing and acting in their own behalf. The burial clubs and union organization indicate this as well as their efforts at self-improvement through education.

Union leaders and organization are not viewed favorably by these authors. Workers are developing their own patterns of life that barely touch those of other classes as their urban settlement grows (Disraeli). Yet the paternalism of the upper classes of benevolent masters extends to the singing classes provided for workers in Coningsby. Even the "radical" Martineau endorses the social responsibility of the educated for the ignorant worker. There are indications of a new independence for the industrial worker, but social guidance and responsibility and political power still rests with the upper classes.

Authors' Visions of Life

Trollope supports the world of the traditional gentry which in her novel is joined by the manufacturers living as gentry. She sees that the factory has changed the conditions of work and that the exploiting of the child laborer cannot be dealt with solely on an individual level. The Anglican rector leads in the drive for Parliamentary legislation to protect the child. Thus she sees necessary social reform coming from the leadership and stewardship of the traditional Christian English world.

Martineau identifies with manufacturing interests and sees each group in society pursuing its own interests impersonally under the laws of political economy like the Manchester liberals, whether they are aware of these laws or not. Ignorance excuses responsibility, and education

makes for social responsibility. Workers must become aware of these laws and control their numbers in the market place and in the home it they want higher wages and better living conditions. There is no need for sentiment in social liaisons over the various groups. In the village of Deerbrook, she illustrates the conflict between the traditional crowd-manipulating, superstition-based authority of the baronet with the more modern individual, legal-rational authority of the apothecary, and favors the latter with success in the story.

Disraeli focuses on the moral rights and mutual obligations of the various ranks in society which hold it together in a workable harmony and attempts to forge a new Tory ideology. This moral order is challenged by the changes introduced by industry and a new moral order must be instituted under the authority of the sovereign. The pursuit by groups or individuals of their own practical interests without moral integration that transcends class interests does not make for a viable society, according to Disraeli.

All of these authors retain ideas of paternalism, but Martineau sees the possibility that education of the worker will make future paternalism unnecessary. Disraeli predicts that the public will develop a national allegiance to the sovereign's rule and that the House of Commons will fall away.

A broader view of English urban life is provided by the novels of Charles Dickens which are discussed in the following chapter. Like Trollope, Dickens writes against the exploitation of child labor; like Martineau, Dickens favors education; like Disraeli, Dickens favors individual development and does not concern himself with a system of moral integration. Industry is the villain in Dickens's Hard Times,

as it confines and conforms human life, rather than the new champion of life as it appears in Disraeli's Coningsby.

Notes to Chapter VI

[1]Lucy Poate and Richard Poate Stebbins, The Trollopes: The Chronicles of a Writing Family (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 97.

[2]Ibid., p. 81.

[3]Frances Trollope, The Life and Adventures of Michael Armstrong: the Factory Boy (1840; new impression, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1968), p. 212.

[4]Ibid., p. 237.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid., p. 239.

[7]Ibid., p. 240.

[8]R. K. Webb, Harriet Martineau: A Radical Victorian (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 40.

[9]Ibid., p. 64.

[10]Vera Wheatley, The Life and Work of Harriet Martineau (London: Secker & Warburg, 1957), p. 104; Webb, p. 348.

[11]Harriet Martineau, A Manchester Strike, orig. pub. 1832, 2nd ed. in Illustrations of Political Economy, 9 vols. (London: Charles Fox, 1834), 3:101.

[12]Ibid., p. 3.

[13]Ibid., p. 2.

[14]Ibid., p. 51.

[15]Wheatley, pp. 317-8.

[16]Webb, p. 122.

[17]Ibid., p. 113.

[18]Harriet Martineau, Deerbrook, 3 vols. (London: Edward Moxon, 1839), 3:268.

[19]Webb, p. 217.

[20]George Brandes, Lord Beaconsfield: A Study, reprinted from edition of 1880 (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, Apollo edition, 1966), p. 125.

[21]Benjamin Disraeli, Coningsby, orig. pub. 1844 (New York: Dutton, Everyman's Library, 1971), p. 318.

[22]Ibid., p. 2.

[23]Ibid., p. 37.

[24]Ibid., p. 68.

[25]Ibid., p. 143.

[26]Ibid., p. 141.

[27]Ibid., p. 111.

[28]Brandes, p. 115 reports that Disraeli saw the Poor Law as giving economic justice without social justice, because it supported the man but removed him from the social world of his family to the workhouse.

[29]Disraeli, p. 251.

[30]Ibid., p. 234.

[31]Ibid., p. 293.

[32]Ibid., p. 129.

[33]Ibid., p. 133.

[34]Ibid., P. 135.

[35]Ibid., p. 136.

[36]Asa Briggs, Victorian Cities, orig. pub. 1963 (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 95. Briggs notes Disraeli's faith in the novel to develop public opinion.

[37]Benjamin Disraeli, Sybil: or the Two Nations, orig. pub. 1845 (London: Oxford University Press, the World's Classics, 1970), pp. 135-6.

[38]Ibid., p. 194.

[39]Ibid., p. 303.

[40]Ibid., p. 238.

[41]Ibid., p. 88.

[42]Ibid., p. 90.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid., p. 224.

[45]Ibid., p. 225. Selig Perlman in A Theory of the Labor Movement (1949) notes that union organization in nineteenth century England was religious in nature.

[46]Disraeli, p. 90.

[47]Ibid., p. 364.

[48]Ibid., p. 319.

[49]Ibid., p. 238.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Ibid., p. 140.

[52]Ibid., p. 356.

[53]Ibid., p. 67.

Chapter VII

Five Novels of Charles Dickens

George Ford states that Dickens was approached only by Scott in having the largest circulation of any "classic writer."[1] Yet there were other novelists like G. W. M. Reynolds whose work Dickens deplored but whose penny weekly numbers outsold his own.[2] But it has been Dickens's novels, not those of Reynolds, that have been reprinted over the decades. By their exposure in quantity as well as over time, they have probably had the greater influence on social thought, and according to the Times Dickens did in his life time draw from Reynolds's audience.[3] The audience most susceptible to Dickens's novels were those ambitious for upward social mobility that he met and addressed in the Mechanics' Institutes of Birmingham and Manchester.[4] The more cultivated readers left Dickens for the Brontes, Thackery, George Eliot, and Meredith in the 1850's.[5]

Charles Dickens himself was one of the ambitious and socially mobile. He began life on the southern coast of England at Portsea in 1812. His grandparents were house servants and his father was a clerk in the Navy Pay Office. Charles's father, like Mr. Micawber, was a very sociable and well-liked man who lived beyond his income. His brothers and later his children were also to show an inability to manage their financial affairs. Charles's horror of living life as less than a gentleman, and of being sent to debtor's prison as his father had been, spurred him to earn great amounts of money and made his many reckless relatives a special trial to him. Even after he had become successful at novel writing, Dickens con-

tinued to hold regular employment as an editor. Like Scott before him, he did not trust the security of his book profits alone.

His education was gained mostly in the British Museum and through his experiences as a reporter. He saw the law as "archaic, muddled, expensive of time and money, and obstructive of justice."[6] Parliament, he observed as a reporter, was a "place of dull and protracted talk, dominated by a mania for archaic rules and precedents and red tape and sealing wax, and even after its reform hardly less the defender of privileged interests than before."[7]

Dickens viewed himself as a gentleman, not one of the "people."[8] His views were those of respectability and of the middle class.[9] Yet he was for extending the franchise and voiced a faith in the ability of the people to govern wisely.[10] At one time he appealed to the workers to use their numbers to demand their will. In doing so he frightened many of his readers.[11] He saw the workingman becoming well versed in literature, with some surpassing many fine gentlemen in their knowledge.[12] Over his lifetime he thought of himself first as a reformer and later as a radical. He was wholeheartedly against a society run by the "laws of political economy."[13]

Socially and politically, Dickens mixed with active professionals and reformers of his day. He was a member of the Garrick Club and of the Athenaeum Club and was invited to the literary salons of his day. In his early years the city of London stimulated his imagination and his writing, but later he was glad for the quiet and isolation of his home at Gad's Hill. He was politically active in supporting the work of Lord Ashley to improve child labor conditions, in writing political essays, and in supporting the ragged school education of the poor, as well as in promoting cheap housing and fighting the environmental blight of industrialism.[14]

Dickens's five novels included in this sample were published between 1838 and 1860. They are: Oliver Twist (1838), Dombey and Son (1846), Hard Times (1854), Little Dorrit (1857), and Great Expectations (1860). In them the reader is introduced to the problems of a workhouse orphan, the life of a railroad stoker and his family, life in a factory town, life in debtor's prison, and to a socially mobile young blacksmith's apprentice. In both Hard Times and Little Dorrit, factories are described. Little Dorrit and Great Expectations each have a man of mechanical bent who is an inventor, and who are described like the mechanical person of Egan in Life in London as honest, industrious, merry, and independent. Besides the pleasant but not too bright workers in Dickens's pages, Mr. Toodles (Dombey and Son), Stephen Blackpool (Hard Times), and Joe Gargery (Great Expectations), there is the surly, unpleasant Orlick (Great Expectations).

The bonds that tie the world of Dickens together are economic and are calculating in nature. Traditional bonds such as religion have rotted away in the city, while Law presides over man's affairs and is used to further one's interests. Legal-rational organization, i.e., bureaucracy as seen in the circumlocution office of Little Dorrit, grows and obstructs Mr. Doyce's inventions and technical progress. Overall education is valued by the middle-class people of Dickens's tales, and gentlemen as well as workingmen are better for it.

The Novels

Oliver Twist (1838)

In Oliver Twist Dickens enlightens the reader with a dismal view of the life of a workhouse orphan, " . . . humble, half-starved drudge--to be cuffed and buffeted through the world--deprived by all, and pitied by none."[15] He adds a Dantesque view of city life which he contrasts with

a utopian view of country life. Finally there is a happy ending as Oliver, the workhouse orphan, is found to be a gentleman's son and is befriended by gentlefolk.

At the workhouse, the young Oliver commits the unpardonable sin of requesting more food, and the authorities realize that they must rid themselves of this recalcitrant boy before he infects others. He is offered as an apprentice. A chimney cleaner tries to have Oliver apprenticed to him, but the judge takes pity on Oliver and does not sign the indenture papers as this master had already managed to have several apprentices bruised and smothered to death. At last, he is taken as an apprentice to the undertaker Mr. Sowerberry.

The undertaker's wife complains that Oliver will grow fat at their expense as she sees "no saving in parish children . . . for they always cost more to keep than they're worth."[16] But Oliver is not fated to stay here either; the same mulishness that caused the workhouse authorities to turn him out causes him to fight a bully at the undertaker's and to come to disgrace so that he runs away to London. When Mr. Bumble, the beadle, is informed of this outrageous behavior, he tells the undertaker's wife that paupers must not be fed too well or their spirits will be raised--"It's quite enough that we let'em have live bodies. If you had kept the boy on gruel, ma'am, this would never have happened."[17] Mrs. Sowerberry's opinion is that workhouse children are born to be murderers and robbers from the cradle.[18]

In London, Oliver finds that he has fled from one master to another as he is enrolled in Fagin's school for pickpockets and the like by the Artful Dodger. However he quickly loses his new acquaintances when they run off one day in the street and leave Oliver to face the law on a

charge of thievery. Mr. Brownlow, a gentleman, befriends Oliver when he is acquitted on the charge and takes him into his home. Oliver flourishes here until discovered and snatched back to the life of crime by Fagin and associates.

Fagin's partner in crime, Bill Sikes, uses Oliver to break into a country house, but the alert servants shoot Oliver, and he is left in a ditch while Bill escapes back to London. The house is the home of a gentlewoman and her niece, who nurse Oliver back to health. Meanwhile Mr. Brownlow has left the country temporarily, consequently Oliver remains with the gentlewoman and is sent out to be tutored each day by an elderly gentleman.

Dickens's descriptions of the city of London characterize the commercial and poor sections as places of violence, conspiracy, decay, filth, and starvation, and their inhabitants as unwashed, unshaven, squalid, and dirty. There are the Smithfield markets, ankle-deep in filth and mire with bleating sheep, reeking cattle, butchers, drovers, boys, thieves, and idlers shouting and moving in the misty swirls of early morning fog.[19] There is Bethnal Green which is "a maze of mean and dirty streets . . . in a densely-populated quarter."[20] Then there is the commercial colony of Field Lane:

> . . . the emporium of petty larceny: visited at early morning, and setting-in of dusk, by silent merchants, who traffic in dark back-parlours, and who go strangely as they come. Here, the clothesman, the shoe-vamper, and the rag-merchant, display their goods, as sign-boards to the petty thief; here, stores of old iron and bones, and heaps of mildewy fragments of woolen-stuff and linen, rust, and rot in the grimey cellars.[21]

Another area is described by the rats who lay "putrefying in its rottenness, . . . hideous with famine" and the people looked like the rats.[22] Residential and work areas in London are segregated according to

class and occupation. The heavily congested areas of wholesale trade are bordered by neighborhoods of criminal activity and by residences and small shops that cater to the poor. Crime is an active way to economic survival. These descriptions correlate with the terror and exploitation of young Oliver by Fagin and his band of thieves. Dickens does not in this novel describe industry but rather the commercial ambiance of London's service industries.

By contrast, Dickens's description of the countryside is idyllic and correlates with the wounded Oliver's being nursed back to health by the gentlewomen.

> Who can describe the pleasure and delight, the peace of mind and soft tranquility, the sickly boy felt in the balmy air, and among the green hills and rich woods, of an inland village! Who can tell how scenes of peace and quietude sink into the minds of pain-worn dwellers in close and noisy places, and carry their own freshness, deep into their jaded hearts! Men who have lived in crowded, pent-up streets, through lives of toil, and who have never wished for change; men, to whom custom has indeed been second nature, and who have come almost to love each brick and stone that formed the narrow boundaries of their daily walks; even they, with the hand of death upon them, have been known to yearn at last for one short glimpse of Nature's face; and, carried far from the seenes of their old pains and pleasures, have seemed to pass at once into a new state of being.[23]

The country poor are even neat and clean and "knelt so reverently in prayer, that it seemed a pleasure not a tedious duty, their assembling there together . . . ."[24]

It is through the efforts of Mr. Brownlow and not the courts that Oliver finally attains his birthright of gentleman with income, for Mr. Brownlow discovers that Oliver is the illegitimate son of a man who had been a close friend. Besides being a born gentleman, Oliver is clean, honest, good-looking, eager to please, and educated, all of which assure him of success.

Thus we see that the public does not care much for the workhouse orphan and exploits him; that the city is terrifying, violent, and filthy compared to the peace, tranquility, and cleanliness of the countryside; and that the successful gentleman is born one, and is attractive, honest, and educated. We are not introduced to any industrial workers.

Dombey and Son (1846)

In Dombey and Son Dickens introduces a railroad stoker and his family. The main character of the story is Florence Dombey, who, though good and loving, is spurned by her father, who favors his sickly son to supply the continuity of his commercial firm.

The nurse who is hired to care for the young heir is a railroad stoker's wife. She is kind and understanding and includes young Florence in her attentions. Her name is Polly Toodles, but Mr. Dombey forces her to give up her name as well as her family to come and care for young Dombey. Mr. Dombey does show some interest in the nurse's family by arranging for her young son Biler to go to the Charitable Grinder's school which turns out to be so severe an education that the boy plays truant and joins up with criminals.

The Toodles family lives in Stagg's Gardens, a decaying rural suburb of London:

> . . . a little row of houses, with little squalid patches of ground before them, fenced off with old doors, barrel staves, scraps of tarpaulin, and dead bushes; with bottomless tin kettles and exhausted iron fenders, thrust into the gaps.[25]

Mr. Toodles is a pleasant man. On first being introduced to Mr. Dombey he is depicted as doing nothing "but chuckle and grin."[26] He is not literate but is looking forward to having one of his four sons teach him to read and write someday. Dickens contrasts him with Mr. Dombey:

> He was a strong, loose, round-shouldered, shuffling, shaggy fellow, on whom his clothes sat negligently; with a good deal of hair and whisker, deepened in its natural tint, perhaps by smoke and coal-dust; hard knotty hands; and a square forehead, as coarse in grain as the bark of an oak--a thorough contrast in all respects to moneyed gentlemen who are glossy and crisp like new banknotes, and who seem to be artificially braced and tightened as by the stimulating action of golden shower-baths.[27]

Mr. Toodles touches his hat in deference when he sees Mr. Dombey at the railroad station.[28] He approaches Mr. Dombey with a "Scuse the liberty, sir" and several "Beg your pardons."[29] He wants to tell Mr. Dombey of the fall of young Biler into bad ways in response to the parrot education flogged into the students at the Charitable Grinders, perhaps feeling that Mr. Dombey, being more powerful than he, might have some remedy. However Mr. Dombey comments to his companion Major Bagstock on hearing of Biler's fall that this is the usual return for educating the poor. Major Bagstock agrees that it never pays to educate that sort of people.[30]

Dickens sees the criminal environs of the city as a blight on human growth and development:

> Vainly attempt to think of any simple plant, or flower, or wholesome weed that, set in this foetid bed, could have its natural growth, or--put its little leaves off to the sun as God designed it. And then, calling up some ghastly child, with stunted form and wicked face, hold forth on its unnatural sinfulness, and lament its being, so early, far away from Heaven--but think a little of its having been conceived, and born and bred, in Hell.[31]

He is also concerned with freedom of thought, which he sees as necessary for the mind to develop:

> It might be worthwhile, sometimes, to inquire what Nature is, and how men work to change her, and whether, in the enforced distortions so produced, it is not natural to be unnatural. Coop any son or daughter or our mighty mother within narrow range, and bind the prisoner to one idea, and foster it by servile worship of it on the part of what is nature to the willing captive who has never risen up upon the wings of a free mind--drooping and useless soon--to see her in her comprehensive truth![32]

The bonds that tie people together in Dickens's society are not

patrimonial but economic, and even the traditional bond of religion is seen as worn away. At the christening of the young heir, the church is described as "chill and earthly" with a "dreary perspective of empty pews . . . a cold and dismal scene."[33] When Mr. Dombey remarries after his wife's death, the church scene is described as where "mice . . . have been busier with the prayerbooks than their proper owners" and the kneeling hassocks "more worn by their teeth than by human knees."[34] Dickens himself was a member of the Anglican church out of custom rather than piety and the christening celebrations of his ten children were affairs of fun and frivolity rather than religious occasions.

Even the common bond of language is strained between characters who form the genteel circle around Florence and those lower on the social scale around the Toodles family. The speeches of the former are printed with correct spelling while those of the latter are printed to indicate a dialect as the "scuse" of Mr. Toodles and the flashy regency slang like the "cove" and "chick" and "lovey" of good Mrs. Brown, an acquaintance of Biler.[35]

A break with the past is seen in the railroad which is tearing up the countryside:

> The power that forced itself upon its iron way--its own--defiant of all paths and roads, piercing through the heart of every obstacle, and dragging living creatures of all classes, ages, and degrees behind it, was a type of triumphant monster, Death.[36]

Thus Dickens gives a picture of a not overly bright workingman who is illierate, but good-hearted. The workingman is marginal to the story. His son is able to go to the Charitable Grinder School through the largesses of Mr. Dombey of the commercial class. This education proves so harsh that the boy becomes a truant and consorts with criminals. Mr.

Dombey rationalizes this consequence by asserting the likes of Biler should not be provided with an education. Mr. Dombey is not presented as a sympathetic character, and we may suppose that Dickens, who in real life worked to improve the ragged schools, was actually in favor of expanding education and literacy to the working class.

In this novel Dickens, like his friend Bulwer-Lytton, shows concern for the negative effects of the city environment on children, and he makes a plea for freedom of thought.

Hard Times (1854)

In Hard Times Dickens sets his story in a factory town. It is in the bank, the mill, and the school that we meet the characters of Coketown. The story opens in the school of Thomas Gradgrind where facts are pounded into the pupils' heads. Wonder and fancy have no place in the curriculum and are scourged from the young minds. Gradgrind's own children, Louisa and Thomas, learn the lesson dutifully while the child of a circus stroller, raised in an environment of wonder and fancy, cannot.

Coketown is described as dirty, its engines as powerful, and its people as robotized:

> It was a town of red brick, or of brick that would have been red if the smoke and ashes had allowed it; but as matters stood it was a town of unnatural red and black like the painted face of a savage. It was a town of machinery and tall chimneys, out of which interminable serpents of smoke trailed themselves forever and ever, and never got uncoiled. It had a black canal in it, and a river that ran purple with ill-smelling dye, and vast piles of building full of windows where there was a rattling and a trembling all day long, and where the piston of the steam-engine worked monotonously up and down like the head of an elephant in a state of melancholy madness. It contained several large streets all very like one another, and many small streets still more like one another, inhabited by people equally like one another, who all went in and out at the same hours, with the same sound upon the same pavements, to do the same work, and to whom every day was the same as yesterday and tomorrow, and every year the counterpart of the last and the next.[37]

Bounderby, the banker and mill owner in Coketown, is a great friend of Gradgrind. The latter's curriculum supplies the robot-like citizenry needed for employment in his bank and mill. He boasts about the ragamuffin childhood that he has managed to rise above by hard work. Actually, his parents scrimped and saved to get him in the right schools and jobs and his mother still lives and visits now and again but as a stranger, unacknowledged by Bounderby. Bounderby is forever comparing his fictitious childhood of hard knocks with the expectations of the mill workers who want to be fed on "turkey soup and venison with a gold spoon."[38] His household is graced by the attentions of a Mrs. Sparsit, a lady of Family. Thus the master is a liar who boasts of his success by hard work from poor beginnings, he holds this false example up to his workers, and he fawns over Mrs. Sparsit because she is Family.

The workers in Coketown live in its "inner-most fortification . . . where nature was as strongly bricked out as killing airs and gases were bricked in; . . . ."[39] It was a place of hurry and crowding. The power loom worker Stephen Blackpool lives there. Dickens described him:

> A rather stooping man, with a knitted brow, a pondering expression of face, and a hard-looking head sufficiently capacious on which his iron-grey hair lay long and thin, Old Stephen might have passed for a particularly intelligent man in his condition. Yet he was not. He took no place among those remarkable "Hands," who, piecing together their broken intervals of leisure through many years, had mastered difficult sciences and acquired a knowledge of most unlikely things. He held no station among the Hands who could make speeches and carry on debates. Thousands of his compeers could talk much better than he, at any time. He was a good power-loom weaver, and a man of perfect integrity.[40]

Dickens contrasts this quiet, steady worker with the chasing, smashing, tearing piece of mechanism he works at. He reassures the reader that man gains in dignity by comparison with machines.[41] The capacity of the machine is calculable while the "capacity for good or

evil, for love or hatred, for patriotism or discontent, for the decomposition of virtue into vice, or the reverse, at any single moment in the soul of one of these quiet servants (workers), with the composed faces and the regulated actions" is not.[42]

Stephen defers to the leadership of gentlemen but is not servile. When he goes to Bounderby to seek advice about divorcing his alcoholic wife he makes a bow: "not a servile one--these Hands will never do that!"[43] He "tucked his neckerchief ends into his waistcoat" in honor of greeting Mrs. Sparsit.[44] Mrs. Sparsit and Mr. Bounderby advise Stephen that the Law is expensive and beyond the purse of such as he.[45] Bounderby adds that the country's institutions are not made by people like Stephen and that the marriage institution says for better or worse and it just happens that he got worse what might have been better.[46]

In the mill the hands are restless and Slackbridge, a union organizer, exhorts them to organize and strike. Stephen refuses to vote for the strike, seeing no advantage in it as the mills do not bring prosperity or a better life to the workers, but Death.[47] Stephen recognizes that his position on the strike ostracizes him from the men.[48]

Slackbridge, the union organizer, is described as not as good as the men he is addressing in that he is "not so honest . . . not so manly . . . not so good-humoured."[49] Furthermore he used cunning to get what he wanted and substituted passion for common sense.[50] Even his clothing and his looks made him inferior to the mill hands he addressed. Dickens notes that it was strange "to see this crowd of earnest faces, whose honesty in the main no competent observer free from bias could doubt, so agitated by such a leader."[51] His speech called on "friends and downtrodden operatives of Coketown . . . slaves of an ironhanded and a grinding

despotism."[52] He tells them it is time to rally for their cause which rests upon "the God-created glorious rights of Humanity, and upon the holy and eternal privileges of Brotherhood!"[53] The men support Slackbridge with cheering. Slackbridge and his acceptance by the workers is reminiscent of Martineau's Clack, who was also the strike organizer, also unattractive as a character, and also successful in getting the men to organize a strike.

When Bounderby questions Stephen as to what the rascals are doing, Stephen says the men are doing what they believe is right and are not rascals.[54] Stephen says the men are patient but they see the conditions of dreary life and endless labor leading nowhere except to the grave.[55] He even suggests that the fault may not lie all with the men. Stephen warns Bounderby against using strongarm methods to combat the strike.[56] Bounderby wants the perpetrators like Slackbridge arrested and transported. Stephen tells him that the Slackbridges are a symptom, not a cause, and eradicating them will not erase the problem.

Stephen is unjustly accused of robbing the bank, and unable to face the charges, flees the town. Placards are put up in public places asking for his return and knowledge of his whereabouts. In the crowds there is a great deal of illiteracy:

> Not the least eager of the eyes assembled were the eyes of those who could not read. These people, as they listened to the friendly voice that read aloud--there was always some such ready to help them--stared at the character which meant so much with a vague awe and respect that would have been half ludicrous, if any aspect of public ignorance could ever be otherwise than threatening and full of evil.[57]

The mill owners were followers of the "laws of political economy" and Dickens writes, "they were ruined when they were required to send labouring children to school; they were ruined when inspectors were appointed to look into their works; they were ruined when such inspectors

considered it doubtful whether they were quite justified in chopping people up with their machines; they were utterly undone when it was hinted that perhaps they need not always make quite so much smoke."[58]

The Bounderbys and the Gradgrinds aped the aristocrats. The "liked fine gentlemen: they pretended that they did not, but they did. They became exhausted in imitation of them; and they yaw-yawed in their speech like them; and they served out with an enervated air, the little mouldy rations of political economy on which they regaled their disciples."[59] There was Mrs. Sparsit whose adulation and care Bounderby reveled in as she was of Family. There was Mr. Harthouse who comes to Coketown "a thorough gentleman . . . weary of everything, and putting no more faith in anything than Lucifer"[60] who was befriended by Bounderby and Gradgrind and modeled after by young Tom Gradgrind.

For the people below the Bounderbys and Gradgrinds in Coketown's social scale there is a terrible sameness and dinginess to life. Education, which could offer a way out, is stultifying in its stress on facts to the detriment of wonder. There is a library in Coketown and Dickens is more sanguine about the education to be gotten there as the readers persisted in wondering.

The social world of Coketown is ruled by Bounderby and supported by the mill. The hands defer, but are not servile to Bounderby. Their life is dreary and they are stimulated to act in their own interest by Slackbridge, an unsavory strike organizer. The bonds of this world are economic and calculating in nature.

Dickens's view of the fact-stressed education of the Gradgrind school is that it reinforces the life of service to the machines and ledgers of Coketown, and does not foster development of alternative ways of life.

Dickens is for broadening education to include "wonder", which may be stimulated by the use of the local library. However many of the people of Coketown are still illiterate, a dangerous condition which maintains public ignorance.

The good, steady worker Stephen is not swayed by Slackbridge to strike, but he is not motivated or articulate enough to refute Slackbridge's arguments before the mill hands. Dickens sees the mill hands as honest and well-meaning though misled by the arguments of Slackbridge; but agrees that they have a right to complain of their unpleasant living and work conditions.

Like Martineau, Dickens believes that education for self-reliance, not paternalism, should be a basis for social responsibility. However he sees the Gradgrind education as developing "reason without stooping to the cultivation of sentiments and affections."[61] One can compare this with Disraeli's complaint of the lack of moral order for the rising industrial sphere, and with Opie's observation that the lack of a code of honor for the tradesman made it difficult to raise a tradesman's child to something as abstract as honesty. All these authors noted the inadequacy of the social patterns of the day to cope with the changing urban-industrial world. Dickens adds that industrial mechanization impresses a conformity of men's lives and pollutes the beauty of the countryside.

Little Dorrit (1857)

Little Dorrit contributes a description of the factory at Bleeding Heart Yard in London and of the engineer-inventor Daniel Doyce. Both are marginal to the story, which centers around Little Dorrit, who was born and has grown up in Marshalsea Debtors prison with her father and brother and sister. Dickens was acquainted with the prison from his childhood

when his financially irresponsible father was put in debtor's prison together with his family. Dickens never got over the shame of this prison sentence and never revealed to his friends or his wife this event of his childhood.

The protection of prestige is important to Dickens's characters. Mr. Dorrit is the oldest resident of the prison and is called the Father of Marshalsea and as such has high status in the prison. His prestige is reinforced by his gentleman's life before entering Marshalsea and by the great size of his debts. Little Dorrit leaves the prison each day to do needlework in order to support herself and her father in prison. Like Miss Burney's heroine she pursues the occupation permitted a lady. Mr. Dorrit, as a gentleman, is horrified when he finds his daughter had walked in public with a workhouse resident. Even in the confines of prison, the snobbery of Mr. Dorrit associated with his status of gentleman persists. Prison life for the most part is depicted as serene and sociable. Many of the inmates work to get back in when they are finally released. The workhouse, on the other hand, is seen as erasing the self. It held little old men of nondescript dress who had "no privacy, no visitors, no station, no respect, no specialty."[62]

Workers live in Bleeding Heart Yard, and send their wives and children out to do sewing of all kinds to supplement their meagre wages. The workers represent many trades and though they are willing to work, there is not enough work to support them. The owner of the houses in the Yard is an absentee landlord, Mr. Casby, who employs the gypsy Pancks as rent collector. Dickens depicts the workers as exploited by Mr. Casby and unable to make ends meet and not bright enough to plan their affairs.

One of the workers who lives in the Yard is Mr. Plornish, a plasterer.

He is described as:

> A smooth-cheeked, fresh-coloured, sandy-whiskered man of thirty. Long in the legs, yielding at the knees, foolish in the face, flannel-jacketed, lime-whitened.[63]

He did not appear able to get a permanent job: "It so rarely happened that anybody seemed to want him, it was such an exceptional case when his powers were in any request, that his misty mind could not make out how it happened."[64] Later, when he and Mrs. Plornish have the good fortune to be set up as shopkeepers, they are unable to make ends meet because their clientele in Bleeding Heart Yard buy on credit and do not pay up. The problem of paying bills was a problem of the gentry in Burney's novel.

The factory of Daniel Doyce stands in one end of Bleeding Heart Yard, it is:

> . . . a long low workshop, filled with benches, and vices, and tools, and straps, and wheels; which, when they were in gear with the steam-engine, went tearing round as though they had a suicidal mission to grind the business to dust and tear the factory to pieces. A communication of great trap-doors in the floor and roof with the workshop above and the workshop below, made a shaft of light . . . . The patient figures at work were swarthy with the filings of iron and steel that danced on every bench and bubbled up through every chink in the planking. The workshop was arrived at by a stepladder from the outer yard below, where it served as a shelter for the large grindstone where tools were sharpened.[65]

Daniel Doyce is single-minded and happy in pursuit of his work. He is the son of a blacksmith from the North, and has worked hard for seven years to gain his technical and theoretical knowledge of engineering.[66] The patent approval of his invention has been held up in the tangles of the bureaucratic office of Circumlocution. The financial affairs and administration of his works is of little concern to Doyce who hires Arthur Clennam to manage them for him. One of the characters describes Doyce at the end of the story as "medalled and ribboned, and starred and crossed, and I don't-know-what all'd, like a born nobleman."[67] Thus this

son of a blacksmith has moved up in life. Doyce fits the pattern of Veblen's industrial engineer rather than the pecuniary business man. There is a likeness with the "mechanical person" of Egan in that he is honest, industrious, happy, and independent. Dickens does not breathe life into his characterization of Doyce and leaves him without emotional ties.

Fashionable people live in Grosvenor Square in Little Dorrit, and the would-be fashionable as near to it as possible. Widows and the less affluent live in Hampton Court in "dreary red-brick dungeons."[68] The struggling lived on Ludgate Hill:

> Miles of close wells and pits of houses, where the inhabitants gasped for air, stretched far away towards every point of the compass. Through the heart of the town a deadly sewer (the river Thames before the drainage improvements of 1859) ebbed and flowed, in the place of a fine fresh river. What secular want could the million or so of human beings whose daily labor, six days in the week, lay among these Arcadian objects, from the sweet sameness of which they had no escape between the cradle and the grave--what secular want could they possibly have upon their seventh day? Clearly they could want nothing but a stringent policeman.[69]

Again the ties that bind in this social world of Dickens are economic and legal-rational. The status symbols of a traditional gentleman's life are jealously guarded by those who possess them, but in Doyce there is the making of a new man of status based on the fruits of mechanical invention.

The economic base of the world of Little Dorrit does not function smoothly, for there is Mr. Plornish whose working-class clientele does not pay its bills run up on credit at his shop. Then there is the debtor's prison world which is so complete that children are raised in it and a stratification system is maintained. Then there is the factory in Bleeding Heart Yard where there are not enough jobs to support all the workers. Dickens portrays the workers as pleasant and well-meaning like

Mr. Plornish, but not overly bright and not able to manage their own finances.

Within the city of London the residences of the different classes of people are separated, with the poor living on Ludgate Hill in conditions of life and work that press them to erupt on Sundays and require the services of the police force to maintain law and order.

Great Expectations (1861)

Great Expectations tells of a blacksmith's apprentice who becomes a gentleman, of a blacksmith who is good-hearted but appears foolish in society, and of a lout of a workman who is evil. The other character of importance to our theme is a law clerk who is a mechanical inventor. No industrial workers appear in this novel.

Pip is the apprentice who becomes a gentleman by being given money by an escaped convict, Magwitch, through the help of the lawyer, Jaggers. Pip's first contact with the world of gentlefolk is as a boy when Miss Havisham, an eccentric recluse, invites him to come play with her ward Estella. Estella's comments on meeting Pip and being told by Miss Havisham to play cards with him, "Why he is a common-labouring-boy!"[70] Pip becomes ashamed of his coarse hands, coarse boots, and general lack of gentility, but continues his visits to Miss Havisham's until Estella is sent abroad for an education. Then Miss Havisham pays for Pip's indenture to Joe Gargary, his uncle, as an apprentice blacksmith. This is a very impressive gesture in Pip's life, but he is not as pleased now with the prospect of being apprenticed to Joe as he would have been before he met Estella.

Shortly thereafter a new turn occurs in Pip's life: the mysterious Mr. Jaggers comes from London with an offer to make a gentleman of Pip. Joe relinquishes his apprenticeship rights over Pip and wishes him well

on his way to London. It is better to be a gentleman than a blacksmith.

In London, Pip becomes a gentleman about town, spending more than he has and being perpetually in debt. His education, previously taken care of at night school, is now under the care of Mr. Pocket, who as the Cambridge-educated husband of the daughter of a man who almost became a knight, tutors a handful of young gentlemen to support his large family. Pip learns that gentlemen are not trained for any profession,[71] and that education is important to the gentleman even to provide him with table manners.[72]

Magwitch, an escaped convict to whom Pip under duress had once given aid, returns to England from Australia to claim Pip as his gentleman. It is Magwitch's money that has supported Pip's education and life as a gentleman. Magwitch's presence is revealed to the authorities, who capture him and confiscate his money for the Crown, leaving Pip penniless. Pip makes his way by working in his friend Herbert Pocket's business rather than returning to the blacksmith's shop.

Joe Gargery, the blacksmith, is seen as simple, strong, honest, and able as a blacksmith with a strong sense of the worth of his work, but lacking in literacy and social grace. He is made to look slightly ridiculous by Dickens when he visits Miss Havisham with Pip:

> Joe took his hat off and stood weighing it by the brim in both his hands, as if he had some urgent reason in his mind for being particular to half a quarter of an ounce . . . When I looked back at Joe in the long passage he was still weighing his hat with the greatest care, and was coming after us in long strides on the tips of his toes . . . I could hardly have imagined dear old Joe so unlike himself or so like some extraordinary bird, standing as he did, speechless, with his tuft of feathers ruffled, and his mouth open as if he wanted a worm . . . I am afraid I was ashamed of the dear good fellow--I know I was ashamed of him--when I saw that Estella stood at the back of Miss Havisham's chair, and that her eyes laughed mischievously.[73]

Before Pip went to London he had tried to teach Joe to read, with

little success. Pip's sister, who was Joe's wife, was against Joe's learning to read because she feared it might make him rebel against their life as it was. Thus Dickens acknowledges the middle-class fear of working-class literacy. When Pip suggests to Biddy, Joe's wife after Pip's sister's death, that she try and teach Joe to better himself she answers, "He may be too proud to let anyone take him out of a place that he is competent to fill, and fills well and with respect."[74] Here Dickens refers to the pride of workmanship of a good workman.

Orlick, a journeyman in Joe's smithy, is a man of "Obstinate disposition." He is a:

> . . . broad-shouldered loose-limbed swarthy fellow of great strength, never in a hurry, and always slouching . . . On Sundays he mostly lay all day on sluice-gates or stood against ricks and barns. He always slouched, locomotively, with his eyes on the ground; and, when accosted or otherwise required to raise them, he looked up in a half-resentful, half-puzzled way, as though the only thought he ever had was that it was rather an odd and injurious fact that he should never be thinking.[75]

Orlick is tied to the beating of Pip's sister that destroys her reason, and to the capture of Magwitch.

The problems of illiteracy and the misuse of personal credit are evident in the village where Pip is raised. The newspaper is read aloud for the convenience of the patrons of the Three Jolly Bargemen where the villagers spend their spare time and get their drinks on credit:

> There was a bar at the Jolly Bargemen with some alarmingly long chalk scores in it on the wall at the side of the door, which seemed to me to be never paid off.[76]

Evidently the people here paid their debts no oftener than the gentry in Burney's story, or Opie's Lady Jane, or Mr. Plornish's customers in Little Dorrit.

In London, Pip meets Mr. Wemmick, the cashier and clerk of Jaggers. Wemmick is a man of mechanical bent. He creates all sorts of mechanical

gadgets at his home where he lives with his aged father in Walworth. Wemmick is like Daniel Doyce of Little Dorrit and Egan's mechanical person in his honesty, cheerfulness, and application to work, and like Doyce he lacks personality. Wemmick is not tied to the story except as a curiosity, a creative mechanic who lives his own simple life with his father in contentment.[77]

Mr. Jaggers had been responsible for having Estella adopted by Miss Havisham. He tells Pip that his experience with the children he came across in the profession of criminal law was that they were spawned and raised to be "prosecuted, defended, foresworn, made orphans, bedevilled somehow."[78] By having Estella adopted out of this environment he hoped to change and improve the life of at least one of these children. Estella is the daughter of Magwitch and the ex-murderess who is Jagger's maid. Both parents and child are unaware of each other.

The gentleman's life is looked to as something special by the characters of the story. Manners, dress, money, education, and idleness are characteristic of gentlemen. In this novel Dickens permits a gentleman and a lady to be created from lowly origins by money that is channeled into the education of Pip and Estella. They both undergo unhappiness in their assumed roles but in his second ending Dickens promises at least romantic fulfillment.[79]

Although Dickens admires Joe's character as a good workman, he does not permit Joe to be socially acceptable to gentlemen. Dickens also shows preference for the gentleman status when Pip chooses to work in Herbert Pocket's business rather than return to the smithy.

In Orlick, we see that Dickens did not see all workers as good. Orlick is below the level of craftsman in the story and is evil, unpleasant,

not too bright, shiftless, but physically strong.

Literacy is still a problem in the village and credit plagues the owners of the Jolly Bargeman. Education and money disrupt the ties of family and place in Great Expectations.

Summary

Social World of the Novels

The social world of Dickens's novels is one of economic and social calculation where those who attain positions of authority, from the beadle in Oliver Twist to Bounderby in Hard Times, work hard to prevent others from challenging their positions. The beadle advises the undertaker's wife that workhouse inmates should be fed little so that they will not revolt. Pip's sister is against her husband's learning to read because it may create dissatisfaction with their present life style. Bounderby and his friend Gradgrind manipulate the school curriculum as well as control the local bank and factory to maintain their positions.

Dickens's response to this is that education based on wonder will free the individual to seek his own place by talent and achievement. There are obstructions to the individual's goals beyond personal competition, in the form of the bureaucratic Circumlocution office in Little Dorrit, and environmental limits in the overcrowded, criminal, and unsanitary living conditions for the poor in London, in the debtor's prison, in the factory, and from the demands of the machine. The power-driven machine, in the form of the railroad or in the factory, tears, chops, and slashes the physical and social world apart and impresses the underlying population into a mindless conformity. The urban gentleman portrayed in Mr. Brownlow (Oliver Twist) as beneficient and powerful, is seen in Mr. Harthouse (Hard Times) and in Pip (Great Expectations as idle, a spend-

thrift, in debt, characterized by his dress, speech and manners, educated, a snob, and weary of everything. While humanitarian characteristics of kindness are retained by young gentlemen like Herbert Pocket (Great Expectations), and a liberal education continues to be a gentleman's pursuit, the potency of the gentleman becomes weak over the course of these novels. In real life Dickens pursued the life of a gentleman by purchasing its life style from the income from the sale of his books and his position of editor of a periodical, and by taking on the social responsibility of a traditional gentleman in projects such as that to improve the ragged schools with the socially prominent philanthropist Angela Couts. However he could never fill the gentleman criteria of lineage or of man of leisure. The snobbery of the patronage of some aristocrats perhaps even of the salon of Lady Blessington, probably cut his sensitive feelings and helped create an ambivalence toward the status of gentleman.

The self-made men such as Dombey (Dombey and Son) and Bounderby (Hard Times) in the business world earn Dickens's scorn, and are satirized as mean, calculating, and manipulative of others. The self-made inventor-engineer, Daniel Doyce (Little Dorrit), is out of Dickens's focus and the picture of Doyce is at arm's length--polite and impersonal. He gives Doyce credit for his hard work, his creative genius, but does not warm up to the factory life that this genius supports. Personally, Doyce and Wemmick (Great Expectations) are seen as honest, happy, and hard working--but somehow not quite capable of such worldly affairs as the administration of Doyce's factory or more than the rather silly life of Wemmick and his father. They are marginal to the social life of the novels.

Religion as an institution has rotted in the city while it remains a tie in the country. The institution of Law is seen by Mr. Bounderby

and Mrs. Sparsit as not for the likes of Stephen Blackpool, the worker (Hard Times), as he cannot afford it. Education is the most important institution in every walk of life in these novels, but even it is based on socio-economic differences. Oliver is tutored, Biler (Dombey and Son) goes to the Charitable Grinders School, the Hands (Hard Times) pursue education at the Mechanics' Institutes, Coketown's young are educated at Gradgrind's School of Facts, and Pip and Estella (Great Expectations) are tutored. Thus the kind of education varies from Oliver's and Pip's being tutored to be gentlemen by gentlemen to that of Bailer, which is directed at making the children of the poor submit to the discipline of their betters. The Gradgrind School teaches Facts and does not develop Wonder for the middle-class child.

Dickens gives the traditional bond of lineage a morsel of support in Oliver Twist when Oliver is found to be the son, although illegitimate, of a gentleman. For the most part, opportunity, money, and education rather than lineage are the basis for success in these novels. Environment is shown as a major factor in human development; the children raised in crime-drenched slums are expected by Dickens to suffer as flowers do in untended, weed-choked gardens.

The economic base of social existence plagues Dickens's characters as it does those of Burney and Opie. The workers of Bleeding Heart Yard do not pay Mr. Plornish (Little Dorrit) for his wares and jeopardize his life as tradesman. The villagers (Great Expectations) even drink on credit at the Jolly Bargeman. Failures of personal credit cause some of Dickens's characters to be lodged in debtor's prison and others in the workhouse (Little Dorrit).

Demographic Factors

In Oliver Twist famine is a cause of death, while in four of the five novels there is a high maternal mortality rate as noted by the orphaned Oliver, and the motherless Florence, Little Dorrit, and Pip.

The population explosion characteristic of the nineteenth century and the migration to the city is seen in Dickens's description of the overcrowded living areas of London. The city environment is unhealthy both physically and socially. Workers live in segregated areas characterized by pollution and crime. The sheer numbers that are packed into these living areas like Ludgate Hill (Little Dorrit) cause sanitary as well as social control problems.

Industrialism

Dickens sees industry blighting the countryside with soot, ordering the lives of the populace, and caging them in dreary surroundings, and the factory (Hard Times, Little Dorrit) is not given the idealistic rendering that Disraeli offered. Dickens sees that the Bounderbys and Gradgrinds have gone so far as to develop a curriculum of fact which will support the industrial life and disenchant the world. The factory does provide jobs, but there are not enough (Little Dorrit), and conditions are such that the men are left unsatisfied (Hard Times).

Masters such as Daniel Doyce, an inventor-engineer, leave the administrative tasks to others and do not appear concerned with profits and power. Masters like Bounderby are concerned with the financial return and with discipline to keep the Hands in their place. Doyce's factory is only a small one in a large city while Bounderby's dominates Coketown. Dickens unveils Bounderby, who mouths the fashionable myth of the self-made man, as a liar since his parents had worked and scrimped and saved

to provide him the best in education and opportunities.

Workingmen in these novels are distinguished by their manner, appearance, and education. Dickens's description of the union strike organizer Slackbridge (Hard Times) as not as honest, as manly, or as good-natured as the other Hands reinforces the image developed by Martineau of a union organizer. Other workers are pleasant, deferent, honest, well-meaning, not always literate, and in general--not too bright. They are depicted as swarthy in Little Dorrit and Hard Times, which may be due to uncleanliness. Workmen like Joe Gargery (Great Expectations) have pride in their work but appear foolish outside of their work environment. Workmen have a characteristic dress (Hard Times), speak in dialect (Dombey and Son, Hard Times), and live to themselves so that they are obvious in society by appearance, speech, and place. Their education is sometimes undertaken by their own volition in the Mechanics' Institutes (Hard Times), in night school (Great Expectations), or a highly disciplined Charitable Grinders School (Dombey and Son), or in the Gradgrind school of facts. Orlick (Great Expectations) is the only really evil workman. He has physical strength but mental and moral weaknesses.

The mechanical person Wemmick can be included in the line of mechanical persons from Egan's Life in London, and this also includes Daniel Doyce. They are happy and honest but pasteboard in their characterization by Dickens. Znaniecki suggests that inventors were marginal in mid-nineteenth century England and isolated from its social life, making it difficult for authors like Dickens to write of their social life.[80]

Author's Vision of Life

Dickens looks to the ideal of the world of the rural gentry, and sees that the gentleman of leisure is not successful in urban life and

that industry is blighting the perspective of the rural environment. His hope is in education that frees the mind to develop new alternatives in life and in pride in one's work that will make for social and personal success. He does not like the machine, seeing it as a monster attacking the social world and man, and subjugating man in its service. He does not see the worker as overly bright or able to manage his own affairs. The worker may look to his betters for assistance (Toodles in Dombey and Son) or be manipulated by union organizers (Slackbridge in Hard Times). The creators of the machines like Doyce and Wemmick are not social philosophers, but simply mechanically oriented with no thought for financial profit or desire for administrative power. Thorsten Veblen as well as Dickens looked to this type sympathetically. For Veblen they held the hope for the future, and for Dickens they were productive men without social snobbery or a lust for power. However Dickens did not like the factory world that their kind supported.

Gaskell, discussed in the next chapter, portrays the worker as an intelligent and independent human being struggling against economic and social conditions he can neither understand nor control in Mary Barton. In North and South she focuses on another dilemma of the industrial world in which representatives of rising economic power meet representatives of declining prestige. Charlotte Bronte in Shirley explores the industrial move into the countryside and its consequences. Both of these authors accept the presence of industry and do not romanticize country life as Dickens does.

Notes to Chapter VII

[1]George Ford, Dickens and His Readers: Aspects of Novel Criticism since 1836, orig. pub. 1955 (New York: Norton & Co. Inc., the Norton Library, 1965), p. 227.

[2]Ibid., p. 78; Lionel Stevenson, The English Novel: A Panorama (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), p. 283.

[3]Ford, p. 79.

[4]Ibid., pp. 79-80.

[5]Ibid., p. 180.

[6]Edgar Johnson, Charles Dickens: His Tragedy and Triumph, 2 vols. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1952), p. 58.

[7]Ibid., p. 63.

[8]Ibid., p. 312.

[9]Ibid., p. 313.

[10]Ibid., pp. 315, 868-9.

[11]Ibid., p. 826.

[12]Ibid., p. 756.

[13]Ibid., p. 519.

[14]Ibid., p. 315.

[15]Charles Dickens, Oliver Twist, orig. pub. 1838 (New York: Lancer Books, Inc., Magnum Easy Eye Book, 1968), p. 13.

[16]Ibid., p. 53.

[17]Ibid., p. 83.

[18]Ibid., p. 77.

[19]Ibid., pp. 254-5.

[20]Ibid., p. 227.

[21]Ibid., p. 302.

[22]Ibid., p. 66.

[23]Ibid., p. 386.

[24]Ibid., p. 389.

[25]Charles Dickens, Dombey and Son, orig. pub. 1846 (New York: New American Library, Signet Classic, 1964), p. 77.

[26]Ibid., p. 27.

[27]Ibid., p. 28.

[28]Ibid., p. 295.

[29]Ibid., pp. 296-7.

[30]Ibid., p. 297.

[31]Ibid., p. 668.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid., p. 68.

[34]Ibid., p. 457.

[35]Ibid., p. 660.

[36]Ibid., p. 299.

[37]Charles Dickens, Hard Times, orig. pub. 1854 (New York: New American Library, Signet Classic, 1961), p. 30.

[38]Ibid., p. 130.

[39]Ibid., p. 70.

[40]Ibid., p. 71.

[41]Ibid., p. 76.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid., p. 77.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Ibid., p. 81.

[46]Ibid., p. 82.

[47]Ibid., p. 153.

[48]Ibid., p. 144.

[49]Ibid., p. 142.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Ibid., p. 141.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Ibid., p. 151.

[55]Ibid., p. 153.

[56]Ibid., p. 154.

[57]Ibid., p. 243.

[58]Ibid., p. 116.

[59]Ibid., p. 128.

[60]Ibid., p. 124.

[61]Ibid., p. 56.

[62]Charles Dickens, Little Dorrit, orig. pub. 1857, ed. John Holloway (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1971), p. 416.

[63]Ibid., p. 179.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Ibid., pp. 312-3.

[66]Ibid., p. 233.

[67]Ibid., p. 891.

[68]Ibid., p. 359.

[69]Ibid., p. 68.

[70]Charles Dickens, Great Expectations, orig. pub. 1861 (New York: Harper & Row, Harper Classics, 1965), p. 61.

[71]Ibid., p. 200.

[72]Ibid., p. 182.

[73]Ibid., pp. 102-3.

[74]Ibid., p. 153.

[75]Ibid., p. 115.

[76]Ibid., p. 76.

[77]Florian Znaniecki, in The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge (1940 New York: Harper & Row, Harper Torchbook, 1968, pp. 56, 59), writes that in the second half of the nineteenth century there was no social circle of inventors: "the lonely inventor is a rather halpless, tragicomic figure" and that is how Dickens describes Doyce (Little Dorrit) and Wemmick (Great Expectations).

[78]Dickens, p. 420.

[79]Bulwer-Lytton convinced Dickens to rewrite the original ending which was not romantic enough for the popular press audience.

[80]Znaniecki, p. 59.

Chapter VIII

Elizabeth Gaskell and Charlotte Bronte

Charlotte Bronte and Elizabeth Gaskell, two ministers' daughters, bring a religious and humanitarian concern to the conditions and relationships of industrial workers and masters in their novels. They are aware that a single economy and social hierarchy can no longer be based solely on land, and that conflicts are emerging between this established pattern of the landed life and a new industrial pattern as the later forces its way into the rural world.

Gaskell relates in Mary Barton (1848) the contemporary problems of the urban industrial worker which she observed and experienced among Manchester workers as the wife of a local Unitarian minister. North and South (1854) focuses on the relationships and understanding between masters and men and between southerners and northerners in a small industrial town. Her Cranford (1853) is included in the sample to provide a comparative picture of village life at the time.

Bronte's novel Shirley (1849) looks back to the machine-breaking of 1812. Bronte went to school at Roe Head, just south of the moors of Haworth Parsonage, and her teacher's tales of prior machine-breaking in the area stimulated her library research at Leeds into these events in the Mercuries of 1812. Her imagination evoked the rest, and Shirley is the result. The degree of discipline and imagination shown in the novel is remarkable considering the personal strains she was under at the time of the writing. Her brother Bramwell, an opium addict and an alcoholic,

kept the whole household in fear of his rages. He died while she was writing the novel as did Emily and Anne, Charlotte's sisters.

The Authors and Their Novels

Elizabeth Gaskell

The novels of Gaskell bring us to a new stage in the development of the literary image of the industrial worker and of the relationship between the novelist and her audience. Gaskell was a Unitarian and a Whig, and both of these facts influenced her vision of humanity. When she addressed her reader she assumed "their complete equality and communion of intellect and beliefs, and in having no reserves from him."[1] She sought to inform her audiences in order to bridge the gap in understanding between the masters and workers.[2] Her characters have vitality as she stresses their total activities rather than the single act,[3] and she manages to create an emotional involvement of the reader with the frustrating life of John Barton, an industrial worker in Mary Barton. Her work was hailed by reviewers and critics of her time as accurately portraying working-class conditions even to tone and style.[4] Barton is a well-directed, hard-worker, who is an affectionate family man until the depression of 1836, when over production and the failure of the American market caused half of Lancashire to be shut down. Unemployed and underpaid workers began their Chartist agitations and petitioning, and became sullen as their petitions were rejected. John Barton was one of these workers.

Gaskell sympathized with the workers, whom she knew, especially in their inability to stabilize the economic bases of their lives no matter how hard they worked. She saw that they compared their own insecure

position with the apparent serene security of the rich: "It is enough to say, that this belief of the injustice and unkindness which they endure from their fellow-creatures, taints what might be resignation to God's will, and turns it to revenge in too many of the poor uneducated factory-workers of Manchester."[5]

In Mary Barton (1848), the industrial worker John Barton is central to the development of the story. The deteriorating economic conditions of his life and the failure of Chartism lead him to the assassination of a master's son as part of his trade union's campaign of terrorism aimed at obtaining economic security.

The descriptions of agricultural workers and industrial workers portray great physical and mental differences. In the beginning of the story, factory girls are pictured as being merry and gaily dressed, similar to Disraeli's description of them. Gaskell adds that these girls are below average in beauty, but there was "an acuteness and intelligence of countenance, which has often been noticed in a manufacturing population."[6] John Barton is described as a:

> . . . thorough specimen of a Manchester man; born of factory workers, and himself bred up in youth, and living in manhood, among the mills. He was below the middle size and slightly made; there was almost a stunted look about him; and his wan, colourless face, gave you the idea, that in his childhood he had suffered from the scanty living consequent upon bad times, and improvident habits.[7]

His wife had the "fresh beauty of the agricultural districts; and somewhat the deficiency of sense in her countenance, which is likewise characteristic of the rural inhabitants in comparison with the natives of manufacturing towns."[8] Thus the physical differences between agricultural and industrial workers from Godwin and Trollope continue to be stressed and the added idea that the industrial worker is quicker

mentally is documented by Gaskell, no such acumen was noted by Dickens.

Barton's own occupational group, the weavers, were literate and read books propped against their looms as they wove, gathering later to discuss the importance of the works. Their interests were highly diversified and covered the whole range of thought.

There are differences in speech as well as life conditions for the rich and the poor in Mary Barton. Factory workers use old Anglo-Saxon terms. Mrs. Gaskell's husband was an authority on dialect and her folk-type characters use dialect speech. One example is when Barton asks his wife and her friend to sit on the ground and adds " . . . you are neither of you nesh," which is the Anglo-Saxon word for tender.[9]

Barton resents his employer's constantly bettering his material condition and life style in good times and bad while he and his fellow workers, "the real makers of wealth," struggle to provide the rudiments of food and shelter for their families in periods of falling trade.[10]

What is worse, he sees the rich living off the work of the worker, and that the gap between the worlds of rich and poor is very great.[11] His conclusion is that workers must organize and cooperate to preserve and better their existence. He explains to his fellow worker:

> " . . . our labour's our capital and we ought to draw interest on that. They get interest on their capital somehow a'this time, while ourn is lying idle, else how could they all live as they do? Besides there's many on'em as had nought to begin wi'; there's Carsons, and Duncombes, and Mengies, and many another, as comed into Manchester with clothes to their back, and that were all, and now they're worth their tens of thousands, a'getten out of our labour; why the very land as fetched but sixty pound twenty year agone is now worth six hundred, and that, too, is owing to our labour: but look at yo, and see me, and poor Davenport yonder; whatten better are we? They'n screwed us down to th'lowest peg, in order to make their great big fortunes, and build their great big houses, and we, why we're just clemming, many and many of us. Can you say there's nought wrong in this?"[12]

Before the economic downturn, the Barton's home is cheerful, clean, and homey. Mrs. Barton had checkered curtains which were drawn "to shut in the friends met to enjoy themselves."[13] There were geraniums on the windowsills and a show of pretty dishes in her cupboard. Gaskell is the first author in the sample to describe from the inside the full life of the working class in favorable terms.

A poorer family's home is described during a period of unemployment. It was situated in an area of town where "household slops of every description were tossed in the gutter . . . ."[14] The family lived in a damp cellar where the children were found "rolling on the damp, nay wet, brick floor, through which the stagnant, filthy moisture of the street oozed up . . . ."[15] The unemployed husband went on a "tramp" to find work instead of going on parish relief, which would mean returning to the parish of his birth where there was even less work to be had. He writes his wife a letter, which she has someone read to her, telling her that they must patiently bear what God sends.[16] He was considered "too much of a Methodee" by the other workers.[17] His kind of Methodism, bearing patiently one's misfortunes, was not supportive of active trade unionism. The man dies of fever and since the family's burial club payments had lapsed, they were forced to seek the costs of burial from the town.[18]

John Barton and another worker had helped the poorer family all they could. The young son in the poor family had been put out of the factory, to the dismay of his mother, because he was too young to work according to the new labor laws. He was not a bright boy, and there was no money to send him to school, so he got into trouble "rampaging about the streets" and "picking up a manner o'bad ways . . . "[19] Not everyone was pleased at the new restrictions on child labor.

Mrs. Gaskell was openly concerned with the ties that bind society together and the institutions that disrupt these ties:

> The most deplorable and enduring evil that arose out of the period of commercial depression . . . was this feeling of alienation between the different classes of society.[20]

She compares the traditional local attachments of the agricultural laborer who "generally has strong local attachments" to those of the town laborer whose attachments are "almost obliterated."[21] Even the family has been torn asunder by factory work as women go out to work, the men, rather than come home to a cold hearth, go to the public houses for drink and cheer--and gin destroys the family, one matron warns a young girl.[22]

John Barton did not want his daughter, Mary, to work in the factory, but he also did not want her to be a "do-nothing lady, worrying shopmen all morning, and screeching at her pianny all afternoon, and going to bed without having done a good turn to any one of God's creatures but herself."[23] He sees that she is properly apprenticed to a milliner.

There is a new center of activity for this town laborer in the Mechanics' Institute. The Manchester Institute was opened one year after the first one opened in London in 1823. It provided library services, lectures, and recitals to the working population of Manchester. Both Disraeli and Dickens contributed their talents to the Manchester Institute occasionally. In the story, Mary Barton is busy there and even performs as a singer now and again.

The deepening depression and the failure of Chartism moves Barton to smoke or chew opium and to become a "communist" leader.[24] Mrs. Gaskell explains to the reader Barton's use of opium by stressing his lack of education which makes him unable to cope. She writes:

"The actions of the uneducated seem to me typified in those of Frankenstein, that monster of many human qualities, ungifted with a soul, a knowledge of the difference between good and evil."[25] To explain his becoming a communist leader, she writes: "He had a pretty clear head at times, for method and arrangement; a necessary talent to large combinations of men. And what perhaps more than all made him relied upon and valued, was the consciousness which every one who came in contact with him felt, that he was actuated by no selfish motives; that his class, his order, was what he stood by, not the rights of his own paltry self."[26] Thus for Barton, communism became a religious brotherhood which overcame individualism.

While unemployment plagues the workers, the masters are caught in fierce competition for orders at the lowest cost and forced to press down wages still more.[27] Mrs. Gaskell informs the reader that the masters failed to inform the workers of conditions of trade so that little understanding flowed over the gap between masters and men. The workers at Barton's factory strike, and other unions join in. Hungry power-loom weavers flock in to fill the jobs left by the strikers. The result is a battle between strikers and knobsticks or strikebreakers, and the police are called in to quell the violence. The cruelty of the confrontation sickens John Barton who vows not to participate in any more strike breaking.[28]

Mrs. Gaskell comments on the power of combination:

> It is like the equally mighty agency of steam; capable of almost unlimited good or evil. But to obtain a blessing on its labours, it must work under the direction of a high and intelligent will; incapable of being misled by passion, or excitement. The will of the operatives had not been guided to the calmness of wisdom.[29]

She observes that masses of people, when left to their own free choice, seem to have discretion in distinguishing men of natural talent; it is a pity they so little regard temper and principles.[30]

The union decides on the assassination of the master's son as a tactic in the war between the master and the workers. John Barton is selected to carry out the deed. A double tragedy for Mary occurs when her beau, Jem Wilson, is accused of the deed and taken to jail. Jem is a "steady workman," "a good son," and a "fine manly spirited chap" and works as an instrument-maker at the rank of foreman in the factory.[31] Mary goes to Liverpool to find a witness to clear Jem and is overwhelmed by the size and bustle of the city and its dock.[32]

The news of the events are carried in the Manchester papers, The Guardian and The Courier, and reprinted in a London paper.[33] Thus the affairs of Manchester workers are discussed and known in London.

Ultimately, Jem is cleared, John Barton admits his guilt, and, ill with fever, dies, but not before asking Mr. Carson's forgiveness. He now sees that rich or poor, masters or men, all are brothers in the deep suffering of the heart as Mr. Carson grieves for his dead son the same as he has grieved for his.[34] He excuses his act on his falling away from the teaching of the Gospel and his failure to be taught right from wrong.[35]

Job, Barton's father-in-law, explains to Mr. Carson that John was not a leveller and that he would rise earlier and work harder than the next man to get ahead. What had rankled John and motivated his actions, explained Job, was the disdain and unconcern for the worker.[36] Mr. Carson answers that God controls the conditions for labor, not the master.[37] Job observes that he had not seen the masters as haggard and

thin as the workers.

Mr. Carson says the machinery improvements will continue to shatter and change old manners of employment. Job is given the speech that probably signifies Mrs. Gaskell's position on these changes:

> "It's true it was a sore time for the hand-loom weavers when power-looms came in: them new-fangled things make a man's life like a lottery; and yet I'll never misdoubt, that power-looms, and railways, and all such-like inventions, are the gifts of God. I have lived long enough, too, to see that it is part of His plan to send suffering to bring out a higher good; but surely it's also part of his plan that as much of the burden of the suffering as can be, should be lightened by those whom it is His pleasure to make happy, and content in their own circumstances. Of course it would take a deal more thought and wisdom than me, or any other man has, to settle out of hand how this should be done. But I'm clear about this, when God gives a blessing to be enjoyed, He gives it with a duty to be done; and the duty of the happy is to help the suffering to bear their woe."[38]

Carson, the master, says that facts are proving that every man should be independent of help, and self-reliant. Job responds that the strong are meant to help the weak". . . be hanged to the facts!"[39]

Two new occupations are mentioned in Mary Barton, those of instrument-maker and of safety researcher in the factory. Jem Wilson gets an offer to make instruments in a Toronto factory because he is "intelligent" and "acquainted with mechanics," and he and Mary prepare to migrate to Canada.[40] At one point in the story, Barton assists the factory surgeon with research on factory accidents because he is able to write. The statistics show accidents occurring in the last two hours of work when people are tired and careless.[41]

Mary Barton displays a range of factory workers, from the skilled craftsman in Barton, the mechanic in Jem, the unskilled worker in the poor worker, and women and children factory workers. The poor worker, Davenport, must "tramp" to find work, while the skilled worker, Jem, is

offered a better job in Canada. Unionization is serious business in Mary Barton when men pushed to the edge of survival by depression still attempt to collectively come up with an answer to their problem.

The high mortality rates among the city workers and their families due to unsanitary drainage conditions which breed disease have forced the men to organize into burial clubs in order to pay funeral expenses.

That there is not a single set of goals in this society is noted by John Barton's aversion to his daughter's becoming either a factory worker or a do-nothing lady. He saw it was best for her to be apprenticed to a milliner, the occupation acceptable for ladies in Burney's novel.

The economic bonds in Mary Burton are destroying family ties and building educational ones. Mrs. Gaskell tries to put power and authority in the hands of God, but she is practical enough to advocate human action to alleviate deplorable human conditions. This action is paternal in that the strong should care for the weak, and the rich have a duty to assist the poor. The key to social harmony among the classes is understanding of the trials and tribulations of each by each. She has faith that learning will bring common understanding of right and wrong, this education being basically religious.

North and South (1854) is a confrontation of the traditional world of the southern gentry with the new industrial world of the self-made manufacturer. The former is represented by Margaret Hale, the daughter of an Anglican clergyman who becomes a Dissenter, and the latter is represented by Mr. Thornton, the master at one of the factories in Milton. Again, Gaskell attempts to bridge the gap of understanding between two

groups, this time between the old southern gentry and the new northern manufacturer.

Margaret Hale sees the southern way, the southern manners, and the southern workers as superior in every way to their counterparts in the north. Mr. Thornton sees the intelligence and application to hard work of the northern worker superior to the careless ease of the southerner. The landscape of the North is also inferior, in Margaret's view, to that of the South. She compares the verdant sweetness of her old home in Hampshire to the drab, gray manufacturing town of Milton. Even the atmosphere is less sanguine in the North:

> For several miles before they reached Milton, they saw a deep lead-coloured cloud hanging over the horizon in the direction in which it lay. It was all the darker from contrast with the pale gray-blue of the wintry sky; . . . Nearer to town, the air had a faint taste and smell of smoke.[42]

Margaret's father has resigned his living as the pastor of Helstone, a little Hampshire village, to come to Milton as a Dissenter. He expects to tutor pupils for a living, but the pattern of life in Milton does not lend itself readily to the kind of liberal education Mr. Hale is competent to teach. In Milton, one's work life begins at an early age as an apprentice in the mill or office or warehouse, and the mind is not permitted to stray through higher education of any sort. Mr. Thornton, a successful master, recognizes the lack of education and cultivation in Milton and seeks to remedy it. He becomes one of Mr. Hale's more ardent pupils.

The climax of the story centers around the strike at Mr. Thornton's mill. It brings economic hardships to all families. Mr. Hale and Margaret visit the destitute to see if they can help. These northern workers are found to have furniture and food that would be luxuries in

the South, even though they are reduced to the pawnshop for income now that the strike is on. Mr. Hale says one must "learn a different language, and measure by a different standard" in Milton.[43] Thornton hires willing Irish workers, fleeing starvation in Ireland, to take the place of the strikers, which causes the latter to riot.

Mr. Higgins is a millworker in the story whose daughter dies of an illness developed from working among the cotton fluff of the carding room at the mill. The Higginses have come to Milton from a small town further north and their speech is indicated as dialect with its "hoo" for who, and "yor" for your.[44] He is a union man and retains his faith in the union even after the failure of the strike. He rationalizes that the rioting lost the support of public opinion which was important to their cause[45] and sees that the workers had calculated on false premises:

> They reckoned on their fellow men as if they possess the calculable powers of machines, no more, no less; no allowance for human passions getting the better of reason.[46]

Higgins is able to discuss philosophy and exchange ideas with Mr. Hale and Mr. Thornton. Unemployed after the strike, he is finally hired, after much persuasion, by Mr. Thornton.

After the strike, Mr. Thornton makes changes for the workers by adding a dining-room at the factory. He now understands that personal contact between masters and men is necessary for mutual understanding and cooperation. He sees that the interests of the workers and the masters are identical, but that the unity of the two groups will not come about till a republic is established. However, he accepts the constitutional monarchy as the best form of government for the "present state of morals and intelligence."[47] When Mr. Hale suggests a paternal

relationship between masters and men, Thornton responds that he values his own independence too much to interfere with the private lives of his workers. Thornton believes that this mutual understanding will at least take the hatred out of strikes even if it does not fully prevent them.

The heroine, Margaret, comes to appreciate:

> . . . the exultation in the sense of power which these Milton men had. It might be rather rampant in its display, and savour of boasting; but still they seemed to defy the old limits of possibility, in a kind of fine intoxication, caused by the recollection of what had been achieved, and what yet should be.[48]

Gaskell, like Disraeli in Sybil, joins the traditional with the industrial in the marriage of Margaret Hale, who has come to appreciate the industrial worker, with Mr. Thornton, who now better appreciates the cultural gifts of the South.

There are certain conditions of the workers and masters in North and South that are the same as those reported in other stories; for instance, the fact of some masters' offering higher wages and then fining the workers so that they actually receive lower wages, as in Disraeli's Sybil. The hiring of Irish strikebreakers and strike-induced riots are also found in other stories of the period. Workers speak in dialect, have lower educational levels, poorer housing, and fewer alternatives in life, as in other stories.

Gaskell is the first in this sample to note better housing conditions and food consumption by factory workers than by farm laborers. She notes the differences in the emphasis on personal independence in the North from that on "community" in the South. And she contrasts the soft beauty of the southern community with the harshness of the North, and the languor of the South with the vigor of the North.

The workers seek the union to obtain justice. The masters depend on themselves and do not look to Parliament to solve their problems. Gaskell has Thornton say that the best government is a republican form, but softens the effect of the statement by adding that a constitutional monarchy suits the present state of morals and intelligence best. Parliament had failed the workers in their Chartist Petitions in Mary Barton, and in North and South the masters want no interference from Parliament.

In Cranford (1853), Mrs. Gaskell gives a picture of a stagnant economic area, lacking in working men, peopled with old maids, and characterized by the social manners of the past. The newspaper which brings news of the outside world is subscribed to jointly, and the literary tastes are those of a previous century. These people appear content with their life in Cranford and do not seek to change it or to leave it. However, the railroad is threatening Cranford's way of life. Prophetically, one inhabitant is killed by an oncoming train.

Mrs. Gaskell notes the little economies of the Cranford residents, string-saving, paper-hoarding, and candle-snuffing. Cranford, as a symbol of the traditional rural village, is economically dying but struggles to maintain old social standards.

Charlotte Bronte

Bronte in Shirley shows more antagonism to social change than Gaskell. Like Gaskell, Bronte advocates accepting God's will and also accepting one's designated place in life, a more traditional point of view which Kingsley also supports. Although Gaskell's Barton did not view upward social mobility to the position of lady as desirable for

his daughter, there were material and educational benefits to be acquired by succeeding industrially rather than agriculturally, and there were weavers turned manufacturers, like Carson, who could afford to live as gentlemen in Gaskell's novels. She saw the industrial world as bringing a whole new set of desirable statuses while Bronte saw only its intrusion into the established agricultural world.

Charlotte Bronte and her family were marginal to the majority of Haworth residents. Although Mr. Bronte was a minister of the Established Church and had his living from the parish, but the people of the area tended to be Dissenters. The cultural background of the Bronte family was Irish and of the traditional gentry, while the local people were mostly weavers or laborers. These differences from the local population caused the family's social life to be turned inward.

Charlotte Bronte considered Jane Austen's novels to be too caustic, and yet her own are mocking of others and contain irony and sarcasm. Her marginality perhaps makes her views of the local social joinings and conflicts more realistic, while her in-depth views of any one group are more superficial than those of others who write from inside a group as does Jane Austen.

Shirley (1849) is a story of machine-breaking and of an attack on a mill by angry workers. It is a time of foreign war, of trade restrictions, scarce markets, closing factories, increasing use of machines, and starving, unemployed textile workers in the period around 1812. The workers are organized and led by a tailor-turned-Methodist preacher, Moses Barraclough. Bronte indicates that the attack was part of a larger web of organization by pointing to the correspondence among the Nottingham, Manchester, and Birmingham workers. The representative

of the local gentry in the story, Mr. Yorke, blames the war politics and the madman Pitt and the demon Castlereagh for the curtailed trade, subsequent economic depression, and now the social rebellion.[49]

All the now-familiar differences between workers and masters and the local populace turn up in Shirley. Masters and men are divided from each other by class, nationality, religion, speech, education, status, and views of life's causes and effects. The local gentry are estranged to some degree from each. In one case Mr. Yorke supports the men against the mill because he is against industrializing the region. In another, he supports the master as a fellow gentleman.

In Shirley, the master and the strikebreakers are of foreign extraction while many of the workers have "tramped" from other parishes to obtain work and so are not local. Thus, not only industry but the men that work at it are "outsiders" in the eyes of the local people. Bronte does not view the situation from the standpoint of either the master or the workers but notes the rough edges of each. The master is unpatriotic and thinks only in terms of trade and not of men or country. The workers scapegoat the master and his mill as they bob like corks on a sea of economic waves. They have no other place to anchor or vent their anger. Thus Bronte's novel world is one of overlapping allegiances among diversified groups, each with a different aim in life and blind where other groups are concerned.

Although education is important in the story, the class orientation of education by tutor or governess, and the religious orientation by church schools of education are more important than the content of education itself. Charlotte Bronte does not appear to share Dickens's faith in education as the backbone of the modernizing world.

The characters are divided into gentry, master, and workers. There is little social movement among the divisions. The master or mill owner Robert Moore, the local gentry Mr. Yorke, the landed heiress Shirley, the rector Helstone, and his orphaned niece work together against the workers' attacks. The workers include: Joe Scott, the trusted worker of Moore; Robert Farren, a hard worker and family man who supported the first attack against the machines being delivered, but not the second against the men in the mill; Moses Barraclough, the Methodist rabble-rouser; and the mad workman who prophesies and brings about the shooting of Robert Moore. Moses is described by Miss Bronte as "anything but a true man," with "cat-like trustless eyes," and a "leer about his lips."[50]

Robert Moore, upset at the workers, calls them savages. His trusted workman, Joe Scott protests this label:

> "I reckon 'at us manufacturing lads i'th'north is a deal more intelligent, and knaws a deal more nor th' farming folk i'th'south. Trade sharpens wer wits; and them that's mechanics, like me, is forced to think. Ye know, what wi'looking after machinery and sich like, I've getten into that way that when I see an effect, I look straight out for a cause, and I oft lig hold on't to purpose; and then I like reading, and I'm curious to knaw what them that reckons to govern us aims to do for us and wi'us: and there's many 'cuter nor me; there's many a one amang them dyers wi'blue and black skins, that has a long head, and that can tell what a fooil of a law is, as well as ye or old Yorke, and a great deal better not soft uns like Christopher Sykes o'Whinbury, and greet hectoring nowts like yond'Irish Peter, Helstone's curate."[51]

Moore responds that Scott need not think he knows it all because he knows only a little. He need not conclude, when the course of trade does not run smoothly and workers are sometimes short of work and bread, that workers are a class of martyrs, and that the whole form of government is wrong. Furthermore, he wants Scott to know that vice and virtue are not determined by one's station in life.

Social order is maintained by a variety of groups in Shirley.

The rectors are gun-toting and responsible for carrying out the law where magistrates fail. Moore calls on the army to defend his mill and not the local magistrate or militia. Soldiers and the law are seen as middle-class tools for social control. Shirley tries to calm the workers by charity. Moore tells her that eleemosynary relief never yet tranquilized the working class.

The workingmen are shown to be dependent on the work provided by the master. They looked to men who govern to find a way to better their conditions. Moore tells them they can worry Parliament all they want, but not to attack the mill owners. Workingmen turn to their own organizations and fellow members for justice. Workers who are not belligerent toward the gentry or the master are most apt to be successful in this novel.

Summary

Social World of the Novels

These novels indicate the strain of economic changes that resettle people in cities or parishes away from those of their birth, and that break up old patterns of aid and responsibility and replace them by Parliamentary laws and union organizations. Society is no longer organized around the land on a traditional, local, and paternal hierarchy, but is organized along occupational lines, across regions, and in response to economic upheavals.

The old way can no longer be counted on to provide a functioning social order, and the participants are not aware that the rights that they have taken for granted under the old system are not yet incorporated into the new. For instance, traditionally the landed were responsible for seeing that those who lived on their land did not starve and they

stored grain and food against the chance. In the new industrial era of these novels, the masters are seen as responding to the conditions of trade and not to the conditions of their workers.

Mrs. Gaskell and Miss Bronte both strive to increase the understanding between masters and men. Gaskell gives a better picture of the workers' side than Bronte. Bronte more clearly shows the earlier intrusion of industry in a rural area while Gaskell's focus is urban. Bronte is able with her rural setting to show how the new master fits in with the old gentry. She shows that the old gentry is against the coming of industry, which threatens his power and influence and way of life, and supports to some extent the workers' cause against the mill, although not to the point of joining their actual attack on the mill.

Demographic Factors

Disease, fever, and death are part of all these novels, but in Cranford we have a railroad accident as a new cause of death. So even in the town that does not want to change, the new is charging in and taking its toll. There is also the industry-related death of Higgins's daughter (North and South) and the union's assassination of young Carson (Mary Barton).

Migrations are for work in these novels. Some characters like Jem Wilson (Mary Barton) migrate to Canada for work.

Industrialism

There are more mechanics introduced in these novels who are steady workers for the most part, literate, and considered as responsive human beings. Jem Wilson (Mary Barton) is one, and there is also Higgins (North and South), and Moore's Joe Scott (Shirley).

While there are physical disadvantages for an industrial worker, there are evidently intellectual benefits. None of these workers seek to become gentry or masters; they accept their jobs as fulfilling and important enough for them, though in Mary Barton, John Barton tells of other workers like Carson who did become rich masters before the story opens.

The strange behavior of industrial workers is sometimes rationalized on the basis of their not belonging to the parish. The master in Shirley actually comes from a foreign country. Workers are Methodists or Dissenters of some kind rather than members of the Established Church.

Girls are seen in Gaskell's urban novels, but not in Bronte's rural one, as able to support themselves and buy pretty clothes from their factory earnings.

Speech for workmen is in dialect, and their housing and education are inferior to those of their betters.

Authors' Visions of Life

Gaskell's world is the dynamic urban world, on the one hand, and the static rural village, on the other. The size, the heterogeneity, the immigration, the lack of sanitary regulation, and overall, the lack of understanding among the various urban groups in society are her concerns. She does not believe that calculation or logic alone can solve the problems of man. The passions of man make him unpredictable, so that man must try to understand others, but ultimately faith in God is the answer as men act cooperatively in understanding. Gaskell is egalitarian in seeing all as equally able to understand her and each other. Nevertheless, the strong are to help the weak, and the rich to help the poor.

Bronte is more traditional in her beliefs. She believes in a hierarchy where the enlightened are more apt to be found at the top. None of her workers has an understanding of trade and commerce beyond their immediate interest in it. However, she does not equate intelligence with being either good or evil. She maintains that good and evil are spread over all social positions equally.

Both Gaskell and Bronte document the quicker intelligence and the greater ability to calculate ends from means of the industrial worker in comparison with the agricultural worker. They see them (especially Gaskell) as individuals, as warm and full characters, with goals, and begin to portray them as a part of an on going social reality--related to an inevitably rising industrial and urban world. Some are segregated and produce a culture of their own, but some have risen to the middle class. The next author, George Eliot, focuses more on the life and aims of the craftsman as industry marches over the English countryside, and proclaims the dignity of work.

Notes to Chapter VIII

[1]W. A. Craik, Elizabeth Gaskell and the English Provincial Novel (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1975), p. 8.

[2]Ibid., p. 4.

[3]Ibid., p. 12.

[4]Margaret Ganz, Elizabeth Gaskell: The Artist in Conflict (New York: Twayne Pub., Inc., 1969), p. 52.

[5]Elizabeth Gaskell, Mary Barton, orig. pub. 1848 (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., The Penguin English Library, 1970), p. 37.

[6]Ibid., p. 41.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., pp. 41-42.

[9]Ibid., p. 42.

[10]Ibid., p. 59.

[11]Ibid., p. 45.

[12]Ibid., p. 104.

[13]Ibid., p. 49.

[14]Ibid., p. 98.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid., p. 104.

[17]Ibid., p. 97.

[18]Ibid., p. 111.

[19]Ibid., p. 129.

[20]Ibid., p. 126.

[21]Ibid., p. 158.

[22]Ibid., p. 165.

[23]Ibid., p. 44.

[24]Ibid., p. 162.

[25]Ibid., pp. 219-20.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Ibid., p. 221.

[28]Ibid., p. 240.

[29]Ibid., p. 223.

[30]Ibid., p. 237.

[31]Ibid., pp. 81, 174, 446.

[32]Ibid., p. 351.

[33]Ibid., p. 426.

[34]Ibid., p. 435.

[35]Ibid., p. 440.

[36]Ibid., pp. 455-6.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid., p. 457.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid., p. 446.

[41]Ibid., p. 124.

[42]Elizabeth Gaskell, North and South, orig. pub. 1854 (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., The Penguin English Library, 1970), p. 96.

[43]Ibid., p. 212.

[44]Ibid., p. 111.

[45]Ibid., p. 366.

[46]Ibid., p. 291.

[47]Ibid., p. 167.

[48]Ibid., p. 217.

[49]Charlotte Bronte, Shirley, orig. pub. 1849 Life and Works of the Sisters Bronte, Thornfield Ed. 7 vols. (Harper & Brothers Pub., 1899), 2:953.

[50]Ibid., p. 136.

[51]Ibid., pp. 58-59.

Chapter IX

Three Novels of George Eliot

George Eliot was a self-confessed radical, but she did not see the franchise for the workingman as a miraculous solution to social ills.[1] She pointed out that the majority of the populace had been working class for a long time and they had not managed to nudge the leadership into a utopian existence. Instead, she saw the need for Class Interests to become Class Functions, whereby each group would see the need to accommodate itself to the whole,[2] since conflict among classes was senseless.[3] Although she was for radical changes, she felt that they could not come swiftly. She supported the idea that the wise should also be the powerful;[4] and that the working classes must accept the fact that traditional wisdom was handed down among the classes above them.[5] Thus they must learn from the classes above them as well as from those who went before.

Her novels express the moral virtue of work. The craftsman is seen as honest, hard-working, self-disciplined and proud of his artisanship. From focusing on the individual handloom weaver of Silas Marner (1861), Eliot's novel writing shifts to a group identification of the working class in Felix Holt (1866). Her Middlemarch (1871) is the third novel chosen for this sample and is panoramic like a Scott or Dickens novel. Eliot, whose father was a self-educated carpenter and an estate manager in Warwickshire, always preferred the countryside of her childhood though she did not romanticize it.

Her very first novel, Adam Bede (1859), was successful and went into seven editions.[6] Mudie's circulating library took one thousand copies.[7] As in Silas Marner and Felix Holt, the main character is an artisan. Raymond Williams suggests that by her observations and experience, Eliot brings to her reader the knowable community of the rural artisan in his relationships with those of other social groups in his locale; and Williams compares this knowable community with that of Austen's, which is almost entirely limited to persons of the local gentry despite the fact that the gentry had contacts with persons of other stations in life.[8] One reason for this could be that Austen lived among the gentry who were dominant in the rural south, while Eliot's family was of the artisan class who were not. Eliot writes of Austen's era from the perspective of the second half of the nineteenth century, when the rural gentry's world had been invaded by manufacturers.

A portrait of a knowable community requires a single perspective and a single viewpoint toward social values. Williams points to Eliot's choosing to write of the rural past as a traditional context which she knew and in which she portrays a single individual developing his own moral action. She traces the development of the artisan and his independent moral values back to the traditional rural community and shows how the individual becomes the carrier of morals into the new urban, industrial social world. Eliot's knowable community was not available to urban generations of workers at the end of the century except through the novel.

Her own estrangement from social communities may be seen as developing out of her marginality in her own family. As the youngest of five children, it fell to Marion (she was born Mary Anne Evans) to

live with her widowed father, who was very orthodox in his views. Her formal education, advanced for her time, was completed at seventeen and reinforced her evangelical beliefs, but her skepticism grew and it became impossible for her to live with her father. So, from a duty-filled, disciplined, reverent childhood, she finally made her way to London, and earned her livelihood by her pen, translating Strauss's Life of Jesus, a book by Feurbach, and Spinoza's Ethics, as well as getting a regular position as a reviewer in The Westminster Review.

Here, perhaps seeking the social context familiar to a member of a large family, she lived in the home of the owner-publisher of the magazine, but was driven out by the jealousy, not only of his wife but of his mistress. Later, of course, her elopement with another married man, George Lewes, set her at odds for a while with the literary circle of which she had become a part. One biographer speaks of her as a religious woman without a religion.[9] She was always addicted to duty and must have suffered many guilt feelings for her own straying from the narrow path. Although she broke social laws herself, she always upheld them in her writings.

She was inspired by the works of Elizabeth Gaskell, and early found an avid supporter for her writing in Charles Dickens.[10] With the publication of Romola (1863), which appealed more to the literary elite than to the commercial market, Eliot's reputation as a leading writer of the day was established.[11] She attained financial security before the writing of Felix Holt, having already earned nearly sixteen thousand pounds from her writings.[12]

George Eliot's opinions of the writers of her time were marked by reservations. She considered Dickens a great novelist, but she disagreed

with his idea that the working classes could be quickly assimilated into an altruistic social state and that high morality and refined sentiment could develop out of harsh social conditions of ignorance and want.[13] Disraeli's works irritated her. She felt that his idea of two nations was false and that people, except perhaps for Negroes, would continue to mix.[14] She enjoyed Kingsley's work but often saw him as more imaginative than realistic in his portrayals.[15] Her own work was so realistic that Blackwood, her publisher, sometimes edited out some of her touches.[16]

Eliot complained that the collective and abstract terms used by novelists very often had little in the way of concrete knowledge to back them up, and that the artist reinforces the common images associated with these terms by employing them in their works rather than exposing real facts about them.[17] She pointed to the idealized vision of the peasant given out by English artists as a "sturdy countryman, with striped stockings, red waistcoat, and hat aside" while the actual peasant presents "a slow gaze, in which no sense of beauty beams, no humour twinkles,--the slow utterance, and the heavy slouching walk."[18] Dickens's Orlick (Great Expectations) resembles Eliot's actual view of the peasant, and she praised Dickens for his "rendering of the external traits of our town population."[19] She only wished that he "could give us their psychological character--their conceptions of life, and their emotions--with the same truth as their idiom and manners, (then) his books would be the greatest contribution Art has ever made to the awakening of social sympathies."[20]

George Eliot's world is one of developing personal morals rather than traditional class morals as is Jane Austen's. Although Eliot writes of Jane Austen's time, the view is already of a broken social world in

which individuals have been freed by the jar of an industrializing economy that reaches even into the apparently static world of Austen's gentry.

In Silas Marner, Eliot is writing of the early years of the nineteenth century before the reform bills. Silas is a preindustrial handloom weaver who, reared in an urban area, migrates to the rural area of Raveloe after falling out with his community of Dissenters. In a countryside where weavers are seen as:

> . . . pallid, undersized men who, by the side of brawny countryfolk, looked like remnants of a disinherited race. The shepherd's dog barked fiercely when one of these alien-looking men appeared on the upland . . . figure bent under a heavy bag . . . mysterious burden . . . superstition clung easily round every person . . . No one knew where wandering men had their homes or their origin; and how was a man to be explained unless you at least knew somebody who knew his father and mother?[21];

and where the countrymen all belong to the Established Church, Silas is marginal. Furthermore weavers were often literate, as was Silas, which made them appear "clever" to these countrymen who distrusted cleverness. So "those scattered linen weavers--emigrants from the town into the country--were to the last regarded as aliens by their rustic neighbors, and usually contracted eccentric habits which belong to a state of loneliness."[22]

At first, Silas has only an occupational tie with the community which keeps him on its margins for fifteen years. Then one night, the theft of his earnings which he kept under the floor boards of his cottage brings him to the Rainbow, the local public house and center of Raveloe's social life. Silas had some idea that the great men of the village would hear of his loss, and apprehend the thief, and return his gold to him. The great men of the village in Silas's mind are the

clergyman, the squire, and the constable. Neighborliness after the robbery helps to draw Silas into the community and even to the services of the local church. It is the bond of sympathy, extolled by Adam Smith and later by Charles Horton Cooley as the basis of the social bond, that brings Silas into the community. This bond of sympathy develops in face to face contact.

There were no aristocrats in this little village or any with such pretensions. The village squire was slovenly in his dress and yet his manner was distinguishable from the farmers of the parish "who were perhaps every whit as refined as he, but, having slouched their way through life with a consciousness of being in the vicinity of their "betters," wanted that self-possession and authoritativeness of voice and carriage which belonged to a man who thought of superiors as remote existences, with whom he had personally little more to do than with America or the stars."[23] Before the story ends, the title of squire is no longer used in the village.[24] Inheritance had broken up the estates; by giving the money to one heir and the land to another in entail, the heir with the land was forced to sell off, or rent property, to have money to maintain his property and life style.

One night a baby toddles into Silas's cottage while her mother lies dying of an overdose of opium in the ditch outside. The baby stays and grows into a young lady as Silas's "daughter." Actually, she is the unacknowledged daughter of Godfrey, the eldest son of the squire, whose wife turns out to be barren. Eppie, as that is her name, is raised among the workers, craftsmen, farmers, and farm laborers who live near Silas and whose children go to the nearby dame school as she does. These people made up one social circle in Raveloe while the squire, the

local landowners, the clergy, and their families made up another.

Eliot speaks of the manner of one's rearing and the ties of sympathy as being more important for adult choice than the biological tie of birth when she has Eppie refuse the offer of Godfrey and his wife to make her home with them:

> "I wasn't brought up to be a lady, and I can't turn my mind to it. I like working folks, and their houses, and their ways. And, . . . I'm promised to marry a workingman, as'll live with father, and help me take care of him."[25]

Before Eppie marries her workingman, she and Silas make a visit back to the town of Lantern Yard where Silas had come from. They find it a bewildering, congested manufacturing town. Eppie says:

> "I'm like as if I was stifled . . . I couldn't ha'thought as any folks live i'this way, so close together. How pretty the Stone Pits 'ull look when we get back!"[26]

Eliot uses freedoms with grammar and spelling in printing the speeches of the working people while the speeches of the squire and his circle are printed in accepted written form. She reinforces the pattern that the gentry and above speak in proper English while those below speak in dialect.

Eliot writes at the beginning of the story that Silas immigrates to Raveloe where the news of the world does not penetrate. She describes the area as "never reached by the vibrations of the coach horn, or of public opinion."[27] Yet at a party at the Squire's house the wine merchant's daughters from town arrive in "the height of fashion, with the tightest skirts and the shortest waists . . . "[28] The thread of the social life of the gentry provides some "news of the world."

When Silas's robbery was first reported, suspicion fell on a gypsy pedlar in the area. One of the villagers reported that the gypsy did not say anything suspicious when he spoke but that he had a swarthy

complexion which boded little honesty.[29] The stranger, like Silas, was looked on with suspicion in the rural village where everyone knows everyone else. Again the idea is presented that a swarthy complexion, foreignness, and gypsies are objects of suspicion for the rural Englishman. The first two characteristics are noted in Dickens's description of workers (Hard Times, Little Dorrit). Foreignness is a characteristic used by Bronte for her master and this rationalizes the hostility of the rural populace. In Galt's Andrew Wylie, the gypsies are accused of crime and saved by our hero who overcomes his fear of them.

Silas is one of a passing breed of handloom weavers who made their livelihood in the countryside instead of living and working under the guild rules of the towns where established artisans ruled. It is a stage before the domestic system comes into being with its middlemen who contract with several weavers for their wares, and well before the advent of the power loom which moves the weaver into the factory. Thus we have a single weaver, who is a stranger from urban life and is swept into the community by the sympathy given after his robbery and his fifteen years of proper industry and trade in the area.

Literacy is feared in the countryside of Raveloe, which is a stagnant backwater of social life. The squire and his circle, like the gentry of Jane Austen, do not mix with the workers, artisans, farmers, and farm laborers. Also, Eliot's gentry are breaking down morally as well as economically and demographically. It is found that the younger son of the squire stole Silas's money and died in the attempt by drowning in one of the stone pits, the young wife of Godfrey is barren, and, of course, there is Godfrey's fathering of Eppie. The vitality, the discipline, the reverence, the hard work, all things that Eliot

admires, belong to her artisans not the gentry. Her genealogy that succeeds is not one of blood, but of Silas's choice and care, and, of course, Chance.

Felix Holt (1866) covers the period of the passage of the first Reform Bill of 1832 and deals much more with the effects of industrialization. The setting is a small, thriving pocket borough of Birmingham whose economy is basically agricultural and commercial, but includes an industrial town or two, and some coal pits. It is an area of rich farmers, thriving market town merchants, and an aristocratic clergy. The brand of Protestantism that flourished in the agricultural areas was not zealous enough to stress literacy, and the overseer held more power than the parson. The industrial towns were black from the coal-pits and noisy from the rattle of handlooms:

> Here were powerful men walking queerly with knees bent outward from squatting in the mine, going home to throw themselves down in their blackened flannel and sleep through the daylight, then rise and spend much of their high wages at the ale-house with their fellows of the Benefit Club; here the pale eager faces of handloom weavers, men and women, haggard from sitting up late at night to finish the week's work, hardly begun till the Wednesday. Everywhere the cottages and the small children were dirty, for the languid mothers gave their strength to the loom; pious Dissenting women, perhaps, who took life patiently, and thought that salvation depended chiefly on predestination, and not at all on cleanliness . . . The breath of the manufacturing town, which made a cloudy day and a red gleam by night on the horizon, diffused itself over all the surrounding country, filling the air with eager unrest. Here was a population not convinced that old England was as good as possible; here were multitudinous men and women aware that their religion was not exactly the religion of their rulers, who might therefore be better than they were, and who, if better, might alter many things which now made the world perhaps more painful than it need be, and certainly more sinful.[30]

One of the larger towns of the borough is Treby Magna which has moved from the "old-fashioned, grazing, brewing, wool-packing, cheese-loading life" with the introduction of the canal, the development of

the mines, and the discovery of saline springs.[31] As the town moved from the traditional occupations to manufacturing, it also moved from a local trade based on close relationships with the local landed interests into a larger national system based on mines, manufacturing, and an impersonal market. The upper and middle social circles of Treby Magna included merchants of previous days who had made their fortunes and who were related by marriage with the farmers of the area.[32] They:

> . . . played whist, ate and drank generously, praised Mr. Pitt and the war as keeping up prices and religion, and were very humorous about each other's property, having much the same coy pleasure in allusions to their ability to purchase, as blushing lasses sometimes have in jokes about their secret preferences.[33]

Some of the tradesmen had rent rolls longer than those of the local lord and their daughters married into the aristocratic circle.[34] The aristocrats had social esteem, but they shared wealth with the members of the legal profession in the area who did not need social esteem: "A provincial lawyer in those old-fashioned days was as independent of personal esteem as if he had been a Lord Chancellor."[35] They were becoming rich establishing rights of heirs to estates,[36] but they were not overly meticulous: "It was not so well for a lawyer to be over-honest, else he might not be up to other people's tricks."[37] The Anglican rector in the novel describes the local lawyer, Matthew Jermyn, as:

> "A fat-handed, glib-tongued fellow, with a scented cambric handkerchief; one of your educated low-bred fellows . . . one of your middle-class upstarts who want to rank with gentlemen, and think they'll do it with kid gloves and new furniture."[38]

The smaller hamlet of Treby Minor is in decline. Transome Court, the local estate, and the family that lives there are also in decline. The day the story opens, new hope for Transome Court is seen in the return of the heir, Harold Transome. He astonishes his family by

proclaiming his candidacy for Parliament as a radical. His Tory uncle, the Anglican rector, comes to his support, rationalizing the rejection of Tory principles:

> "If the mob can't be turned back, a man of family must try and head the mob, and save a few homes and hearths, and keep the country on its last legs as long as he can."[39]

Harold's mother feels differently:

> "It seems to me that a man owes something to his birth and station, and has no right to take up this notion or the other, just as it suits his fancy; still less to work at the overthrow of his class."[40]

Another son of the village, Felix Holt, is also returning to Treby Minor. His father had been a successful quack doctor and had provided Felix with a medical education. Now, to his mother's dismay, he has chosen to become a journeyman watchmaker and wears the dress of the workman proudly. He is also a radical. His mother attends the local Chapel, but Felix is not religious.

Although Eliot makes Felix a radical, he is conservative in that he chooses to take on the traditional position of his father as a workman. Originally, his father had been a weaver and Felix thinks he should have remained one just as he intends to remain a workman:

> "If there's anything our people want convincing of, it is, that there's some dignity and happiness for a man other than changing his station."[41]

Thus, Eliot does not disagree too much with Gaskell and Bronte that a person should be happy with the position he is in. Kingsley, who follows in this sample, is also an advocate of God-directed places in life. On the other hand, she is not happy with things as they are and sees the traditional world as one of barrenness, decline, and changing principles. The gentry are not a model for the good life, and Felix does not want workingmen to ape middle-class fashions of life.[42]

Harold enlists the lawyer Jermyn to help in gathering votes. His campaign includes the promise of free liquor to a group of sawyers, stone-cutters, and colliers at one of the public houses in the district if they will demonstrate on election day for Harold. Felix is against this use of workers.

The workingmen do not yet have a vote, but they do have a voice and Eliot is aware of the power of public opinion. Her character Felix Holt says:

> "I'll tell you what's the greatest power under heaven . . . and that is public opinion--the ruling belief in society about what is right and what is wrong, what is honourable and what is shameful. That's the steam that is to work the engines."[43]

Even if the workman is to get the vote, Felix worries that this will not give his interests representation in Parliament as others will manipulate the ignorant workman at the polls. Whether or not public opinion will sway the "engines" of Parliament to do good or not depends on the force of the "steam" of people's "passions, feelings, desires;" the vote itself is not the important force.[44]

A union leader is described as having arms that were powerfully muscular and "the pallid complexion of a man who lives chiefly among the heat of furnaces," a "grimy paleness of his shirt and skin," and a voice that was high and not strong.[45] Thus Eliot confirms again the difference with the agricultural laborers in the pale complexion of the industrial worker and also reconfirms the grime of the industrial worker. His high voice is not appealing.

On election day, free liquor, crowds of workmen of all kinds, and rising passions lead to civil rioting and the military is called in to restore law and order. Thus the workmen, as a crowd, are shown as irrational and rowdy but strong enough in numbers to give strength to

their presence. Individually, workmen from manufacturing towns have a "keener aspect" than that of the lower classes of market towns.[46] Felix tried to save a victim of the crowd and unwittingly is the cause of the death of another. He is held for manslaughter without support from either the mass of workers or gentry because neither group claims him.

Eliot's artisan, as characterized by Felix Holt, embodies both reason and dedication, and is expected to lead these workers to a "man's share in what goes on in life."[47] He resembles Disraeli's Gerard in pushing for the rights of workmen to be equal to those of other groups. Workmen are to be taught to see themselves with dignity and pride in their own worth in their participation in social life and not to ape the middle classes. Holt's dedication is shown by his disregarding the fruits of his own medical education in order to migrate to "some ugly, wretched, miserable place" to enlighten the handicraftsmen of their rights and place in life.[48] His sweetheart, Esther, shows her dedication by giving up her rights as an heir to the Transome estates to go with Felix as his wife.

Demographically, the novel shows the manufacturing towns swarming with colliers, sawyers, and stone-cutters, who are identified by occupational groups rather than as persons. A death is caused by the election rioting, and disputes have clouded the inheritance of the Transome estates.

Middlemarch (1871) explores the confrontation of the established social hierarchy of the landed gentry with those of the intruding commercial and industrial worlds. Eliot uses three families to characterize different aspects of the social world of the rural community of Middlemarch: the Brookes, representative of the gentry; the Vincys,

representative of the manufacturing and commercial town bourgeoisie; and the Garths, representative of the developing business and industrial professionals. The time is 1832 and the passage of the first Reform Bill. The problems resolved by the families are social acceptance, economic support, life styles, and how these combine in marriages among the characters.

The story begins with the socially responsible Dorothea Brooke, niece of the local squire, marrying Casaubon, an academic pedant. She is overawed by his intellectualism, but experience soon shows her his pedantry lacks vitality. After his death, she marries his relative Will Ladislaw, a journalist and reformer.

Fred Vincy, of the second family, is raised and educated to be a gentleman in the expectation of inheriting his uncle's estate. When this fails to come about, he follows his natural inclinations for the country "business" life and goes to work for his future father-in-law Caleb Garth. Caleb and his family are not as socially acceptable as the Vincys or the Brookes, but over the course of the story, their good natures, hard work, and competence bring them recognition, and young Mary Garth happily marries Fred Vincy.

Caleb Garth personifies the industrial world at its best. He was a man enraptured with the romance of growing industry. From his youth "the roar of the furnace, the thunder and plash of the engine, were a sublime music to him" and he sought "to have as effective a share as possible in this sublime labour, which was peculiarly dignified by him with the name of 'business.'"[49] Like Egan's mechanical person, he was honest and happy in his work. He believed in "good, practical schemes, accurate work, and the faithful completion of undertakings."[50]

His bent was mechanical and not pecuniary, to use Thorstein Veblen's terms; consequently, his family was not well-off but he was a contented man at work. Caleb had failed at the building business but continued to work as a surveyor, land valuer, and estate agent.[51] Although he did not look down on other ranks in life, he preferred his own where he had a close contact with "business" that permitted him to work to improve life for present and future generations.[52] His wife was a teacher and they represent qualities of reason, knowledge, skill, and active work which are not prerequisites for social position in Middlemarch.

The dominant social world is one based on land and family. Its tenets determine that Mr. Farebrother, the rector, enter the church rather than following his scientific interests; that Lydgate, the young doctor, after having sought the small town as an escape from the hypocrisy of big city medicine, practices medicine for those who can pay for his services and not in terms of medical needs and values; that Bulstode, the banker, calculates his social position and power not exclusively in terms of financial power, but also in his marriage to a Vincy and the purchase of Stone Court. But changes are occurring and tradesmen like Mr. Mawmsy, the retail trader, are willing "to supply an equal supply of teas and sugars to reformer and anti-reformer."[53] When an outsider inherits Mr. Featherstone's estate instead of Fred Vincy, the town mercer (hosier) was cordial to the outsider for there "was no knowing how many pairs of legs the new proprietor might require hose for, and profits were more to be relied on than legacies."[54]

The banker comments that social status is more important for medical men in Middlemarch than knowledge and skill.[55] The author adds that "it was dangerous to insist on knowledge as a qualification for any

salaried office" in the area.[56]

Yet the qualities of knowledge, skill, and work are the basis for the happy ending of the story when young Fred Vincy is permitted to work and learn under the tutelage of Caleb Garth and is welcomed as a suitor for Mary, Caleb's daughter. Although his social status may have declined, Eliot indicates happiness in competence and honest self-development for Fred rather than boredom and dissoluteness in filling the empty category of gentleman of leisure. Caleb advises Fred on choosing work:

> "You must be sure of two things: you must love your work, and not be always looking over the edge of it, wanting your play to begin. And the other is, you must not be ashamed of your work, and think it would bemore honourable to you to be doing something else."[57]

Eliot reports that the Vincys were "old manufacturers, and had kept a good house for three generations."[58] Mrs. Cadwallader, an Anglican rector's wife in the story, says that Mr. Vincy was "one of those who suck the life out of the wretched handloom weavers in Tipton and Freshitt."[59] Thus he does not appear to produce a product but to contract for goods among the weavers in a domestic system rather than a factory system. Over the course of the novel, his business does not flourish and cannot support his and his family's free spending.

Dorothea Brooke sees herself as lady bountiful among the poor and is disappointed when she looks for projects to improve the lives of the "poor" farmers of Lowick and finds that their affluence leaves nothing for her to do.[60] The free farmers of Lowick lived beside a laboring man's hamlet called Frick "where a water-mill and some stone-pits made a little centre of slow, heavy-shouldered industry."[61] These men who lived here or in cottages not far off, were more superstitious than fanatical and did not rest their hopes in heaven.[62]

Dorothea is like one of Jane Austen's gentry. She "knows" from the traditions and ideas of her class and not from direct experience with the groups and individuals concerned. At one point in the story she thanks Mrs. Cadwallader for calling her from the library to tell her of her neighbors, "It seems to me we know nothing of our neighbors, unless they are cottagers."[63] Mrs. Cadwallader answers, "Quite right to feel obligated to me, . . . Your rich Lowick farmers are as curious as any buffaloes or bisons, and I daresay you don't half see them at church. They are quite different from your uncle's tenants or Sir James's--monsters--farmers without landlords--one can't tell how to class them."[64]

The traditional social world of the landed gentry did not extend to the weavers and tanners near Middlemarch. The laborers of the traditional world are the cottagers.[65] Mr. Brooke, the local squire, finds this out when he chooses to run for Parliament in the district and tries to gain the support of these weavers and tanners:

> . . . unlike Mr. Mawmsy (the merchant), had never thought of Mr. Brooke as a neighbor, and were not more attached to him than if he had been sent in a box from London.[66]

The life styles in Middlemarch varied according to one's social position and source of economic support. While the Brookes practiced "well-bred economy" in the comfort of Tipton Grange,[67] the Vincys "lived in an easy profuse way . . . so that the children had no standard of economy,"[68] and the Garths lived "narrowly" without suitable furniture and dinner service for genteel visiting.[69] Lower on the social scale, the Dagleys, tenant farmers on the Brooke estate, lived in a "tumbledown farmhouse, where they live in the back kitchen and leave the other rooms to the rats."[70]

Mr. Dagley had great hopes for the "Rinform" and drunkenly tells

the kindly but inept Mr. Brooke:

> " . . . the King 'ull put a stop to't, for them say it as knows it, as there's to be a Rinform, and them landlords as never done the right thing by their tenants 'ull be treated i'that way as they'll hev to scuttle off . . . I'm none afeard on you . . . look to yoursen, afore the Rinform has got upo' your back."[71]

Mr. Dagley's ignorance is explained by the author:

> . . . nothing was easier in those times than for an hereditary farmer of his grade to be ignorant, in spite somehow of having a rector in the twin parish who was a gentleman to the backbone, a curate nearer at hand who preached more learnedly than the rector, a landlord who had gone into everything, especially fine art and social improvement, and all the lights of Middlemarch only three miles off . . . Poor Dagley read a few verses sometimes on a Sunday evening, . . . Some things he knew thoroughly, namely, the slovenly habits of farming, and the awkwardness of weather, stock, and crops . . . .[72]

At the bottom of the social ladder is Timothy:

> . . . a wiry old labourer, of a type lingering in those times--who had his savings in a stocking-foot, lived in a lone cottage, and was not to be wrought on by any oratory, having as little of the feudal spirit, and believing as little, as if he had not been totally unacquainted with the Age of Reason and the Rights of Man.[73]

To Timothy, even Caleb Garth is one of the big folks who run the world.[74] Timothy sees the farm laborer like himself at the mercy of the actions of the big folks, but sees no merit in the laborer's interfering with this scheme of things.[75]

Public opinion and social communication play a part in this mixed world of Middlemarch. It is developed by gossip in the streets, in the public houses, and at social affairs; it is reinforced by the newspapers and other interest groups. The manipulation of public opinion is seen when a landowner who does not want his pasturage cut in two by the oncoming railroad arouses the fear of change among the laborers of Frick and organizes an attack on the railroad surveyors.

There are two newspapers in the area that attempt to develop public opinion. One is the old Trumpet, which "had become feeble in its blowing."[76] The other is the Pioneer which Squire Brooke brought and hired Will Ladislaw to edit in order to present himself as a candidate for Parliament and to circulate his political position as a Whig. True to what public opinion analysts tell us today, the people of Middlemarch read either the Trumpet or the Pioneer, depending on their political preferences.[77]

The migrations in Middlemarch are of individuals. First, Lydgate and Bulstode migrate to the town, the former to escape the hypocrisy of urban medicine and the latter to improve his financial and social position. Later, both emigrate from the town, Lydgate to London to develop a wealthy practice in order to support his wife's tastes, and Bulstode to escape the innuendo of unpleasant gossip. Dorothea and Will Ladislaw move to London to take up their life together.

Births are a rarity among the important females of Middlemarch until the marriage conflicts are resolved at the end of the story.

The deaths of three men affect the inheritance of land and wealth. One man dies of old age, one of a heart attack, and one under questionable circumstances in a bout of alcoholic poisoning. There is also a cholera death in the town which causes the town board to arrange a town burial ground under the new sanitary regulations of Parliament.[78] Finally, there is the notice in the last pages of the death of the doctor, Lydgate, in London from diphtheria at the age of fifty.

People in Middlemarch tend to distrust London,[79] and some see it "as a centre of hostility to the country."[80] Only the local social world is central to their thinking, the national scene is both distant

and regarded as a threat.

The laborer, whether agricultural or industrial, is only marginally glimpsed during the electioneering, and in the incident of the attack on the railroad surveyors. Laborers are designated by where they live, cottages for farm laborers, Lowick for rich farmers, Frick for laborers, Tipton and Freshitt for weavers and tanners. There is no mention of factory labor, though Plymdale has a dye factory in Middlemarch; only craftsmen such as weavers and tanners are specifically mentioned. A water-wheel and not the steam engine is the source of power for industry in the area. Some weavers and tanners have become wealthy like Mr. Hackbutt, and there was also a wealthy ironmonger of some standing, Mr. Poweerell.[81] The agricultural laborers and cottagers are not even known well by the landowners, as seen by the complaints of Dorothea and the lack of understanding of his tenants as shown by Mr. Brooke.

Summary

Social World of the Novels

George Eliot creates a historically moving world, beginning with the traditional rural, small town of Raveloe (Silas Marner) where the traditional gentry based on lineage does not flourish but still holds sway socially and authoritatively; continues with the more populated, more urban, and more industrial borough of Treby Major (Felix Holt) where young artisans and workers are beginning to organize in their interests; and culminates in the panorama of Middlemarch (Middlemarch) with its many-faceted social world of gentry, town-bourgeoisie, and developing business professionals, and its settlements of laborers, cottagers, weavers, and tanners. She creates this world of earlier times from the perspective of the urban-industrial England of the

1860s which was enfranchising the workingman as the largest category of voters, and whose cities and industries were beginning to dominate the economic and political spheres. Her novel Felix Holt warns the reading public of the drawbacks of a workingman's vote that is ignorant and easily manipulated by others.

In Middlemarch, she cautions the young urban professional, such as the young doctor Lydgate, against the vain expectation that by migrating to the small town one can evade city problems and control one's destiny. The social world of the small town is restrictive and does not easily open itself to newcomers as seen in Silas Marner, or to change as seen in Middlemarch.

Changing life is in the city and Dorothea and Will (Middlemarch) migrate there to develop their lives by new, self-directed, rather than by community-directed, patterns. However there is a change in the countryside, too, as inheritances disappoint, businesses fail, the railroad disrupts, and men like Caleb Garth develop a problem-solving, practical, mechanistic approach to "business" problems and are followed by young men like Fred Vincy whose great expectations have withered.

Thus in these novels there is a movement from the traditional social bonds of lineage to the modern social bonds of rational calculation.

Eliot's favored characters are those with human sympathy, intellectual insight, and self-discipline, like Dorothea Brooke in Middlemarch and Felix Holt in Felix Holt. Both of these characters have attributes that would make them successful in a more traditional social hierarchy--lineage and wealth for Dorothea, and a medical education for Felix--but they disregard them to plunge into lives

based on dedication to humanistic ideals and duty towards one's fellow man. Felix's dedication is limited to those of the working class and their rights while Dorothea's is broader and more basic and includes all who are in physical need.

Though religion may divide the gentry, the agricultural worker, and the industrial worker in these novels, it is not an important issue. Nor is Parliament or the military seen as all important. It is individual passions channeled into productive work for the good of mankind that is the major goal of mature human development, and for Dorothea Brooke and Felix Holt these are to be accomplished with the help of loving marriage partners. Electing social status as a goal leads to disaster for Eliot's characters.

Demography

Births are rare in the ebbing world of Silas Marner, and the dying traditional world of Felix Holt, and even in Middlemarch until the story ends with a promise of a new future for the characters which will be fertile in more ways than one.

Mortality strikes the squire's young son in Silas Marner. It strikes a riot victim in Felix Holt. In Middlemarch, the deaths of three men by degenerative diseases changes the inheritance of wealth and land. Then there is a cholera death which prompts the town board to act on a public burying ground, and Lydgate's death from diphtheria.

Migration was from the city by the handloom weaver in Silas Marner, and to rural areas where there was water power in Middlemarch for the for the use of power looms.

Migration was to the city for Dorothea and Will (Middlemarch) who sought to lead lives for active reform in society. However the city

was still mistrusted by the country laborers of Frick (Middlemarch). Lydgate migrated to the rural town from the city in the vain expectation of being able to pursue medicine on his own idealistic terms in the small town, and migrated back to London when he found he could not support his small town wife in the manner she required on a Middlemarch practice. Bulstode (Middlemarch), the banker, also migrates from the urban to the rural town to improve his financial and social position, but when his calculating and opportunistic ways are exposed to small town gossip he is forced out again.

Industrialism

In these three novels the sequence begins with the pre-industrial handloom weaver migrating to escape the city and to find work in the countryside. He is honest, literate, hard-working, and a Dissenter. He is accepted in the town of Raveloe when sympathy is extended after his robbery and after fifteen years of conscientious work and independence in the neighborhood.

In Felix Holt, the hero is again an artisan who is honest and literate but who, instead of working at his trade, works to organize and enlighten the workingman as to the dignity and rights of his position. Other categories of workers such as colliers and sawyers are mentioned but not individualized in Felix Holt.

Middlemarch adds a new mechanical person to our list in Caleb Garth. As with Dickens's, Egan's, Gaskell's, and Bronte's mechanical persons, we do not see him with many human passions, but from a distance; perhaps the very calculation of the mechanical person keeps him at bay. Eliot, of course, could draw Silas and Felix from the artisan life of her father, which she knew from her girlhood, but as a woman her

acquaintances were of the literary world. Thus the mechanistic individual is seen from afar and is drawn less personally. It is George Gissing in the third period of this sample who is the first to attempt to show the feelings and ambitions of the mechanical-oriented in his portrayal of Richard Mutimer in Demos.

Caleb Garth is for Eliot, as his type was for Veblen, the kind of man in whom to put the hopes of the future, one who was not concerned with pecuniary or administrative tasks, but only with productive ones. Dickens's Daniel Doyce (Little Dorrit) is another example of this type.

Author's Vision of Life

The essential dignity of work and the worker is a theme of Eliot's three works. She is for man's joy in work that aids mankind and does not merely further himself. She is for filling one's place in life with dignity and pride and not for always looking for greener pastures. She is for learning about life from experience and facts and not for completely basing knowledge on second-hand views. She is for leadership of the ignorant by the able and dedicated. Social responsibility is the "work" of the able.

Parliament, the military, the church, book learning, are none of them the proper repository of human care and development. It is in passion, work, and in the dedication of human leadership that man must place his faith in the future. Kingsley and Reade, in the next chapter, are more concerned with the organizational basis of workingman leadership and its effects.

Notes to Chapter IX

[1]George Eliot, "Address to Working Men, by Felix Holt," orig. pub. Blackwood's Magazine, 1868, reprinted in George Eliot's Works, 21 vols., Dutton's Standard Ed. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.), 21:275.

[2]Ibid., p. 271.

[3]Ibid., p. 283.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Margaret Crompton, George Eliot: The Woman (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1960), p. 131.

[7]Gordon S. Haight, George Eliot: A Biography (New York: Oxford Press, 1968), p. 279.

[8]Raymond Williams, The Country and the City (New York: The Oxford Press, 1973), pp. 165-181.

[9]Crompton, p. 142.

[10]Ibid., p. 126.

[11]Ibid., p. 149.

[12]Haight, p. 369.

[13]Ibid., p. 202.

[14]Ibid., p. 63; Crompton, p. 46.

[15]Haight, p. 158.

[16]Ibid., pp. 238, 335.

[17]George Eliot, "The Natural History of German Life: Riehl," orig. pub. Westminster Review, 1856, reprinted in George Eliot's Works, 21 vols., Dutton's Standard Ed. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.), 21:188.

[18]Ibid., p. 191.

[19]Ibid., p. 194.

[20]Ibid.

[21]George Eliot, Silas Marner, orig. pub. 1861 (New York: Airmont Books, 1963), p. 7.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Ibid., p. 74.

[24]Ibid., p. 145.

[25]Ibid., p. 182.

[26]Ibid., p. 187.

[27]Ibid., p. 9-10.

[28]Ibid., p. 98.

[29]Ibid., p. 67.

[30]George Eliot, Felix Holt, in 2 vols., orig. pub. 1866, reprinted in George Eliot's Works, 21 vols., Dutton's Standard Ed. vols. 4 & 5 (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.), 1:6-7.

[31]Ibid., p. 66.

[32]Ibid., p. 65.

[33]Ibid., p. 65-66.

[34]Ibid., p. 309.

[35]Ibid., p. 314.

[36]Ibid., p. 11.

[37]Ibid., p. 12.

[38]Ibid., p. 46.

[39]Ibid., p. 48.

[40]Ibid., p. 55.

[41]Ibid., 2:294.

[42]Ibid., 1:94-5.

[43]Ibid., 2:90.

[44]Ibid., pp. 88-89.

[45]Ibid., p. 82.

[46]Ibid., p. 115.

[47]Ibid., p. 83.

[48]Ibid., p. 41.

[49]George Eliot, Middlemarch, orig. pub. 1871, this edition ed. by W. J. Harvey (1965; ed. Baltimore: Penguin Books, Penguin English Library, 1969), p. 283.

[50]Ibid., p. 284.

[51]Ibid., p. 263.

[52]Ibid., p. 438.

[53]Ibid., p. 542.

[54]Ibid., p. 374.

[55]Ibid., p. 153.

[56]Ibid., p. 187.

[57]Ibid., p. 606.

[58]Ibid., p. 123.

[59]Ibid., p. 361.

[60]Ibid., p. 103.

[61]Ibid., p. 598.

[62]Ibid., p. 599.

[63]Ibid., p. 360. Cottagers, in this instance, were the tenant farmers and laborers who lived and worked on the land of the gentry.

[64]Ibid., pp. 360-1.

[65]Ibid., p. 360.

[66]Ibid., p. 545.

[67]Ibid., p. 29.

[68]Ibid., p. 263.

[69]Ibid., p. 264.

[70]Ibid., p. 424.

[71]Ibid., p. 432.

[72]Ibid., pp. 432-3.

[73]Ibid., pp. 604-5.

[74]Ibid., p. 604.

[75]Ibid.

[76]Ibid., p. 393.

[77]Ibid., p. 505.

[78]Ibid., p. 779.

[79]Ibid., p. 662.

[80]Ibid., p. 600.

[81]Ibid., p. 213.

Chapter X

Charles Kingsley and Charles Reade

Two gentlemen born and raised, Charles Kingsley and Charles Reade, narrate some of the issues of worker association and organization in their respective novels, Alton Locke (1850) and Put Yourself in His Place (1870). For Kingsley, the challenges of Chartism draw a studious young tailor from an individual pursuit of learning to a dedicated class leadership for the association and recognition of the rights of workingmen. For Reade, the unions are already a fact of life and are competing with one another for the control of available work using terrorist tactics. For both, the young heroes aim to rise in society. Kingsley's hero is denied social mobility, but Reade's hero acquires it, not from his talents and hard work, but from the recognition of his gentry lineage and inheritance. The heroes of both men's novels are artisans.

Kingsley's The Water Babies (1863) is included to illustrate Kingsley's ideas of the possible evolution over time of such as a chimney sweep from brutish self-interest to a cultivated consideration for others, from filthiness to cleanliness, from isolation to group membership, and finally, a hint of marriage to a lady. The Water Babies is a fairy story with a moral, and it takes place over centuries of time and over global space.

The Authors and Their Novels

Charles Kingsley

The Anglican minister and novelist, Charles Kingsley, thought that the workingman who was educated and had decent working conditions would not be upwardly mobile, but proud of being a workman and filling God's designated place. His parish of Eversley was a working-class parish and he often spoke in public for the cause of workingman and union association.

Kingsley had "family", a Cambridge education, and the status of Anglican rector to assure his own position in life, and yet he believed that land ownership was essential for every Englishman. God was the paramount authority and somehow directed one's place in life, which was then to be accepted and filled to the best of one's ability. The Queen, the Church, and the gentry were necessary for democracy, he felt, in order to prevent the kind of competitive democracy that he associated with the United States.

Like other novelists before him, he wrote political treatises for periodicals such as Politics for the People, Christian Socialist, and the Journal of Association. His pseudonym for this writing was Parson Lot.

His novel Alton Locke deals with a young tailor's entanglement in the Chartist movement while his Water Babies symbolically explores the problems of the evolution of a chimney sweep to social acceptance as a gentleman.

Alton Locke, the hero of the novel of the same name, is a journeyman tailor who lives with his widowed mother in London. His interests are literary and his reading tastes are those of the Christian aristocrat instead of an artisan. His elevated reading habits offend his Chapel-going mother's fundamental religious beliefs and Alton leaves

home. His liberal ideas and acts cause him to lose his employment, lose his chance for a university education, turn to organizing and leading Chartist agitation, and finally to exile and death on the way to America.

Although Alton takes up the worker's cause, he is less than pleased with the temper of his own class which "not only submitted to, but demanded such one-sided bigotry, prurience, and ferocity, from those who set up as its guides and teachers."[1] Yet he sympathizes with the workingman who attempts to improve himself by dragging his tired body and brain to night classes and predicts a large increase in their numbers.

Kingsley, like Dickens, sees power and status in education. It is the reading of the upper classes and their access to education that gives them the advantages and power over the rest of society. The young Alton seeks education to help him to rise in life. He thinks he might become a successful writer but his friend, the old bookseller Sandy MacKaye, warns him that even if he is successful and lionized by society he will not be permitted to marry into the upper class. Alton is advised by both Sandy and his own cousin George that the occupations that permit association with aristocrats besides a literary one are those of the military or the clergy.

Kingsley, in Alton Locke, describes an urban sweatshop where the work is done on a contract basis as a "fetid, choking den" filled with seven or eight "sallow, starved beings, who coatless, shoeless, and ragged, sat stitching, each on his trundle bed."[2] A gathering of rural workmen are described as no better off:

> . . . wan, haggard look of all faces; their lackluster eyes and drooping lips, stooping shoulders, heavy, dragging steps, gave them a crushed dogged air, which was infinitely painful, and bespoke a grade of misery more habitual and degrading

than that of the excitable and passionate artisan.[3]

In the crowd, working-class persons voice their discontents. A shoemaker relates the evils of political economy and its pressures on wages that leaves the laborer without a surplus. One worker speaks for more autonomy for the worker on the land, and another speaks for every man having a piece of land for himself. A shoemaker notes that the Queen is unaware of the unhappy conditions of the worker and that expressions of discontent should be aimed at squires and landowners (and not against Kingsley's workingman's parish!). A woman speaks out against the workhouse which breaks up the family of the poor. A robber gets up and tells the audience that they are fools not to rob the rich as he does to get his share. Alton gets up and tells about the efforts of workers in London for Chartism and attempts to solicit their support for Parliamentary reform and Chartism. Passions rise, a cry for "bread" goes up, and the crowd moves off to fire a farm. Alton is caught in the attempt of officials to restore law and order and is put in jail for three years.

Kingsley in Alton Locke gives credit to the social reforms of the Tory nobleman, Lord Ashley, as almost the only practical efforts toward improving the conditions of workingmen while the Reform Bill, far from giving aid to the workingman, gave power to their oppressors, the labor kings (manufacturers), and the small shopkeepers by increasing their political majorities.[4]

In the story, the Chartists march to Parliament for redress of their grievances. They reason that public opinion and pressure from without are the only things that have carried any measure in England for the last twenty years.[5] MacKaye, the voice of reason, rants against this action, citing the failure of the Anti-Corn Laws and Reform Bills

as reasons for not trying the Parliamentary approach again.[6] Contrary to their hopes, the London masses do not support their march and its efforts fail. Alton is accused of being a communist for his part in the movement.[7] Alton and some others lose their jobs for signing the Charter.

For a while, Alton gets a job writing for the Weekly Warhoop, a Chartist newspaper. Many Chartist newspapers were coming into existence which were comparable with existing Whig and Tory papers. They are characterized by "stern morality, lofty earnestness, hatred of evil, and a craving for good."[8] Alton turns from the Warhoop to write for a popular journal.

Drainage and sewage pollution carry cholera to the London population in the story and Alton falls ill. He is nursed by an aristocratic young woman who has formed a cooperative of tailors to help them improve their work conditions. She is aware of the inequalities of the distribution of wealth and recognizes that intellect and emotion exist in classes below her own.[9] She leads Alton, as Kingsley's own wife had led him, to an active faith in God, rather than Parliament, or education, or man, to shape social affairs. She explains to Alton that institutions work to keep the poor in their degraded condition[10] and that hope for the future is in a "new Church . . . of enfranchised and fraternal labor"[11] under the leadership of the clergy, who are chosen in the task of social unification.[12]

Alton, though desirous of rising in society, is snobbish over his own and other intellectual workmen's "honest and conscientious" approach to education while he describes the students at Cambridge as "the reckless, the profligate, the ignorant, (and) the hypocritical."[13] When he meets a gentleman, indicated by his dress, Alton informs the reader that with the same air, exercise, education, and good society,

the workingman would appear the same.[14] In The Water Babies, Kingsley is to modify this idea of Alton's that although it is possible for a workingman to conform to the gentleman's manner, it is likely only after generations of conditioning and evolution. Thus the worker, no matter how talented, how hard he works, how intellectual his tastes, and how rational and mannerly his behavior, must be content with his allotted place in life. Overall, society must be led by faith in God through the example and leadership of Christian aristocrats and enlightened clergy.

In The Water Babies (1863), Kingsley presents his idea that workers, such as the chimney sweep Tom, can, with proper conditioning and the application of the worker to do what he does not want to do, develop more human traits of kindness and consideration and eventually become a gentleman. However this is an evolutionary process taking many generations to come about. At the present time the chimney sweep and his kind are grasping, exploitative, and dirty.

Tom begins the story as a chimney sweep of no manners, no piety, no consideration, no education, and extremely dirty, but who is obedient to the cuffs and orders of his master Grimes. His aim is to grow up to be a master and cuff his own apprentice. One day while cleaning the chimneys of a large estate, Tom comes down the wrong chimney and lands in the bedroom of one of the daughters of the house who screams at the intrusion. Tom, frightened, runs off with all the household after him. In his exhaustion he finally falls into a delirium near a brook, and emerges in the water as a tiny water baby shedding his sooty shell on the bank. In the story Kingsley exercised his strong interest in natural science by introducing all the water creatures.

Tom is lonely in the water, and he hears of other water babies but

cannot see them. He befriends a lobster caught in a pot and after this is able to see and play with other water bodies. Water babies are recruited from the ranks of ill-used children of all kinds. Once a week there is a stern fairy, Mrs. Bedonebyasyoudid, who sees all and knows all and comes to give the children rewards or punishments for their behavior. She resembles Law in that she is mechanical in the meting out of justice and knows no sentiment. She metes out punishment daily to those like Grimes who come to her after doing wrong and knowing they were wrong. These persons are kept in another part of this Dantean-like Hell called the Other-end-of-Nowhere.

On Sunday a kind fairy comes and loves the babies. Her name is Mrs. Doasyouwouldbedoneby. Tom has a hard time being good, and a teacher, Ellie, is sent to tutor him. Ellie turns out to be the girl Tom frightened who has now succumbed to injuries from a fall on the rocks. She lives elsewhere, and Tom longs to go home with her, but Mrs. Bedonebyasyoudid says that one only goes there if one has gone where one didn't like, done what one didn't want to, and helped someone one didn't like. Finally, Tom is told that he is big enough to leave the water babies and go where he doesn't like--in other words, to be a man in Kingsley's view. He is to go and help Grimes, who drowned in the story and was taken to the Other-end-of-Nowhere.

Tom says he would much rather go elsewhere, for instance to the country of the Doasyoulikes. The fairy shows pictures to Ellie and Tom of the historical life of the Doasyoulikes. First, these people did not work and when a volcano erupted and spoiled their land of milk and honey, they still did not work. Over time there were fewer and fewer Doasyoulikes and the survivors began to act less and less civilized. They finally

began to look more like beasts in a kind of reverse evolution. The fairy tells Tom and Ellie that this regression could have been stopped if the Doasyoulikes had set to work like men and done what they did not like. Tom decides to follow the fairy's advice and go and help Grimes. He is successful and earns the right to go home with Ellie on Sunday. He returns a tall man, and Ellie is a beautiful woman. They are so entranced with each other that they look at each other for seven years. Over a hundred years have passed since he went away. Kingsley indicates a romance, but tells the reader there can be no marriage in a fairy tale of those under the rank of prince and princess. So Kingsley joins with Trollope and Disraeli, who come as far as the romance between persons of different rank but recognize the difficulties of marriage over this social gap. Even though Tom is cleansed and ethically developed, he does not get the lady in marriage.

The fairy finally interrupts Tom and Ellie's fascination with each other and tells them to look into her eyes to see who she really is. They see that she is all the fairies that Tom has met but they are unable to read her true identity. She is omnipotent and omniscient--the divinity?

Kingsley tells us that Tom becomes a "great man of science and can plan railroads and steam engines and electric telegraphs, and rifled guns, and so forth . . . ."[15] Even if he cannot marry Ellis of the traditional establishment, he can make his worldly way to success in the new mechanical occupations associated with industrialization.

The moral of the story, Kingsley explains, is that the English boy must stick to hard work and wash in cold water and never ill-use the ugly creatures of the world, "but pity them and be kind to them, and

hope that someday they will wake up, and be ashamed of their nasty, dirty, lazy, stupid life and try to amend, and become something better once more."[16] Then by Darwinian evolution "their brains may grow bigger, and their jaws grow smaller, and their tails whither off, and they will turn into water babies again, and perhaps after that into land babies; and after that perhaps into grown men."[17]

Kingsley indicated a biological gap as well as a social gap between the likes of Tom and Mr. Grimes compared with Ellie. Even though Tom has not been guided into learning right from wrong, he is held somewhat responsible along with other water babies and is put to a series of experiences where he must act correctly of his own volition before developing further in the social world--for instance--he could not see the other water babies until he had done something for someone else which turns out to be the helping of the lobster. After Tom has developed successfully, it is still not right for him to marry Ellie. The physical attraction is there but the social gap between lady and ex-chimney sweep is too great. The time Tom is gone from Ellie is several hundred years, indicating that the evolution of the likes of Tom into an acceptable gentleman whom one can take home with one does not occur in one generation.

Charles Reade

Charles Reade was known in his time as a social reformer for his novels on prisons, insane asylums, and trade union abuse. Today he is better known for his historical novel, The Cloister and the Hearth. The backgrounds for his social reform novels are as realistic as he could make them. He even shut himself in jail before writing Never Too Late to Mend, to understand the feelings of prisoners before writing about them. His novels were so popular that they enjoyed a greater circulation than the

Times,[18] and "after the death of Thackery and Dickens he divided with George Eliot (whose work he did not admire) the reputation of being the greatest living novelist."[19] Put Yourself in his Place (1870) seeks understanding for the lone artisan who struggles to improve his craft against constricting union regulations and becomes a target for terrorism.

Reade was a good friend of Dickens although he came from a different background. His family were country gentry, and Reade had the benefits of an Oxford education while Dickens was mainly self-taught. He shares with Dickens an aversion to the fouling of the countryside by industry, but he is sympathetic toward the artisan who seeks to develop his craft to its highest point. Henry Little in Put Yourself in his Place is a creative cutler who enjoys developing his craft, but is foiled by trade unions that try to protect their particular crafts and prevent a single artisan from developing a product that uses the methods of another craft.

This novel presents the unions as a fact of life, and it shows them competing with each other and with employers for control of the work situation. They are primarily concerned with control over the labor force, and not with greater productivity or with improving the work situation and making it safer. The workers are shown valuing wages over their own safety.

The little town of Hillsborough where the story takes place is described as a once-pretty town now fouled by industry. This industry, the author concedes, has added to the country's wealth, "but industry so vast, worked by steam, on a limited space, has been fatal to beauty . . . crystal streams become defiled as they run through town."[20]

In the story, Henry, whose father was a building contractor and whose mother is of the gentry, is hired by a rural cutlery manufacturer

because of his superior craftsmanship. He is an old-fashioned artisan in that he forges, grinds, and edges his own tools, and he has been successful at his trade in London. Local workers resent that a Londoner is hired over them. According to them, the employer should have approached the local unions in order to select the new worker. Henry, who identifies as a workingman, is surprised at the enmity shown him at his new job.

Union men send threatening notes to Henry. The notes are misspelled and the grammar is not that of the schoolroom.[21] The foreman at the factory advised Henry to take the threats seriously as those who have not complied with the union in the past have been attacked and crippled.[22]

There is not one union in the factory, but several. Each craft has its own union. There is an Edge-tool union, a Grinders union, and a Handlers union. When Henry offers to join one of these, the other two maintain their threats. He offers to join a second union on the same conditions as the first; fifteen pounds for membership and a promise not to draw relief unless disabled by accident or violence. The terrorists blow up Henry's workplace but he is not killed. The three unions now join in offering Henry severance pay and travel expenses to leave town. Henry does not accept the offer, and the grinders union responds by striking until the master Cheatham is forced to let Henry go. The frustrated master comments, "Oh, if ever you workmen get power, GOD HELP THE WORLD."[23]

Although Henry has certainly suffered at the hands of his fellow workers, he retains his identity with them and shakes hands with the union negotiator before leaving and says, "I can't refuse my hand to one of my

own sort that asks it . . . you deserve to win, for you are true to each other; but a master can't be true to a man, nor to anything on earth, but his pocket."[24]

Henry does not leave town but starts work for the town doctor who is researching factory safety. Gaskell portrayed this occupation in Mary Barton. Neither the master, the unions, or the workers are seen as valuing their lives over rewards of power and money. For the workers, "the money-price of their labor was everything to them, the blood-price nothing."[25] An inspection of the factory indicates that one of the heavy grindstones is liable to cause an accident, and it is reported to the union. The man who works at the stone is aware of the hazard, but refuses to hang a new wheel without pay, and the master refuses to pay. Henry astonishes the union by suggesting that they might contribute to help prevent an accident to one of their men. No remedy is forthcoming and the wheel breaks, crippling the laborer for life. Another work hazard is the bronchitis that the men develop from the dust from the grindstones, which causes an early death.

Mr. Cheatham is so anxious to sell Henry's superior work, and Henry is so enthusiastic about his work that the two conspire to have Henry set up his forge in an abandoned church in the hills. Henry is discovered at work and attacked by union thugs.

The solution to all these problems is offered by Henry's uncle, the local squire. He offers Henry the chance to become his heir and live as a gentleman; then he can have his own forge and invent what he wants. The squire comments, "Gentlemen are not to be dictated to by snobs."[26] Living as a gentleman will also make Henry an eligible suitor for the girl he admires, but he refuses for a while to accept his uncle's offer.

The squire is described as:

> An antique Tory squire, nursed in expiring Jacobitism and cradled in the pride of race; educated at Oxford, well read in books, versed in county business, and acquainted with trade and commerce; yet puffed up with aristocratic notions, and hugging the very prejudices our nobility are getting rid of--as fast as the vulgar will let them.
>
> He had sovereign contempt for tradespeople, and especially for manufacturers. Any one of those numerous disputes between masters and mechanics, which distinguish British industry, might have been safely referred to him, for he abhored and despised them both with strict impartiality.[27]

Bronte in Shirley also wrote of the estrangement of the local gentry from both masters and men.

Instead Henry sets up his own factory with a business partner. His mother goes about making her son look like a gentleman for his new position as master. She sends him to the barber and the tailor and the opera in London. At home, she gives him dancing lessons and they begin to entertain the gentry.

Henry tries to make his factory a model for safety. The wet grinders are provided with improved plates, paved, drained floors, and cozy fires to ward off dampness. The file cutlery workers refuse sanitary measures that would cut down on lead poisoning. When some of the dry grinders refuse to use fans to keep down the metal dust and grit, Henry fires them and hires others. He develops a double grinding wheel that will speed up the work, but his advisors warn him to hide his invention as it would bring him more trouble with the union.

Another problem with the union occurs when Henry's workers do not pay their union dues. One of the union leaders suggests to Henry that he deduct the dues from the wages of the men. One procedure unions used at the time to collect dues was to pressure the employer by "rattening" or taking the master's gear so that no work could be done until the dues

were collected.

Henry's inventions not only cause trouble with the unions, but when he goes to have some of them patented he finds the government also causes difficulty in the complicated and long process of patenting. Doyce in Dickens's Little Dorrit had similar problems with the Circumlocution office. One of Henry's inventions for saving time causes the brickmakers at his factory to strike, and Henry's partner hires scabs to work in their place only to find that the union men had mixed needles into the clay and many scabs go off to the hospital. A watchman and a dog are hired for security at the plant; the dog is shot and the union men destroy the finished bricks. As the strike wears on some men are driven by starvation back to work as the union is not paying them. Many returning workers are set upon and beaten by union thugs. In desperation the brick making factory is sold to a company that machine-makes bricks. A carter is hired to carry bricks for Henry's factory and the thugs burn his barn and horse.

Finally the union men blow up Henry's factory, but Henry has escaped and migrated to Canada to make his fortune. Meanwhile a reporter from the London newspaper comes and writes the story of the union troubles of Henry Little. This brings the problem to Parliamentary attention and a Commission is appointed to investigate. Their research brings some problems to light, but over time the union is able to suppress the legislation against them.[28]

Ultimately Henry returns to Hillsborough and accepts his uncle's offer to live as a gentleman and invent at his own forge. As such he is permitted to forge tools only for his own use. He marries the girl he had admired and they supposedly live happily ever after. Reade asks his

readers to support the cry for reform of unions and factory conditions.

Summary

Social Worlds of the Novels

In all of these stories the artisan heroes seek to rise in life. The routes of mobility include occupational, moral, and social education. For Alton (Alton Locke) to rise he must become a cleric, writer, or military officer, and of course he must be Anglican in religion. For Tom (Water Babies) to rise he must learn to go where he doesn't want to go, do what he doesn't want to do, and help whom he doesn't want to help. Henry (Put Yourself in His Place) is forced to accept the role of gentleman which he had not sought in his efforts to rise in life as an artisan. Neither of Kingsley's heroes is able to completely succeed because marriage into the higher social class, the ultimate acceptance, is denied both.

Although Reade suggests that the nobility are becoming less prejudiced against those involved in trade and commerce, in the backwater of Hillsborough these prejudices still flourish among the gentry, as seen in the description of the squire.

The world of Henry Little centers around the economy of work while that of Alton Locke is ideally to be bound and to be led by the Church. Parliament has to be looked to for leadership by legislation which is prompted by public opinion in Henry Little's world. The hope of success for Tom lies in evolution and conditioning.

Demographic Factors

In Alton Locke, a choloera epidemic rages over the over crowded housing areas of the workers of London, exacerbated by the poor drainage

conditions and pollution of the waterways (which were also described in Dickens's Little Dorrit). Mortality during the epidemic is high, and the disease strikes Alton.

Migratory efforts are toward the New World in these stories. Alton Locke attempts to leave his worldly defeats in England and begin again in America. Henry Little seeks the New World to make his fortune in Canada as Daniel Doyce (Little Dorrit) and Jem Wilson (Mary Barton), also inventor mechanics, had done.

Industrialism

The artisan is seen striving for self-improvement in Alton Locke, while the conditions of his work are seen deteriorating in the "fetid, choking den" of the sweatshop. He is described as narrow-minded and snobbish about his "honest and conscientious" approach to education in comparing himself with the young gentlemen at Cambridge. The artisan responds to the poor work conditions by organizing workers and the urban masses to support the cause of Chartism, which fails. Other workers are seen as pale and lethargic alongside the energetic artisans. The artisan in Alton Locke, as in Eliot's Felix Holt, identifies with his class interests and acts as a leader of the working class. In Alton Locke the leadership of the artisan fails and the worker is directed to look to the Church for leadership by the aristocratic young lady. In The Water Babies, leadership is in the hands of the omnipotent fairy who acts behind the scenes in many guises to make the "path" known to men, but they find it for themselves.

Hard work, cleanliness, consideration, and piety are necessary for Kingsley's characters' acceptance in social life. It remains unlikely that even the hard-working, educated artisans like Alton will rise to become

traditional gentlemen since they are not permitted to marry into the traditional artistocracy or gentry. The gap is social in Alton Locke, and in The Water Babies there is an implication of a gap in the biological development of the working class as well as a gap in social development. Kingsley indicates it will take generations of development for the working class to develop to social acceptance and even then marriage into the class above is denied them. However Kingsley shows Tom becoming successful engineer-inventor type, and perhaps a new world of power, property, and prestige is developing in which the striving artisan can rise. Its adherents are not incorporated into the established world of the gentry by marriage.

In Reade's novel the factory is run by steam and is befouling the countryside while Kingsley's sweatshop is in London. The sweatshop stands halfway between the early domestic system, where middle men contracted with weavers for their goods developed in their own cottages, and the factory system, where the machines were set in factories and men hired to work them. The sweatshop in Alton Locke was run by the artisan who held the workers under indenture as journeymen and took contracts for work far beyond what his underfed workers could complete.

Workers are literate in Reade's novel but not to the degree that Kingsley's urban, self-motivated artisans are. The threatening notes that Henry receives are poorly spelled and the grammar leaves much to be desired.

The London worker is not readily accepted by his fellow workers in the country. The allegiances are local and to one's craft, with the different craft unions competing for power.

Henry Little is another in a developing series of mechanical persons

that began with the description in Egan's Life in London in this sample. Henry, like the prototype, is honest and happy in his work. He is also a loner. He identifies himself as a worker, but the local workers and unions see him and his inventions as a threat and try and rid themselves of his presence by less than humanitarian means. He wants to be accepted as a workingman but, to maintain his craft, must accept lineage and inheritance to protect himself from destruction by the unions.

Reade shows that the drive for power and money among the unions is so great that human life has little importance. Even the workers demand pay over safety and refuse safety measures when they are offered.

Authors' Visions of Life

Kingsley's social reform is for a moral regeneration based on the leadership of enlightened Anglican clergy. He is for the Anglican communion embodied in the rule of the Queen and based on a landed aristocracy. His liberal views are associated with his experience and observation of the conditions of the workingman's life. He worked to improve the sanitary conditions to which he called attention in his stories. He worked for improvement in the educational opportunities of the workingman, and he called attention to the importance of education for them in both these stories. He was for the association of workers for their betterment, but he placed it under the control of the Church when writing about it: the workers' association is not to be autonomous. In the end, the workingman had a God-given place in life which he could dignify and improve, but he was not to rise above it, and the upper class was to provide moral, political, and social leadership.

Reade, a social reformer, directed his action toward arousing public opinion through his novels in order to pressure Parliament to reform

legislation. A gentleman himself, he valued the motivated and creative craftsman and felt that unions were strangling the efforts of men like Henry Little to improve industrial conditions. He recognized the local orientation of many unions and saw London and its journalism as developing a more nationally oriented public.

Both men accept the idea of the gentleman--the gentry--removed from the daily strife and immediate pressures. They argue from a self-selected and historical position of being "above the battle," speaking for universal ideals (their own and of their class). They embody these higher ideals and prescribe them for the Nation. The ideas are essentially conservative--the noblesse oblige of the older ruling class. Reade accepts them grudgingly as the only workable social pattern. Period III novels and novelists are interested in bringing the gentleman's culture to the workingman and vice versa.

Notes to Chapter X

[1]Charles Kingsley, Alton Locke, orig. pub. 1850 (1862; London: Macmillan & Co., 1892), p. 148.

[2]Ibid., p. 157.

[3]Ibid., p. 203.

[4]Ibid., p. 236.

[5]Ibid., p. 237.

[6]Ibid., p. 248.

[7]Ibid., p. 257.

[8]Ibid., p. 148.

[9]Ibid., p. 295.

[10]Ibid., p. 296.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid., p. 298.

[13]Ibid., p. 107.

[14]Ibid., p. 90.

[15]Charles Kingsley, "Tom, the Water Baby," orig. pub. as The Water Babies in 1863, reprinted in Journeys Through Bookland, 10 vols., ed. Charles H. Sylvester, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Bellows-Reeve Co., 1913), 2:432.

[16]Ibid., p. 432.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Walter C. Phillips, Dickens, Reade, and Collins: Sensation Novelists, orig. pub. 1919 (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1962), p. 104.

[19]Ibid., p. 20.

[20]Charles Reade, Put Yourself in his Place, in 2 vols., orig. pub. 1870, in Charles Reade's Works, 11 vols., a new ed., vol. 3 (New York: Harvard Publishing Co.), 1:3.

[21]Ibid., pp. 37-38.

[22]Ibid., p. 40.

[23]Ibid., p. 125.

[24]Ibid., pp. 125-6.

[25]Ibid., p. 138.

[26]Ibid., p. 297.

[27]Ibid., p. 6.

[28]Ibid., 2:160.

Coda--Period II

The 1830's ushered in political reform and the economic depression of the "Hungry Forties". After the 1840's, industrial and commercial interests began to replace the traditional representation of landowners in Parliament and a period of prosperity prevailed. Traditional social status still commanded deference and the landed country life was sought by those who could now buy it, including successful authors.

Although education was increasingly available, different class patterns developed for education and they are reflected in the novels: Mechanics' Institutes, night schools, tutors, Charitable Grinders. Education was more important than religion in developing the individual and the novelists hinted that education could almost make a gentleman. Dickens's Pip is an example of this, as is Trollope's Michael Armstrong. However the minister-novelist Kingsley did not permit Alton Locke's learning to make him a gentleman, counseling the reader that one should be happy in his God-given place in life and obey enlightened Church leadership.

Politically the period was characterized by such issues as extending the franchise, factory and union legislation, Corn Laws and their repeal, municipal regulation and sanitation, Chartism and its failures, and the strike. The novelists directed messages toward two audiences. First, they introduced their landed and commercial and professional readers to the destructive living and working conditions of the industrial worker. Second, they warned the workingman that organizing and striking was not

the solution to their problems. The novelists evidently expected representatives of these social positions to be part of the reading audience and they were right, according to the research of Altick, Thompson, and Chapman. The range of political views reflected in the novels varies from Martineau's narrow political economy view to Disraeli's broad mystical view of sovereignty and nationalism. In between are Trollope and Bronte's views of traditional stewardship, the individualism of Dickens and Eliot, Kingsley's plea for enlightened Church leadership, the stewardship of Gaskell that permits independence, and Reade's search for Parliamentary regulation over despotic unionism. The authors look for the middle class to accept social responsibility and for the working class to accept their place in life.

The factory was frequently included in the descriptions in the novels, favorably by Disraeli and unfavorably by Dickens. Likewise, Disraeli portrayed machines and manufacturers in a sympathetic manner while Dickens did not. All the authors conceded that the presence of the factory made a difference both in the lives of men and in the landscape.

Industrial workers are seen in their homes and at work. The novels reflect a hierarchy of workers, with mechanical persons or engineers and foremen at (like John Barton and Jem Wilson (Mary Barton) the top level of industrial workers, and unskilled workers like Davemport (Mary Barton) at the bottom. Industrial workers are portrayed as mentally keener than agricultural workers by Gaskell and Bronte, though they are less attractive physically. However they are not as bright as middle-class businessmen, as seen in the contrast between Dickens's Toodles and Mr. Dombey. They are also shown as powerless against the swings of the world market on the one hand, and the political economy ideology of the masters on the other

(North and South). In Reade's novel, the worker is powerless against the violent despotism of the unions. Although the authors expressed sympathy for workers, they did not see the probability of social mobility for the worker to a gentleman status in one generation. Workers' speech, dress, and homes are all less respectable than those of the middle-class characters in the novels.

None of the authors of this period was born an aristocrat. The fathers of most of them lived as gentlemen, but Dickens's father was a navy pay clerk and Eliot's father was a rural carpenter who managed his employer's estate. Only Kingsley and Reade were university graduates. The five women authors had a better education than most females of their day, and Disraeli had more education than Dickens, who had the least formal education of all. They all sought to live at least as gentry, and Disraeli later earned a peerage. Novel writing was not the only source of financial support for any of these authors, although Dickens's and Eliot's successful novels made them rich and famous. Martineau was the only representative of the industrial world, and she supported the liberal "laws of political economy."

Thus these middle-class authors, who supported the life style of gentlemen, introduced the industrial worker to a reading public which had expanded to include a growing number of skilled workers, shopkeepers, and servants. They confirmed the march of industry over England and introduced the industrial worker as a migrant (Mary Barton, Shirley) who was developing his own urban life style (North and South) and his own settlement in rural areas (Middlemarch).

In the novels, fluctuating world market conditions, supported by the belief of the masters in "laws of political economy" and for some, the

lack of Parliamentary regulation, are responsible for the desperate conditions of the workers' lives which force them to organize and strike and commit other aggressive acts (Shirley, Mary Barton, Hard Times, Manchester Strike, Sybil, North and South). The social changes associated with industrialization, such as migration, the population explosion, growing literacy, and secularism, have shattered the traditional moral authority of rights and obligations. These authors directed the beleaguered workman not to seek autonomy, but to accept the direction of those above them in society, just as they beseeched "those above them" to accept social responsibility in legislative reform, stewardship and in the patronage of certain individuals such as Dickens's Pip and Trollope's Michael Armstrong.

Only Martineau directed the workers to be responsible for themselves by following the "laws of political economy" and controlling their numbers by occupation and by birth so that a scarcity of workers would insure a high demand for their work and provide each man with a living wage. These middle-class authors increased the readers' social awareness of the industrial worker and indicated his place and prospects in social life. The authors' concern about the industrial worker and his place indicated that the worker was not yet an accepted member of society.

PERIOD III: 1871-1900

Chapter XI

Preface to Period III: 1871 - 1900

Period III of the sample covers the years 1871 through the end of the century. They were years when imperialism and socialism occupied the minds and activities of those in power as well as many of the general public. In this period the old understandings of Tory and Whig underwent liberal changes and an Independent Labor Party was formally recognized in 1893. Britain had the richest per capita income in the world.[1] The bulk of its income came from manufacturing, followed by trade and transport, with argiculture coming in third place.[2] The greatest number of persons were employed in manufacturing, followed by those in domestic service and, in third place, the agricultural occupations.[3] Workingmen had gained the vote and were the single largest category of voters. Over 65 percent of Britons lived in urban areas,[4] with nearly a third of the total population either in London or in cities of over 100,000 inhabitants.[5] At the same time, the centers of these cities were declining in population.[6] The dominant prime ministers of the period were Disraeli, Gladstone, and Salisbury, while Queen Victoria continued her reign and was declared Empress of India in 1876. The period ended with the Boer War in 1899.

Imperialism, fostered by the policies of Disraeli, brought England to the status of empire. Somervell suggests, "Imperialism was a sentiment rather than a policy; its foundations were moral rather than intellectual; its greatest exponent was Rudyard Kipling."[7] For Kipling, Somerwell writes, the British are "God's chosen people, chosen not so much for privilege as

for service."[8] Imperialism took English funds, families, and workingmen to India, South Africa, and other points of the globe and brought the knowledge of what it meant to be an Englishman in the eyes of the world to an increasing number of the working class.

The Socialist movement, aggravated by the Great Depression of 1873 and fed by Marxism in the 1880's,[9] led by upper class persons and intellectuals like the Webbs and those of the Fabian Society (established in 1883), finally resulted in the founding of an Independent Labour Party in 1893.

The Liberal party under Gladstone and the Conservatives under Disraeli found that they could no longer deal with the electorate by speeches of political philosophy, but had to develop concrete policy and action to deal with "election-conscious political organizations and economic interest-groups" which included "distinctively working class organizations".[10] The radical and popular elements of the Liberal party grew in strength while within the Conservative party, urban and non-landed property owners strengthened their positions.[11] For the first time in politics as well as in economics, the landowning element was not dominant.

The question of whether or not the living standards of the working people in this period had improved over the previous period is difficult to assess. Geoffrey Best (1971) confronts this problem and concludes that the statistical evidence of the period is not conclusive. He points to the differences within the working classes. In some occupations and in some areas, overall conditions might be better than those of the earlier part of the century; but the housing density, the sanitary conditions, the intense competition for jobs, which were most often not permanent, most certainly indicated a deterioration of the life styles of some workers. Wages were improving, and more servants were being hired by

more families, indicating a growing movement toward the middle class whose status demanded at least one servant.[12]

Craft unions protected their workers while the Poor Laws and a multitude of non-government charities provided institutional support for the unemployed. The male population of England and Wales of 3,867,850 workers was distributed by occupation approximately as follows at the time of the Reform Bill of 1867:

Weekly wages	Characteristic Occupations	Percent employed males over 20 years
35s	skilled instrument makers, jewelers	1
28s-30s	printers, glass workers, iron workers cabinet makers, building trades	20
25s	bargemen, hairdressers, blacksmiths, dockyard workers, hosiery workers, metal workers	12
21s-23s	railway workers, miners, textile workers, chimney sweeps, servants, cobblers, tailors	27
15s-20s	sailors, police, brewers, farm and gen. laborers, silk workers.[13]	39

Two considerations are important in trying to relate these wages to the standard of living they produced. One is that family incomes were more important than a single breadwinner's wages. The other is that although all of these wages bring the yearly income of the employed over the basic £ 100 seen as marginal to poverty, most men were employed only a fraction of the year.[14] Unemployment and underemployement probably accounted for the poverty of as high as thirty percent of the population, and most workers could count on being out of work at least a few months of every year.[15] Baxter's categories are helpful in understanding the occupational hierarchy and its rewards; his own guess at the unemployment of 20

percent of this hierarchy of occupations at any time (Best, 1971:129) does not account for the casual laborers, hucksters, and so called "floating population".[16]

Middle-class families were supported by the salaries of the husbands, while those below depended on wives' and children's wages to make ends meet. The lowest income tax bracket moved from £ 100 to £ 150 during this period and was considered the lowest boundary of middle-class income. No longer were the majority of workers engaged in agriculture, and among workers, white collar clerks were often paid less than skilled workmen.[17]

Literacy by the end of this period approached 100 percent of the populace.[18] Tastes differed over the various groups with the workingman continuing to select short, simple stories of violence and romance from presses established by workingmen.[19] However, motivation for self-betterment continued. Schooling became compulsory, and English literature a part of the curriculum. Questions on English literature began appearing on qualification examinations for further education and for civil service employment.[20]

The penny press took to reprinting classics whose copyrights had run out, and the Penny Library of 1896 included works of Scott, Reade, and Dickens.[21] A drop in prices over the period raised the amount that the employed workingman had available to spend because wages did not drop. The price of books continued to decline over the period.[22] By 1881, five to six million copies of penny magazines were sold each week in London; two million installments of penny stories were sold.[23] The London Journal, the Family Herald, Reynolds Miscellany, and Cassell's Paper each had a circulation of a million weekly and were read by schoolboys, apprentices, milliners, factory girls, clerks, and small shopkeepers.[24] "The backbone

of cheap journals was fiction" and the poor like other people liked to read about romance and adventure.[25]

One's education mirrored one's position in life. Gentlemen went to public schools, middle-class children were tutored at home, worker's children went half-time to school and spent the other half on the job. Most schools were not government regulated or owned. A Scottish university education was more widely available than the English one at Cambridge or Oxford, which were limited in the earlier period to Anglican males.[26] In this period, more universities were open to more kinds of students and the Education Bill made at least six years of schooling mandatory for the young by 1880.[27] By the 1880's proper education made a gentleman.[28]

The novels selected for this period were suggested by the work of P.J. Keating (1971), and Trollope's The Eustace Diamonds was added for comparison with a novel of the upper classes.

The city was the modal environment for human life in this period inevitably bringing to focus the industrial world. Education became the ladder to social and occupational success as the educated gentleman was accepted occupationally into the top strata. The "class" basis for society was no longer exclusively land-ownership and lineage, and education and professionalism were increasingly important. A mass public for the written word existed and the "modes of writing now began to multiply as the culture became stratified; and hence literacy language ceases to be universal, for increasing social expression from new classes produces a plurality of languages".[29] Thus these novels had less of a total impact on the society than did the earlier ones of the century. Bradbury writes "towards the end of the century the pattern was changing radically, and literature was fading as a point of consensus, a base for cultural positivism."[30]

The social situation of the artist and the economic situation of the artist was changing. Gissing's New Grub Street illustrates the survival problems of the writer who could have expected, earlier in the century, to earn an income great enough to support the life style of a country gentleman or even of an aristocrat, as Scott's writing did for him. Bradbury writes that the audience was broadening to include many new strata in society whose reading patterns differed, and that the writer could no longer depend on a leisured middle-class audience.[31]

Authors were often exploited by publishers who required pre-publication payments by the authors and often erred in dispensing royalties. Authors found themselves getting less and less of the proverbial pie. Often the publisher insisted on buying the copyrights outright to overcome further author payments. The financially pressed Gissing sold his successful New Grub Street for only £ 150. Bradbury reports that in the earlier part of the century this practice helped serious writers but now market pressures drove down the price.[32] Authors were pressured by publishers and market conditions to write on certain topics and in certain styles as Gissing revealed in New Grub Street.[33]

Bradbury claims that these changes were responsible for a "mood of imaginative unease" that was reflected in the works of Handy, Shaw, Lawrence, Conrad, and others.[34] However the writers chosen for this period of the sample--Besant, Gissing, Trollope, Meredith, Morrison, Kipling and Barrie--appear to be mainly part of the previous mold and concern themselves with the social and economic success of heroes and heroines in a changing social world. Gissing and Morrison and sometimes Kipling show traces of what Bradbury classes as the new 'modernism', but Besant, Meredith, and Trollope do not. Barrie shows disillusionment with his romantic fancy of the past in

Sentimental Tommy, but limits his novel to the youth of the hero, leaving the reader to speculate on his future.

The 1870's saw a turn from the supremacy of humanistic culture over practical social process to a more scientific and collective view of man.[35] On the other hand, Keating writes, "Although this period saw riots in London, serious strikes in several industries, an unprecedented growth of Trade Union membership and the emergence of an independent Labour party, there were very few worthwhile novels written on these subjects".[36] Thus the literacy field gives way to science and the novel does not reflect the events of the day as closely as it had in the mid-century period.

The official literary agent came into being to protect the writer's interests in the 1880's.[37] Walter Besant helped found the Society of Authors in 1883 for the same purpose, which George Gissing was to label a gathering of tradesmen.[38] The number of authors grew 200 percent between 1841 and 1851, and 200 percent more between 1851 and 1861.[39] The 1841 census showed 167 authors; the 1901 census showed 11,060 authors, editors, journalists, and reporters.[40]

Framework for Period III: 1871-1900

The novels selected for Period III, except for Meredith's and Trollope's, were all suggested by P.J. Keating's The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction. Trollope was interested in the life conditions of workingmen, but he wrote about the social life of the upper classes, calculating that this subject would be more popular with the buying public. His novel The Eustace Diamonds is included to round out the picture of nineteenth century life by showing it from the drawing-rooms. Meredith's two novels that are included in the sample show the interest of the upper and middle classes in political affairs that concern the workingman.

Social World of the Period

The social world of the late nineteenth century was assessed in terms of income distribution by Dudley Baxter.[41] Ten million independent incomes in England and Wales, which included those given directly to a wife or child were distributed as follows in 1867:

Class	Income per Annum	# of Recipients	
upper class	over £ 5000	7500	49,500
upper middle	£ 1000 to £ 5000	42000	
middle class	£ 300 to £ 1000	150,000	150,000
lower middle (non-manual)	£ 100 to £ 300	850,000	1,853,500
(manual)	under £ 100	1003,000	
skilled laborer	---	1123,000	7,785,000
less skilled	---	3819,000	
agricultural & unskilled	---	2843,000	

Research by Leone Levi for a member of Parliament in the same period showed the average working-class income for "family" was 31s per week.[42]

Lord Palmerston in 1865 spoke of the many who had attained positions of wealth in England from small beginnings, especially in manufacturing districts, and of men who were not born to it being raised to high status through their service in the Army, the Navy, the Law, or the Church.[43] He spoke at last of those who had not attained either wealth or status but were able through the exercise of "intellectual faculties and the enjoyment of domestic affection" to find "private comfort and individual happiness".[44]

Walter Bagehot in 1866 used the terms 'deference' and 'removable inequalities' when he spoke of the social order. Thus there was a status hierarchy of inequalities marked by deference that could be associated with wealth or with prestige from meritorious service. He saw deference as an outward sign that the numerical majority of the less wise elected

to be ruled by a wiser elite.[45]

At the top of the social hierarchy, the hereditary nobility and country gentry still held sway.[46] Lineage was still the predominant channel for transferring prestige. London society, however, tolerated at the top both the traditional upper class and those of wealth, talent, or beauty, who mixed with the aristocrats.[47] Below the aristocrats and gentry were 'county families' with connections to the former who were landowners and followed the life styles of the traditional aristocracy.[48]

"Gentlemen" included members of the upper classes as well as "nature's gentlemen" of no social position, and little or no property "whose manners, bearing, or achievements" gave them an "admirable and civilized" manner.[49] The term had a moral connotation of "morality, selflessness, courage, self-control, independence, responsibility".[50] It was a difficult label to exactly apply and for the most part one knew a gentleman simply if he were treated as such. Dicken's Pip (Great Expectations) lived as a gentleman by being educated to be one, and when his fortunes fell, he only fell as far as a white collar occupation in Herbert Pocket's business. Most educated gentlemen in these novels have also been discovered to have 'proper' lineage, but by the 1880's a gentlemen by education even without "proper" lineage, was acceptable.

Among the professionals now accepted as gentlemen were included the traditional ones of church, law, medicine, the army, and the navy; and the newer ones of engineers, architects, vets, civil servants, accountants, actuaries and surveyors, artists, some teachers, some nonconformist ministers, and dentists.[51]

In country-dominated social circles those successful in banking, factories, and warehouses as well as well-to-do farmers were still socially

marginal.[52] In towns and cities, tradespeople's sons looked down on artisan's sons, who looked down on shopkeeper's sons. Throughout this social hierarchy, deference and respect were customarily given by those below.[53]

Many lower down who gained wealth moved to the country and set themselves up as country gentlemen,[54] as Mrs. Trollope's manufacturers had done (Mary Brotherton's fortune was from manufacturing). By the late Victorian period, a 'public school' education could certify one's 'arrival' as well as the country gentleman life style, and was superseding the latter in importance.[55]

Best indicates that the ties of deference weakened in the 1860's while the values of independence and respectability continued and increased in importance.[56] In the novels of this period there are indications of respectability at all levels of life in the proprieties of a proper funeral in Gissing's The Nether World, the respectability of the clean white blinds at the windows in Besant's and Gissing's novels, and the respectability of honesty for the hero of Morrison's Child of Jago. Necessity often drove the Victorian from respectability in real life as it does in the novels. Respectability and independence cost the Victorian, and the poor could not always afford it.

Those at the bottom of the social ladder shared the sporting life with those at the top, as Egan's Corinthian Tom did. So the alliance which Disraeli fostered between the aristocrats and the lower orders was already joined by the common activities they shared such as racing, boxing, cards, drink, and women.[57] The middle class stood apart in their respectability and independence. In the last half of the century a middle-class author like Charles Dickens did not flaunt his mistress to the public, while the

more bohemian Wilkie Collins made no effort to conceal his mistress.[58] The "influential upper levels of the labouring community" shared the ideals of respectability and independence and law abidingness of the middle class.[59] Both classes believed that those below them socially held the same ideals, and their belief was apparently justified until the late 1870's:

> The economic values and ideals (of) mid-Victorian workmen . . . were largely those of economic individualism; the social ones, those of independence and respectability.[60]

Cole and Postgate report the unity of Victorian society in 1875--under the rule of one idea, Victorian capitalism; and of one form of organization, parliamentary monarchy--to have been solid and content, with a high degree of political freedom, economic freedom, and a "strict uniformity of belief and action in other spheres than those of economics and politics."[61] Family discipline, the authority of the father, almost compulsory church or chapel-going, strict sexual rules, the discouragement of any form of amusement that could not be proved to be educational or edifying--all this and much more provided what later years would call an "ideology" that was historically if not logically entwined with economic and political Victorianism. It was nearly as strong in the "lower orders" and aristocracy as in the rapidly increasing middle class.[62]

Best uses statistical evidence from Gosden's The Friendly Societies in England, 1815-1875 to support his argument that the upper and lower middle classes were able to save money within their numerous societies because "their social value systems tied men of different classes together, in common pursuit of shared ideals. Along with 'vertical' ties, like shared religious or educational interests (not to mention political ones like patriotism and xenophobia) it (the friendly society) operated powerfully to hold mid-Victorian society together and to counteract the several

forces of political and economic theory, and of social and economic hardship, which could otherwise have riven it"[63]

Beyond these ties there were the coercions of crime, and the new civil control by the police. The police had their work cut out for them in protecting property in a "land teeming with tramps and vagrants, gypsies, nomadic and seasonal labourers, beggars and spongers, housebreakers, sneak-thieves, pickpockets, horse-thieves and 'loafers'".[64] One source placed the number of persons who lived by plunder in London in 1867 at 100,000.[65] And so reported in Morrison's Child of Jago, these plunderers could not be confined in their own ghetto areas.

This lawlessness was associated with workmen as they functioned as workmen, including servants, who were labelled and treated as criminals if they broke their contracts with their employers, while the latter were only persecuted under civil law until 1867.[66]

Demographic Factors

Population figures continued to swell in the last of the nineteenth century, with births exceeding deaths.[67] Cole and Postgate estimate the increase in population between 1851 and 1871 at 27 percent in England and Wales.[68] The population grew in cities while declining in absolute numbers in the rural areas because of the scarcity of work.[69] Migration patterns were short, with comparatively few coming from as far away as Ireland or the Scottish Highlands.[70] Within London, Dyos found that more than half the members of communities had not been born there.[71]

The population of London, from under a million in 1801, was counted at four and a half million by the end of the century.[72] The populace had actually begun to thin out in its center as in other urban areas as the centers were cleared for public buildings and parks.[73] There was

competition among the cities for architectural dominance and city administrations were prominent and had begun to develop characteristic rituals and customs.[74] The East End of London with its characteristic population and life style had become a complete city in itself.[75]

Industrialism

The years between 1850 and 1880 were the "heyday of English Steel."[76] In the textile industry, in the same period, the number of spinning-frames grew "from 200 to 245,000 while the output of each machine had almost doubled".[77] But by 1884, Randolph Curchill "declared that England's iron industry was dead . . . its coal industry was languishing, its silk industry was dead . . . woolen industry was in articulo mortis, and its cotton industry was seriously ill."[78] Moraze writes that England's strength now lay in its genius for making good investments rather than pushing on with the modernization of the country.[79] Finance had replaced industry as the dominant sector of the economy by the last decade of the nineteenth century.[80]

Somervell writes:

> The industrial structure had stiffened; its organization had become infinitely complicated. The normal type of business was coming to be the vast limited company, owned by thousands of shareholders, and directed by economic supermen. A capitalist class and a working class stood over against one another, and there seemed to be an unbridgeable gulf between them.[81]

The English workingman was now legitimately organized and had the vote, but he was competing with workers in countries where industry was still in its dynamic phase, less apt to employ union labor, and where the worker was more dependent on industrial development than political power.

The life of a workingman, as described by Charles Booth, began when he finished his schooling at about thirteen.[82] His weekly wage of four to six shillings a week he gave to his mother, who returned some money for daily food or transportation. In three or four years his weekly wages may have tripled, and at twenty-one some were earning men's wages while some remained at earlier levels; there was a great differentiation in the finances of workers. Now the young man kept his pay and gave his mother money for room and board. It was cheaper for the young man to remain as a lodger at home than to go out on his own.

His surplus was invested in the pleasures of the music hall or in other diversions.[83] On holidays, mechanics were noted on Cook's Tours:

> . . . swarthy mechanics, who seem never able entirely to free themselves from the traces of their life-long labour, but . . . are by no means the worse informed, and are generally the most interested in the places they visit . . . .[84]

Sometimes the workman bought himself a bicycle for transportation.[85] When he began to think of marriage he might even save a little. By age twenty-two or three he was earning 20s to 30s a week and would probably marry.[86] His wife, who had probably also been working but for wages of only 10s or so, would usually continue to work until the first baby. The more children there were, the greater the strain was on the family finances. Six or seven children could push a family below the poverty level of existence until the children came of earning age.

Some families took in lodgers to make ends meet when the mother of young babies could not go out to work.[87] Wages of 24s a week for a family of four could maintain a moderate existence if both parents were careful with their spending. The incidence of drunkenness, which was mostly a lower class problem, forced many families into poverty, and its incidence peaked in this period.[88] Best writes that it was statistically

demonstrable that the deeper the poverty, the denser the pubs.[89] The pubs became the social centers of life in these areas, competing with both workingmen's clubs and organizations and the home.[90] Other families fell into poverty simply because they were unable to manage money, like the Mucklebackits in Scott's The Antiquary.

Booth, for all his careful statistics and observations, found it impossible to determine the proportions of working class families living above or below what he considered an adequate life style because of inadequate and inaccurate statistics and the irregularities of employment.[91] He estimates a third below this level, a third at, and a third above.[92] The first third lived with at least two persons to a room. The second third lived with one to a room. The third group might employ servants and some lived in a degree of luxury.[93]

Education became compulsory for the worker's children in the factory long before education was compulsory for the middle class. The Education Act of 1870 provided free government supported schools, but there remained more of the 'public' kind.

Respectability was something the upper third of the working class could afford, which put some on a par with the middle class.

Notes to Chapter XI

[1]Geoffrey Best, Mid-Victorian Britain: 1851-1875 (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), p. 3.

[2]Ibid., p. 78; reprinted from P. Deane and W.A. Cole, British Economic Growth, 1688-1959 (1967), Table 37, p. 166.

[3]Ibid., p. 79; extracted from Journal of Royal Statistical Society xlix (1886), pp. 314-435.

[4]Ibid., p. 6; from article by C.M. Law.

[5]P.J. Keating, The Working Class in Victorian Fiction (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), p. 11.

[6]Best, p. 61.

[7]D.C. Somervell, English Thought in the Nineteenth Century, orig. pub. 1929, 5th ed. (London: Metheun & Co., Ltd., 1947), p. 186.

[8]Ibid., p. 188.

[9]Ibid., p. 202.

[10]Best, p. 283.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid., p. 87.

[13]Condensed from table in Best, pp. 95-97 which was extracted from Dudley Baxter, National Income (1867) Appendix 4, pp. 88-93.

[14]Best, p.81.

[15]Ibid., pp. 122-3.

[16]Ibid., p. 129; and see Chapter XII of this paper.

[17]Best, p. 90.

[18]Richard Altick, The English Common Reader, orig. pub. 1957 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Book, 1967), p. 171; from G.R. Porter, The Progress of the Nation, new ed. (1912), p. 147.

[19]David W. Davies, An Enquiry Into the Reading of the Lower Classes (Pasedena, Calif.: Grant Dahlstrom, 1970), pp. 50, 64.

[20]Altick, p. 183.

[21]Ibid., p. 307.

[22]Ibid., p. 307.

[23]Davies, p. 56.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Best, p. 168.

[27]Ibid., p. 155.

[28]Ibid., p. 254.

[29]Malcolm Bradbury, The Social Context of Modern English Literature (New York: Schocken Books, 1971), p. xxxiii.

[30]Ibid., p. 183.

[31]Ibid., pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

[32]Ibid., p. 154.

[33]Ibid., p. 155.

[34]Ibid., p. xxiv.

[35]Ibid., p. 41.

[36]Keating, p. 104.

[37]Bradbury, p. 134.

[38]Ibid., p. 135.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid., p. 136.

[41]G.D.H. Cole and Raymond Postgate, The British Common People: 1746-1946, orig. pub. 1938 (New York: Barnes & Noble, University paperback, 1961), p. 354.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Best, pp. 233-5.

[44]Ibid., p. 235.

[45]Ibid., p. 237.

[46]Ibid., p. 238.

[47]Ibid., p. 239.

[48]Ibid., pp. 244-5.

[49]Ibid., p. 247.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Ibid., p. 249.

[52]Ibid., p. 250.

[53]Ibid., p. 251.

[54]Ibid., p. 253.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Ibid., p. 256.

[57]Ibid., p. 264.

[58]Ibid., p. 265.

[59]Ibid., p. 267.

[60]Ibid., p. 268.

[61]Cole and Postgate, pp. 450-2.

[62]Ibid., p. 452.

[63]Best, p. 269.

[64]Ibid., p. 271.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Ibid., p. 275.

[67]Best, p. 13; Charles Moraze, The Triumph of the Middle Classes, orig. pub. 1966 (New York: Doubleday & Co., Anchor Book, 1968), p. 535.

[68]Cole and Postgate, p. 347.

[69]Best, p. 13.

[70]Ibid.

[71]Ibid., p. 15; from H.J. Dyas, Victorian Suburb, 1961, p. 58.

[72]Keating, p. 11.

[73]Best, pp. 61-62.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Keating, p. 106.

[76]Moraze, p. 305.

[77]Ibid., p. 306.

[78]Ibid., p. 490.

[79]Ibid., p. 491.

[80]Ibid.

[81]Somervell, p. 206.

[82]Charles Booth, Charles Booth: On the City, orig. pub. 1889-1891, ed. Harold Pfautz in the Heritage of Sociology Series, ed. M. Janowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 250.

[83]Ibid., p. 252.

[84]Joan Evans, ed. and comp. The Victorians (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), p. 104; item found in E. Yates, All the Year Round and cited by G.M. Young in Early Victorian England (1934), 2:311.

[85]Booth, p. 252.

[86]Ibid.

[87]Ibid., p. 253.

[88]Best, pp. 218-9.

[89]Ibid., p. 220.

[90]Ibid.

[91]Booth, p. 254.

[92]Ibid., p. 255.

[93]Ibid.

Chapter XII

Five Novels of Walter Besant

Walter Besant's novels were among the most popular of the late nineteenth century, but their popularity has not survived. His works appealed to the general taste and spoke for Christian brotherhood in terms of helping the poor by providing missionary guidance for their cultural and moral development and encouraging this development by providing the building, the materials, and the organization. The novels reflect the rapid industrialization of small towns as well as the results of poverty in cities such as Sheffield and London. The East End of London is portrayed as a heterogeneous settlement of workingmen of all levels. It is interesting to note that Besant's descriptions and statistics dealing with such London areas as Stepney and Hoxton agree with those found in Charles Booth's Life and Labour in London.[1]

The new rich are described as well as workers and artisans in his novels. Some rise to fortune by the discovery of mineral rights and the exploitation of these rights in developing metal foundries. These new rich remain coarse and self-interested seekers-after-profit. On the other hand, old landowners who exploit mineral rights on their ancestral lands and develop metal foundries read philosophy and have little interest in increasing profits or making machinery changes which will lower costs of production because they feel they are rich enough. Money without proper education does not give Besant's characters the

status of gentleman or lady.

Workingmen as a group drink too much, enjoy fighting, don't understand their own needs, are against change, and respond emotionally as a mob, especially when harangued. Their relationship with their employers is often based on exploitation, especially in the case of women workers. When profits go up, they generally fall into the pockets of the employers, who are also the owners of the factory, so the workers' wages do not rise. Workmen who aspire to get ahead are serious and pompous while gentlemen have more humour and a lighter air.

The artisan such as the "mechanician" in This Son of Vulcan sees romance in industry, invents new labor-saving machinery that the workers resent, and finds fulfillment in his work. In one story a gentleman chooses to become a craftsman while a craftsman chooses to become a gentleman (The Master Craftsman). Both of these men were educated at Cambridge, and each chooses the life style that best fulfills his needs.

For Besant, as for Dickens, education is the key to social mobility, and is the dominant institution in these novels. The school is described in The Children of Gibeon as:

> the great red-brick building of the school dominates the mean houses in which it is placed, much as a medieval castle used to dominate the village which clustered around it. There is, however, an important distinction. The castle was on an eminence above the village; the Board School is on the same level with it.[2]

Education provides skill for the craftsman, manners for ladies and gentlemen, a national identity, and cultivation in the arts.

Besant comes to the conclusion that paternal upper-class guidance and education is not enough to improve the workingman's life. The worker himself must be stimulated by discontent to change and reform

his own life. Change must be immanent.

Besant worked actively for social reform and helped to found the People's Palace at Mile End Road in London for the education and recreation of the poor. His novel All Sorts and Conditions of Men helped to develop public opinion and to stimulate financial support for its founding.[3] For a while, Besant held a professorship at the Royal College of Mauritius, but his health broke down and he returned to England, where he participated in reform activities and continued to write novels, history, and criticism. He was one of the founders of the Society of Authors and was a member of the Atheanaeum Club which Scott had helped to found. His work was officially approved, and the Queen dubbed him a knight.

The novels selected for this sample include: This Son of Vulcan (1876); The Seamy Side (1880); All Sorts and Conditions of Men (1882); The Children of Gibeon (1886); and The Master Craftsman (1896). The first two were written with James Rice; their themes are consistent with the later novels written by Besant alone.

The Novels

This Son of Vulcan (1876)

In 1849, Jack Armstrong, the hero of This Son of Vulcan, is born in a foundry and immediately orphaned. He is befriended by an Irish hawker and his daughter and is raised in ignorance of his rights as his father's heir in a partnership in an iron foundry in the small town of Esbrough. Jack finally gains success as a steel maker and as master of his own factory. He marries Norah, the daughter of the hawker; both are educated as gentlefolk and their ancestry is revealed as illustrious.[4]

As a child Norah is sent to live with a lady, and the hawker and

Jack fall in with the "floating population" of England; made up of the "dregs and refuse of the English-speaking race, they were a mixture of gipsy, pedlar, and Irish vagrants."[5] The hawker tells Jack of London, where people are shut up in factories to work the machines.[6] These people receive good wages, but spend them on drink, according to the hawker who also is carried away by drunkenness now and again. These factory workers need leadership, which is not successfully supplied by either the clergymen or the doctors who make up the professional men on the scene.[7]

The housing for workers in the cities and towns is lined in monotonous rows. The white window shades that indicate respectability are dirty and torn in some of the dwellings. Besant writes of workers' housing as "bearing an air of meekness and dependence."[8] One of the lodgings where the hawker took his daughter, Norah, and Jack to live in Sheffield is described as filthy, a single room supplied with a straw mattress on the floor and a table and chair.

When Jack is still a young man, he and the hawker return to Esbrough, where the hawker shows Jack the tombs of Jack's ancestors which commemorate knights, crusaders, and other illustrious forbears. Jack is told he is a gentleman by birth and has rights to all the lands he can see from the top of his father's tombstone.[9] However when Norah meets her father and Jack again, she is disgusted with their workman like appearance and manners and sets about to change them by setting up a household with a "decent decor," daily prayers, cleanliness, and dinner at six.[10]

There are now two foundries in Esbrough. One is owned and managed by the traditional gentleman Captain Perrymont, land-owner and retired

naval officer. The master of the other is the self-made partner of Jack's father, Paul Bayliss. The latter is much more respected in town because he is considered a self-made man and thus in a sense belongs to the people while Perrymont belongs to the land.[11] This is a change from the earlier novels before 1830, where status and respect went to the landowner first. Bayliss remains rough and coarse in his dealings with others while Perrymont maintains a courteous reserve and privacy for his affairs. Yet Bayliss is more ostentatious than Perrymont in riding about town in his carriage rather than walking as Perrymont prefers to do. Bayliss is more capricious in his treatment of his employees than Perrymont, who considers his employees as the crew of his ship with a duty to perform for their pay. He pays according to what he considers just and right and not according to supply and demand. "Yet he is not popular, for he is not known."[12] Perrymont sees life as a long struggle "to wrest from the jealous Powers the secrets that keep the world in motion"[13], while money and power are Bayliss's goals.

Mr. Fortescue, the clergyman who boards and tutors Jack, tells him, "Workpeople . . . are persons generally disagreeable in their habits, and rude in their manners. They would have no consideration whatever for you . . . ." Yet Jack insists he wants to be a workman and then a master. His education is continued at Cambridge, and after graduating he asks for employment as a mechanical engineer in Bayliss's foundry. Bayliss employs Jack, but fails to inform him of his partnership rights he is due through inheritance. Bayliss believes life is a "battle to get the better of everybody else," with the weakest going to the wall.[15] Jack sees that Bayliss cares no more for his

"hands, than if they were machines."[16] And yet, Jack "cannot think that there is any man who deliberately makes evil his good."[17]

In the foundry Jack's day begins at 6 A.M. and ends at 6 P.M. The work is dirty, but he is happy doing well what he believes is the noblest task of man: to make life simple and easier by the use of machinery.[18] He did not view the machines as "tyrants crying for the forced labour of the multitude, grinding out the souls of those who serve," but as the "limbs, the nerves, the muscles, of a beneficent monster created by the New Prometheus for the good of the world."[19]

Workmen see Jack's labor-saving inventions which aim to improve production and lower production costs as reducing the number of workers and lowering the cost of labor, and they are easily incited to attack Jack by a passing stranger. Even those children and their parents whose lives had been saved by Jack's safety devices refuse to support him. The foreman tells Jack that the workers have large families and do not want their children's lives saved, but only that their children should have the same chances as they did.[20] This preference for jobs and wages over safety was also characteristic of the workers in Reade's novel, and the role of Jack is similar to that of Henry Little. The foreman explains to Jack that while his inventions may lower the cost of production, the increase in profits go to the owners and not into workers' wages.

Jack harangues the milling men who ask to be left as they are:

> "Yes, leave you as you are--to spend your hard-earned wages in the pot-house, to have no pleasure but drink, to labour like slaves your twelve hours a day, to grow up in ignorance and die in ignorance, to have no thrift, no care for the future, no hope, no brightness in all your life. Men, you only have one life in this world, leave you as you are? No; I will not."[21]

A crowd of over four hundred angry men blocks Jack's path from the factory. Norah confronts the men and shames them from attacks. Even though she is hit by a stone she speaks to the crowd:

> "Englishmen! . . . you dare to call yourselves Englishmen! You set four hundred together upon two unarmed men (the hawker is with Jack)! Go home to your wives. Tell them that it takes four hundred hands to fight two men. Go to your public-houses. Tell the landlords that their drink has taken manliness out of you, and that you must be two hundred to one before you dare attack a man. Now clear the way, cowards, and let us pass."[22]

When Bayliss plans to discipline the men for this attack, Jack tells him to forgive them. He shows the Christian ethic of turning the other cheek.

Jack decides to study steel-making in Germany for a year and leaves Esbrough. While he is gone, Frank Perrymont, the son of the traditional gentleman, Captain Perrymont, tells his father he wants to marry Norah. Captain Perrymont says she is the "daughter of an Irish rent collector, made a lady by education" and not a proper choice for his son. He says he would rather have Frank marry Ella Bayliss. Frank retorts that Ella is the "daughter of an uneducated scrap-factory owner, who made himself rich by good luck and made his daughter a lady by education."[23]

Jack, meanwhile, is learning how to make good steel. He says, "I seem to feel it. I know the colour, the heat, the fumes, and if I fail at the exact moment of time, the metal is hopelessly ruined."[24] Today, the engineer is less a man who feels his way and more a man who follows the directions exactly, more a technician than an artist. Ultimately, Jack becomes master of the Esbrough factory and marries Norah. Esbrough has changed from a "miserable Market town" into a busy, thriving foundry town.[25]

In <u>This Son of Vulcan</u>, there is more sympathy with the self-made

Bayliss than with the traditional Perrymont, notwithstanding the more considerate and equalitarian manners of the latter. Money and education provide possibilities for the social mobility of those lower on the status ladder. The industrial stratification model has now merged with the traditional status model in Esbrough as Perrymont proposes Bayliss's daughter as a proper marriage partner for his son. An awareness of national identity on the part of the workers is shown when Norah is able to stop their attack on Jack by appealing to their manly English pride in fair play.

The "floating population" is a concern of the novel, the ragtag and bobtail who migrate either in search of work or by inclination and who often fail to discriminate between legal and illegal activities. Housing in the cities and towns where this "floating population" migrates is monotonously aligned in rows. There are differences in the respectability of the inmates, as noted by the presence or absence of clean, white window blinds.

Besant sees industry in this novel as bringing vitality to the dying market town and is sanguine about the future of machines. Jack, the hero of industry as "mechanician," is another in Egan's line of "mechanical persons" who are happy in their work and honest in their dealings.

The workers are depicted as unable to grasp the course of events. Treated harshly by Bayliss, they treat Jack and his machines--which will improve their production, efficiency, and safety--even more harshly by personal attach, just as union workers attacked Henry Little in Reade's novel. The workers' lack of feeling for their own or their children's safety is shown in their refusal to accept safety measures

that would protect their own children. Workers are seen wasting their wages on drink and acting as a mob.

Besant sees the (inventor-mechanic) "mechanician" as the promising leader of the industrialized world, just as Veblen did the "engineer." Both men refer to the mechanically-oriented man who works in terms of production and efficiency rather than in terms of money profits and life styles. Industry is revitalizing towns and the machine is a beneficent creation.

The Seamy Side (1880)

The Seamy Side opens with a contrast on a cold Yuletide day between "men out of work and low from insufficiency of food, women with babes crying from cold and hunger, children imperfectly dressed" and the warmer classes to whom the day is glorious for ice-skating. The story is woven around an elopement, a discredited gentleman, his brother, and the blameless daughter. The loom is London and the pattern shows both fashionable and non-fashionable areas.

The East End of London, which Egan reported was for the non-fashionable, is seen near the end of Cable Street near the docks where there is a "clean, broad, even genteel street--no shops, or hardly any--houses small but neat and clean with clean white blinds."[26] There are signs of dressmakers and for rooms to let, but the occupations of most of the residents are not visible. The area is devoid of theaters, picture-galleries, concert-halls, and parks. There is no visible means of acquiring:

> the civilization of the West End, but they have absolutely no means of instituting comparisons and so becoming discontented. I believe that these people, provided they earn enough for beef and beer, are absolutely contented. In the summer they

> run down to Southend by cheap excursions; they throng the pleasure-boats to Gravesend. In the winter they vegetate: go to the daily work, come home in the evening, smoke a pipe, and go to bed. On Sundays they have the Church and Chapel, the latter for choice. Except for the organization of their chapels, they have no society at all, and know no one except their own relations. No country town is so dull, and so devoid of society, distractions, and amusement, as the East End of London.[27]

Besant tells of the social values he perceives in the curriculum he assigns in the novel to Professors of the Science of Human Nature. These professors teach that everyone is engaged in a crime at some time or another; that the Seamy Side of life is the real side, all else is pretence; that Truth is always hidden; that good men are those who lie only for business reasons; that one should suspect all; that the friend is often to be trusted least; that if there is a choice of motives, choose the worst; that all motives are based on personal interest; that friendship means there is a common interest; that it is better to work in the dark than in daylight.[28]

Besant suggests a way of changing the Seamy Side of life by creating discontent among those adversely affected by it. He says that the first step in the elevation of a people is to make them discontented.[29]

However in his story good triumphs over evil, and the environmental rather than the genetic heritage proves important as the daughter remains pure even though her father is found to be a snake-in-the-grass.

Several important facts are presented in The Seamy Side. One is that the East End is not all inhabited by the dregs of society. Another is that the East End does not provide much in the way of recreation and cultural pursuits for its inhabitants. A third is that to motivate a group or class to raise its level of life one must make it discontented

with its present level. And finally, the values of the world of the Seamy Side are devious and self-interested.

All Sorts and Conditions of Men (1882)

In All Sorts and Conditions of Men, Besant speaks out for practical solutions to improve the cultural development of the working people as well as their work conditions. The hero and heroine, like Besant himself, found a Palace of Delight in Stepney Green in the East End of London for the cultural development of the local working people. It is not intended as a place where culture is to be impressed upon working people, but one where they will develop and pursue their own culture. It is accepted that the worker does not have the best of all possible worlds and that he yearns for more of the material and cultural benefits of life. The question is which course--parliamentary representation, education, or collective action--to take for improvement. The final resolution, after the Palace has provided a place for them to gather and view their problems, is the organization of a League of Workingmen to work for improving workers' lives, composed of educated workers in control of their own affairs.

The young hero, Harry, and the young heroine, Angela, were born in Stepney Green and by good fortune raised and educated elsewhere as gentlefolk. Harry, the orphaned son of an army sergeant, was raised in the West End by Lord Jocelyn, who hoped Harry would return to the East End only as a visiting gentleman to help develop the workingman's culture. Harry's plan to live and work in the East End disappoints the Lord who tells Harry that he will be called 'Arry, and will learn to:

> " . . . shout on penny steamers, and brandish pint bottles of stout, and sing along the streets, in simple abandonment to

> Arcadian joy; and trample on flowers; and break pretty things for wantonness; and exercise a rude but effective wit . . . upon passing ladies; and get drunk o'nights; and walk the streets with a pipe in your mouth;"[31]

His working life, Lord Jocelyn argues, will mean rising at six, wearing work-clothes and an apron, carrying tools, working among disagreeable people whose language, habits, and views of life are not acceptable, smoking bad tobacco and drinking bad beer.[32] Workingmen are also described as wearing red mufflers in place of collars, and having corduroy clothes.[33]

Angela is the owner of the brewery in Stepney Green and a very rich heiress; she seeks "to be one of the people and live in Whitechapel and be a dressmaker as her grandmother was." In Angela and Harry, Besant introduces the idea of a missionary movement of the well-to-do and educated young to the slums of London, this idea is also found in Gissing's, Morrison's, and Kipling's novels.

Harry arrives in Stepney Green and Besant takes the opportunity to name the boundaries of the district:

> . . . standing at the north entrance of Stepney Green--on the left hand, the Whitechapel Road; behind him, Stepney Limehouse, St. George's in the East, Poplar and Shadwell; on the right, the Mile End Road, leading to Bow and Stratford; before him Ford, Hackney, Bethnal Green. Mile upon mile of streets with houses--small, mean, and monotonous houses; the people living the same mean and monotonous lives, all after the same model. In his ignorance he pitied and despised those people, not knowing how rich and full any life may be made, whatever the surroundings, and even without the gracious influences of art.[34]

The author tells us that two million people live in the East End where they have no institutions of their own:

> no public buildings of any importance, no municipality, no gentry, no carriages, no solciers, no picture-galleries, no theatres, no opera--they have nothing . . . They are Londoners . . . but they have no part or share of London; its wealth, its splendors, its honors exist not for them.[35]

In previous times the East End had been much more fashionable and a place of important residences,[36] but now compared to the West End which sports carriages, footmen, great squares, big houses, clubs, an opera house, and picture-galleries, it is very shabby indeed.[37] A difference in workers' lives between the West End and the East End is that in the former one chooses his work, in the latter one works at anything available to survive.[38]

Sundays find Harry and Angela on the Great Boulevard of the East End which was thronged with "the class of men who keep the Sabbath in holy laziness with tobacco."[39] There were haranguers of religious sects and of political deeds, but "the workingman had heard it all before, and they continue to smoke their pipes, their blood not quickened by a single beat."[40] Angela comments on the continuous noise of the workingman's life with the crowds and the bustle.

One day Harry takes Angela to an area where a group of Swedes have settled with their gardens and habits of peace and cleanliness. From here, they go on to a German neighborhood:

> German names are over every shop and on every brass plate. They come hither, these honest Germans, because to get good work on London is better than going after it to New York or Philadelphia, and nearer home. In the second generation their names will be anglicized, and their children will have become rich London merchants, and very likely cabinet ministers.[41]

A respectable area of the East End is described on Oxford Street between New Road and Stepney Church. The streets are fairly broad with some trees, but the houses are all alike inside and out and there is an ambiance of contented dullness.[42]

The occupations of the residents of Stepney Green besides those of brewery worker or dressmaker include silk-weavers, rope-makers,

sail-makers, match-makers, cigar-makers, ship-builders, soap-makers, and firework manufacturers.[43] There is one theater and a Music-hall on Whitechapel Road.[44]

Angela assumes a certain proprietorship over the lives of her workers, for they live and worship on land and in buildings that she owns. Further, she upsets the law of supply and demand and political economy by giving clothes, lending money, and paying the rent for some of her workers.[45] She even fancies improving their housing to resemble that of the middle class.[46] She and Harry reside in a Stepney Green lodging house which has seen better times:

> . . . the windows always wanted cleaning; the rope of one of the blinds was broken; and the blind itself, not nearly so white as it might have been, was pinned half-way up.[47]

Although she sees herself improving the lives of workingmen, she does not have faith in governments to do the same and she advises a young workingman that the workers must combine and help themselves.[48] Angela and Harry agree that learning a trade instead of how to spell should be the goal of educating the young of Stepney Green. She is especially concerned over the plight of work-girls and establishes a dressmaking shop where she hopes to provide good working conditions and to develop a group of young women dedicated to cultural improvement.

While Angela is romantic about the worker and sees him as real and earnest compared with gentlemen, Harry is more realistic. He says that the workmen are conventional and "like to be roused by red-hot, scorching speeches; they want burning questions, intolerable grievances; so the speakers find them or invent them."[49] Over time the audiences become callous by so much sham. Politically, they worker tends to think the party out of power will serve him better if elected, and after election

finds that neither party serves the worker.[50] After living in Stepney Green a while, Harry finds the worker "more sensible, more self-reliant, less dangerous" than he expected, but lacking in aesthetic taste and book-learning.[51] He cautions Angela on lumping all workers together as similar to one another anymore than she would all gentlemen:

> "All sorts and conditions of men are pretty much alike, and what moves one moves all. We are all tempted in the same way; we can all be led in the same way."[52]

One night at a workers' meeting in response to a speech for power for the workingman, Harry jumps up and tell them:

> "You have always had the power . . . because you are the people, and what the people want they will have. Your power is your birthright. You are an irresistible giant who has only to roar in order to get what he wants.
>
> "Well, why don't you roar? Because you don't know what you do want. Because your leaders don't know any more than yourselves; because they go howling for things which will do you no good, and they don't know what it is you do want."[53]

It is Harry who develops the idea of the Palace of Delight, and it is Angela's planning and money that bring it into being.

Harry gets a job as a cabinet maker in the brewery after the foreman is satisfied that Harry's education has not made him dissatisfied. After Harry accepts the job, he is galled to realize that he must now show deference to his "betters."[54] He refuses to wear a workman's apron as a sign of his status. Priscilla Metcalf notes that the apron went out around the 1880's as distinctive dress for the worker and suggests it may have been due to mass transportation enabling the worker to move where he wasn't known and thus able to leave his work status at the work place.[55]

The artisan cabinet-maker does not resemble the workmen who use tricks to get ahead or the serious miened managers, according to Harry, but is a responsible worker who takes pride in his workmanship.

The artisan cabinet-workers were the first, according to Harry, to organize themselves around the turn of the nineteenth century. They were able to arrange with the owners of the time what changes in work conditions needed to be made without striking. These artisans remain "critical about amusements," outlaw profanity in the workplace, usually belong to some church, and have confidence in their human value.[56]

The workingman and his characteristics, both at work and at home, are described by Besant. We have already seen how Lord Jocelyn, Harry, and Angela viewed the workingman; now let us look at the conditions of work, first of the brewery, and then those of the dressmaker.

The brewery dominated the life of the area. It covered thirteen acres of land and had seven hundred employees, most of whom were married.[57] The brewery owner owned half of the public-houses of the East End.[58] Within the brewery:

> Everywhere and always the steam rolled backward and forward, and the grinding of the machinery went on, and the roaring of the furnaces; and the men went about to and fro at their work. They did not seem hard-working nor were they pressed; their movements were leisurely, as if beer were not a thing to hurry; they were all rather pale of cheek, but fat and jolly, as if the beer was good and agreed with them. Some wore brown-paper caps, for it was a pretty draughty place; some went bareheaded, some wore the little round hat in fashion.[59]

Since there was a greater supply of workers than there jobs to demand their services the employees were treated as if the employers were doing them a favor by giving them a job.[60] The workers, hard pressed to support their families, undersold each other to get the scarce jobs. Work-girls were treated more harshly than men because they could not stand up for themselves; they worked long hours, they had poor food, and the air was poisonous where the girls labored.[61]

The manager of the works is a man without laughter.[62]

Rebekah, the girl Angela chooses to be foreman in her dressmaking establishment, is also serious and never plays games.[63] Besant comments on this lack of lightheartedness:

> My friends, lay this to heart, and ponder. It is not until a certain standard of cultivation is reached that people do laugh at things. They only began in the last century, and then only in a few salons. When all the world laughs, the perfection of humanity will have been reached, and the comedy will have been played out.[64]

The typical dressmaker differed from the male factory worker because she was usually paid less at 16s a week[65] and could work at home instead of in a common workplace. They sat for long hours in close quarters and became very irritable. Angela plans to overcome some of the work problems in her shop by giving exercise periods, providing better ventilation, and giving frequent rest periods.[66]

Besant's gentlemen seem to rely more on education and wealth for their status than birth, as he gives Lord Jocelyn the comment, "who cares nowadays what a man is by birth?"[67], and writes:

> . . . everyman's mind is worth cultivating as soon as you find out the things best fitted to grow in it. But some minds will only grow turnips, while others will produce the finest strawberries.[68]

Yet the author describes Harry as having an aristocratic look as well as a thoroughbred air.[69] So even though birth may not matter, a physical bearing and look indicate a gentleman.

The League of Workingmen is formed, and Harry is chosen as its leader. It seeks to improve the dwellings, food, and clothing of the workers as well as to make them more independent by the election of their own school boards and by the distribution of workers to where there is work by emigration plans, with excess workers to be shipped out of the country if necessary. Harry sees the rich fading away as

an unhappy condition of life.[70]

Besant advises that independence and knowledge will help the workingman find happiness and not envy and hatred of the rich, but he patronizingly places the gentleman Harry at the head of the League.

Thus Besant writes in favor of autonomy of the workingman and for the acceptance of gentlemen by education. His workingmen are different in dress, housing, education, and behavior from the gentlemen, but he has faith that the workingmen can become gentlemen and can develop an autonomous culture in society under the leadership and aid of upper-class representatives.

The Children of Gibeon (1886)

With the Children of Gibeon Besant pursues still further the question whether lineage or education makes a lady or a gentleman. In the story of a washerwoman's daughter, one of five children, is raised by an aristocratic widow with her own daughter without favoritism. Neither girl is allowed to know her parentage till the age of twenty-one. The widow also underwrites the Cambridge education of the washerwoman's son Claude, whose face had the "appearance of the descendant of fifty dukes" and who read voraciously. The "sisters" are introduced to the brother after he has finished Cambridge, and they find him a gentleman in appearance and manner, and he finds both of the girls are beautiful young ladies. But, Besant writes:

> "No one will maintain," said the World, "that the daughter of a working man and the daughter of a gentleman can ever stand upon the same level. Education can refine, but it cannot change base metal into gold."[71]

Finally the introductions to the rest of the "family" are made with the girls not yet knowing which of them is the real daughter of

the washerwoman. The eldest brother Joe is a blacksmith, steady at his work, and not too bright. The washerwoman tells the widow of this son: "It's the stupid lads that turn out the steadiest and do the best."[72] The washerwoman says there is no shame in having to work if you can get work to do and wages for your work.[73] One of the sisters comments that labour has its dignity and that they should be proud of an intelligent workingman.[74] Joe had been apprenticed to a workman for eight years, and when he was nineteen, "like most of his fellows," he took a seventeen year-old wife; in five years they had five children.[75] Besant describes Joe:

> He carried a bag of tools in one hand; on his arm he slung his jacket because it was hot, and he preferred to work in his shirt-sleeves; and he really had that loose red handkerchief which the girls expected to find about their brother's neck. There was also a pipe in his mouth. Quite the workingman. And perhaps in order to make it perfectly clear that he was not play-acting, whatever his sisters might be, his hands were grimed with dirt and oil.[76]

Of Joe's occupation, Besant writes he was:

> . . . one of those useful citizens who lay our pipes for us, and lay them wrong; who adjust our taps and clean our cisterns, work mischief with our kitchen ranges, and never leave a house when they are permitted to enter it until there is not a screw or a sink or a tap or a pipe that is not tinkered and ruined. Theirs is a trade so lucrative that it is rapidly rising to the dignity of a profession, and before long it will probably rival the Bar in attracting the brightest and keenest of the English intellect and the flower of the Universities.[77]

The second son, Sam, has achieved his aim in life as master of a Board School. He is a pompous preacher of Socialism. He is not willing to work to alleviate present conditions even for members of his family, and puts all his energies in preaching against the System. He talks to the "natural enemies" of the working-man as the people who live upon him.[78] On the other hand, he says, "the working-men are

masters of the country, and we (the schoolmasters) are the masters of the working-men."[79] He is for keeping his students in ignorance of of spelling because it has no value to persons who do no writing, and he is against teaching the rights of humanity. The schoolmasters are to teach what they know the workingmen "want and what they mean to have."[80] He stands for equality, for land reform, for the disestablishment of the church, for equal wages and work hours, for peer evaluation, for extra rations for families with children, for free education, for requiring all to work, and for manhood (not womanhood) suffrage.[81]

The next oldest is a girl, Melenda, who works as a seamstress and is very independent. She does not support Sam's socialism nor does she aspire to the gentility of her sister and her brother Claude. She lives with two other girls in a small room in a rundown section of the city, Hoxton. One of the girls is a cripple and Melenda often does her work for her. Besant sees working girls as even more exploited than workingmen. They worked thirteen hours a day in their own rooms on goods and articles provided by clothing establishments which paid for the finished work. Their pay was approximately 17s 3p a week altogether.[82] Subtracting 4s a week for rent left less than 2s a day to meet all their needs. Besant writes that bread was lower in price than ever before and the cost of tea and sugar were constantly going down; nonetheless, the girls were pale and their clothes ragged because of that law of Political Economy, which he names the Law of Elevenpence Ha'penny or the Law of the Lower Limit. This understood law provides that the workgirls shall be paid at the lowest possible rate for human sustenance.[83]

Besant sees these young women as:

> . . . getting no help from anybody, certainly none from her brothers, who, poor fellows! have to pay for their clubs, their drinks, and their amusements, and cannot do what they would wish for their sisters: none from the political economist to whom an ill-paid young girl illustrates in a most satisfactory manner the beneficent Law of Supply and Demand . . . none from politicians, because they think that the working-women will never be a danger to any party; none-alas!--from ladies, because their injustice is too old and stale . . . Nor will the working-girl expect any help from her own class, because they have not learned to combine, and there is none to teach them, and the sharp lessons, including thwacks, kicks, hammerings, rattening, and boycotting, by which the working-men were forced and driven into their union, are impossible for the girls.[84]

Added to these problems is that of drilling, whereby a young dressmaker who called for her pay at a clothing establishment might be required to appear and stand for three or four days in a row waiting for her pay if the establishment wanted to punish her.

Thus Besant shows us a typical workman, slow of wit and quick to ruin the householder's pipes, but a steady citizen. Besant shows more sympathy for the dressmakers, who are at the mercy of the laws of political economy and have no one to help them. He paints the socialist Sam as one who has no feeling or motivation for alleviating the actual conditions of the workgirls and who only sees improvement in terms of tearing down the system.

Valentine, one of the "sisters," and Claude move to Hoxton in the East End in order to help Melenda and her friends by setting an example for improving their tastes and life-style, and by bringing their work conditions to the light of public opinion.[85] Besant comments on the power of public opinion:

> Now there is nothing in the whole world which men of all ranks, classes, trades, fortunes, or professions, dread more than the publications of 'trade customs'; because, somehow,

> from the fee of a barrister down to the bill of the plumber, so many delicate questions can be raised and so many awkward questions may present their sharp and spiky points; and it is not enough to feel, as we do feel, that we are all in the same boat.[86]

Whereas Besant had supported the humanity of all men as similar in All Sorts and Conditions of Men, in this novel he points out differences of point of view because of occupational interests. Besant is cynical about the existence of what the socialist Sam refers to as the will of the people:

> Will of the People was a new thing--and indeed it is strange that while cultivated and educated men have never agreed together to have a Will of their own and to pronounce it, we are constantly told that the rough and ignorant are thinking as one man, and acting together with one consent and in such beautiful unanimity.[87]

It seems that Besant, who looked for harmony and unity in his previous novel, is now coming to the conclusion that differences exist that cannot be bridged: occupational interests and intellectual differences.

Socialist Sam also sees all societies as being split into two camps: the tyrant and the slave, the oppressor and the oppressed, the rich and the poor, and the workman and master. He places all in one camp or the other and treats them accordingly. He does not believe that the class of masters can ever have the interests of the workman at heart. Humanity and brotherhood and cooperation are prevented by competition in Sam's view of the world. In his socialist utopia controlled by the schoolmasters, differences of power will remain.

Besant, in All Sorts and Conditions of Men, has the gentleman Harry who leads the workingmen, say that the rich will fade away; Disraeli writes of the fading away of Parliament. However, Besant sees humanistic intellectuals who are gentlemen and ladies taking over a new leadership, Disraeli sees the Queen and the public opinion of the

People taking over, and the socialist Sam sees the schoolmasters taking over. In other words, the old hierarchy is to be replaced with a new one.

Claude and Valentine found an Earthly Tract Association to spread knowledge on virtue and vice since the People did read tracts even though they did not read books and newspapers.[88]

> . . . it was from these papers that the English workman learned for the first time with considerable astonishment, what neither his school nor his newspaper had taught him, the prodigious extent and wonderful history of his own country, how it grew, and how it must be preserved and developed, his own inheritance in the world and what it means to be an Englishman.[89]

Besant, in this novel, speaks for a world where the Sense of Universal Brotherhood will reign.[90] It is this sense of humanity that Valentine and Claude acquired that directs them to help the downtrodden. Claude sees a kind of revolution beginning whereby the cultivated and successful return to the

> . . . soil and to the gutter from which their fathers sprang. They come back laden with treasures, which they long to lavish among the people. This is to practice Christianity which you advanced thinkers despise . . . It is not only that these missionaries will live among the people and teach them all kinds of things, but they will bring the fierce light of publicity to bear upon their ways and their wants.[91]

Besant's characters attempt to channel social changes. Besant has the local doctor, a sympathetic character, suggest a solution for social improvement by the formation of a League to control wages and work that would be formed by the People.[92] Another solution is put forth by Claude as he counters Sam's cry for revolution with the logic that the system represents those of ability in a society and no system can be imposed that does not reflect the interests of the men of ability.[93]

Hoxton, part of the East End of London, is described as the residence of the working class characters in the story. Besant's population

estimate of 60,000 agrees with the figures found in Charles Booth's Life and Labour in London.[94] The density of population in one of the streets, Ivy Lane, is set at 1200 to a square mile with "Destitution, Drunkenness, Disease, Repentance, and Death" reigning.[95] The area is peopled by workmen who are finishers or work in support of the steel, glass, paper, lacquer, and other industries or as dressmakers or herbalists.[96] There were once beautiful homes in the area, but now it is characterized by "rows of small houses"[97] that showed signs of respectability in the neat white blinds and geraniums at the windows.[98]

Besant writes for those who form both the top of the working class and the bottom of the middle class. It is these people he conceived of as being able to change the system, and he sought to draw them into the system and to satisfy them by developing their cultural interests and to prevent their becoming discontented. Models for improvement are provided by the educated and wealthy who are motivated to work in the slums. Manners and the cultivation of the arts are seen as vehicles for harmony and social betterment. The twist in his novel comes when it is revealed that the real daughter of the washerwoman chooses not to be an urban missionary.

The Master Craftsman (1896)

The Master Craftsman focuses on two social changes. One is the rise of a master craftsman into the ranks of gentlemen, capped by his marriage to a titled lady of wealth and position. The other is the selection of the life of master craftsman by a young baronet who then marries a pretty girl without position or status in the world.

The two men are cousins and assist each other in learning the accepted behavior of the rank and place to which each aspires.

The young master craftsman at the start of the story, Robert is astonished at the "light touch-and-go talk, as if the world was made to be laughed at" of George, the baronet.[99] George soon observes after visiting Robert's boat-building yard:

> "I now understand that only a very small proportion of the world is permitted to laugh. Henceforth I am as serious as your workmen."[100]

George tells his cousin that in his world he had never heard or understood anything "of the busy life, the productions, the exports-the imports, the enterprise, the risks, the fluctuations, the skill, the courage, which belong to the trade of our great parts."[101]

The two change clothing as they switch roles. George, the baronet, changes to tweeds as he becomes an artisan, and Robert gets some evening clothes. In the past the workman was recognized by the apron he wore, but this badge of servitude is no longer customary at the time of the story, 1894.

Robert tells George about trade and that it is not all together what the parsons call Christian since moneymaking means besting your neighbor:

> "There's a great fight--a deadly fight--always going on between us all. The masters want to starve the men; the men want to choke the masters; the buyers and the sellers cheat and lie, and coax and wheedle, all the time. You'll have to join in that struggle, and mind, it goes on forever. There never will be any end to this fight; it's the everlasting struggle for existence."[102]

George responds that it is much the same as the top of the ladder with push, shove, pride, control, and struggle.[103]

George is to teach Robert the manners of society gentlemen. He explains they are, "a way of taking your place with the members as their equal from the onset."[104] George reflects on the prevalence of

manners in every level of life:

> "It is a beautiful thing to reflect that, however low down one may penetrate, always there is a code of manners, an ideal, a standard, and resentment of the deepest if one is charged with shortcomings in respect to that code."[105]

An aristocratic friend of George sees George descending in status to live among the "beery, tobacco-smoking, illbred, uncultivated boors and bourgeois."[106] When this same friend comes to listen to a political speech of Robert's, she is impressed:

> "So long as I am not compelled to associate with them I have no objection to looking at them, or to reading about them. It would be as a branch of natural history, except for the fact that these people may interfere with us. Their thoughts, I suppose, are mostly discontented; and their intentions, if they had any, would be revolutionary. But they are interesting, and I am glad I came."[107]

Robert's speech stresses his qualifications to represent and lead the workmen as their member of Parliament. Robert's courage and not his ideology impress the voters and he is elected. Later, at a social celebration of the local lords and ladies, some wonder if it is proper to receive a master craftsman in their drawingrooms.[108] One of the lords recalls that he is only third generation from the working class himself, but that is sufficient for acceptance as a gentleman.[109]

Robert is not bedazzled by the finery and society. He remains blunt in his speech, proclaims his craftsman status, and does not flirt with the ladies.[110] The aristocratic lady explains society to him:

> "What they call society is divided into circles, and there are circles within circles. There are art circles, literary circles, musical circles, rich circles--all kinds, overlapping each other, and there are political circles . . ."[111]

Robert speaks of George's chances for success as craftsman in terms of genetic occupational abilities: "Natural aptitude must come from generations of work. There is a kind of caste in every trade."[112]

Lineage is an aid to success in the work world as well as in fashionable society.

George assesses Robert's chances of upward mobility in an aside to the reader: "Why do young men of obscure birth and poverty succeed so often and so greatly? Because they do not understand the audacity of their own ambition."[113]

Besant gives an overall review of the workingman and his politics in this description of the workmen gathered to hear Robert's speech:

> . . . arguing on the constitution of the country, being ignorant of what it is, how it has grown, whence it came, or what it means. And they wanted to change it, being ignorant of what these changes would mean or how they were to be effected, and how other members of the community would receive them. There were Socialists among them, men who look forward to the time when every man, for the sake of every other man, and not for himself at all, will gladly do a hard day's work and get no payment of profit but only equal ration, the same garb, the same warmth, and the same roof; and they think that the leveling up or down to the same unbroken plan will create, for the first time in history, happiness complete . . . . There were also in the crowd Anarchists--a kindly race who want to sweep away all laws, with the police and the lawyers, and the judges and the prisons, and to leave everybody to work out his own redemption for himself. And there were among them the common Radical who desires nothing more than the abolition of the Crown, the Church, and the Lords, after which no one certainly can expect or desire anything more. And there were many of that numberous class, the Wobblers, who incline this way and that, being unable to balance the advantages of any one plan against any other. Mostly, however, being poor and dependent, they desire change.[114]

Thus Besant shows in this novel a craftsman rising to be a gentleman with the personal help of a gentleman cousin who is voluntarily traveling in the opposite social direction. Workingmen as a group are shown as poor and dependent and desirous of change. They are ignorant and their political way is manipulated by political interest groups.

Summary

Social World of the Novels.

Birth, wealth, and education are all important to the gentleman in Besant's novels. There is even an aristocratic look that supports one's position as gentleman. For Bayliss, in This Son of Vulcan, wealth is most important along with control of jobs. The populace in the small town is more favorable to Bayliss than to the traditional Perrymont because they consider him one of themselves and because they know him. Gentlemen live in the West End of London, attend social gatherings and cultural events; and their dress, speech and housing differ from those of non-gentlemen and from those of the new breed of urban missionaries. These urban missionaries are the well-to-do and educated young who seek physically and socially to assist the poor working classes in the slums by living and working among them. Like Disraeli's aristocrats, they aid the workers against the oppression and exploitation of the business world.

Besant sees the craftsman or the "mechanician" leading the workers, and advocates stimulating discontent to motivate the development of a workers' culture and community that might be comparable and complimentary over time to those of the middle and upper classes. His ideal remains the upperclass gentleman, and he expects the working class to develop toward this ideal under the tutelage of the upper class. It is not the status of gentleman but the virtues of gentleman that he upholds, as seen in his Master Craftsman where George, the baronet, chooses a life style and status of a craftsman over the fashionable social world. One of these virtues is the solid middle-class one of work which writers like Besant shared with artisans.

Education at the right university, i.e., Cambridge, could develop the virtues of a gentleman for Besant.

Demographic Factors.

The migrating "floating population" is portrayed as living off whatever they can get from society wherever they settle. Two more integrated communities of workers are seen in the workingman communities of the Swedes and the Germans, (All Sorts and Conditions of Men).

The League of Workingmen (All Sorts and Conditions of Men) plans to control the distribution and migration of workers in the future so that the supply of workers will not exceed the demand even if this means deporting some workers as well as closing immigration.

Urban housing for workers is mean and monotonous. Respectable houses have clean white blinds at the windows. In London's East End there are differences between housing districts as well as between individual homes as to desirability and respectability.

Industrialism

The industrial world is broken into occupational housing districts and factory communities where contacts over classes or occupations have declined from the village life described by Austen and Burney.

The power of numbers is seen as challenging the power of wealth. Besant's response is to create a unity of manners and an autonomy of cultures under the banner of nationalism. He advocates a new self-reliance for the workingmen and their communities, but they are to look for leadership from aristocratic urban missionaries as well as from the ranks of craftsmen and "mechanicians," who retain Egan's label of honest and happy workers.

Workers dress distinctively, but rid themselves of the apron in Besant's novels. They are still noted as "pale" (All Sorts and Conditions of Men). The work-girls are the most exploited and again, as in Kingsley's Alton Locke, it is in the tailoring-dressmaking occupations where the domestic system keeps the workers highly competitive with each other that work conditions are the worst. The brewery workers (All Sorts and Conditions of Men) are "fat and jolly." Workers are seen as content with their beef and beer, and sometimes become drunk and aggressive in public.

Besant's managers or factory foremen are lacking in humor and Besant tells the reader that humor is indicative of a developmental stage in human cultivation; this is again the idea that Kingsley presented that the workingman must go through an evolutionary process before developing to the status of gentleman. Even the working-class school teacher is pompous and humorless. Furthermore, he is not active in good works. (Children of Gibeon).

Author's Vision of Life

Besant sees cleanliness as a mark of respectability, and it is manners and cultivation, more than the alleviation of poor conditions, that he values in the development of his characters. He sees, on the one hand, vitality in the working classes, and on the other, crassness and ignorance which seem impossible to overcome while the workers are as satisfied as those who lazily walk the boulevard on Sundays, smoking their pipes. He is for an autonomy of sorts for workingmen communities, envisioning their developing a culture that could complement those of the middle and upper classes.

His ideal of the gentleman is one of self-reliance, self-improvement,

and hard work, and not one of fashionable social status. George is the "real" gentleman of the Master Craftsman. Like Eliot and Disraeli, he advocates the workers' learning from the upper classes and tradition. He envisions more autonomy for the development of the working class than Kingsley does, but his novels do not show it developing.

He finds the Seamy Side of Life shared in by all classes. Cut-throat competition for monetary and power gains are valued over human safety by workers and masters alike as they were in Reade's novel. In Son of Vulcan, the workers threaten violence as they did in Period II novels. Hope is in the unity of national identity and in cooperation among men toward Besant's ideal of a gentleman. This ideal includes the middle-class virtues of individual talent and achievement and hard work as well as the traditional aristocratic virtue of social responsibility. Gissing in New Grub Street writes that even the gentleman is crushed by the economic and environmental pressures of the London slums. It is in Kipling's stories of Mulvaney, Otheris, and Learoyd that Besant's hope for a national identity and support of the ideal of a gentleman is realized.

Notes to Chapter XII

[1]Charles Booth, Life and Labour of the People of London, 4 vols., orig. pub. 1889, rev. ed. 1902, Macmillan, N.Y., esp. vol. 2, Streets and Population Classified (New York: Augustus Kelley, 1969).

[2]Walter Besant, The Children of Gibeon, orig. pub. 1886, new ed. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1894), p. 92.

[3]P. J. Keating, The Working Clases in Victorian Fiction (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), p. 96.

[4]Walter Besant and James Rice, The Son of Vulcan, 3 vols. (London: Sampson Low, Mareton, Searle & Rivington, 1876), 1:263; 2:240.

[5]Ibid., 1:180.

[6]Ibid., p. 254.

[7]Ibid., p. 255.

[8]Ibid., p. 23.

[9]Ibid., p. 263.

[10]Ibid., 2:186.

[11]Ibid., p. 58.

[12]Ibid., pp. 58-59.

[13]Ibid., p. 127.

[14]Ibid., p. 80.

[15]Ibid., p. 127.

[16]Ibid., p. 129.

[17]Ibid., 3:118.

[18]Ibid., 2:123-4.

[19]Ibid., pp. 124-5.

[20]Ibid., pp. 216-7.

[21]Ibid., p. 281.

[22]Ibid., p. 285.

[23]Ibid., 3:44.

[24]Ibid., p. 116.

[25]Ibid., p. 325.

[26]Walter Besant and James Rice, The Seamy Side, orig. pub. 1880, a new ed. (London: Chatto & Windus), p. 176.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Ibid., p. 199.

[29]Ibid., p. 176.

[30]'Arry was the term popularized in the fiction of E. J. Milliken (1877) to symbolize, to the reading public, the qualities of the cockney or a working class lad of the sporting life. Gissing uses the name to signify a young working class rake in Demos (1886) (Keating, pp. 140-1).

[31]Walter Besant, All Sorts and Conditions of Men (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1882), p. 32.

[32]Ibid., p. 161.

[33]Ibid., p. 144.

[34]Ibid., p. 37.

[35]Ibid., p. 22.

[36]Ibid., p. 24.

[37]Ibid., p. 59.

[38]Ibid., pp. 76-77.

[39]Ibid., pp. 118-9.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Ibid., pp. 124-5.

[42]Ibid., p. 164.

[43]Ibid., p. 62.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Ibid., p. 135.

[46]Ibid., pp. 59, 64.

[47]Ibid., p. 23.

[48]Ibid., p. 142.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Ibid., p. 155.

[52]Ibid., p. 169.

[53]Ibid., p. 244.

[54]Ibid., p. 163.

[55]Priscilla Metcalf, Victorian London (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), p. 148.

[56]Besant, All Sorts and Conditions of Men, p. 141.

[57]Ibid., p. 51.

[58]Ibid., p. 43.

[59]Ibid., p. 53.

[60]Ibid., p. 84.

[61]Ibid., pp. 85, 387.

[62]Ibid., p. 86.

[63]Ibid., p. 97.

[64]Ibid., p. 98.

[65]Ibid., p. 74.

[66]Ibid., p. 110.

[67]Ibid., p. 13.

[68]Ibid., p. 36.

[69]Ibid., p. 11.

[70]Ibid., p. 403.

[71]Walter Besant, The Children of Gibeon, p. 17.

[72]Ibid., p. 7.

[73]Ibid., p. 44.

[74]Ibid., p. 20.

[75]Ibid., p. 10.

[76]Ibid., p. 45.

[77]Ibid., pp. 45-46.

[78]Ibid., p. 73.

[79]Ibid., p. 75.

[80]Ibid.

[81]Ibid., p. 76.

[82]Ibid., p. 55.

[83]Ibid.

[84]Ibid., p. 54.

[85]Ibid., p. 315.

[86]Ibid., p. 276.

[87]Ibid., p. 164.

[88]Ibid., pp. 210-1.

[89]Ibid., p. 213.

[90]Ibid., p. 305.

[91]Ibid., p. 315.

[92]Ibid., p. 155.

[93]Ibid., p. 315.

[94]Booth, 2:25.

[95]Besant, Children of Gibeon, p. 194.

[96]Ibid., p. 101.

[97]Ibid.

[98]Ibid., pp. 38-9.

[99]Walter Besant, The Master Craftsman, 2 vols., orig. pub. 1896, printed as vol. 3148 in Collection of British Authors, Tauchnitz ed. (Leipzig: Bernard Tauchnitz), 1:172.

[100]Ibid.

[101]Ibid., p. 103.

[102]Ibid., p. 173.

[103]Ibid., p. 174.

[104]Ibid., p. 158.

[105]Ibid., p. 154.

[106]Ibid., p. 197.

[107]Ibid., p. 225.

[108]Ibid., 2:109.

[109]Ibid.

[110]Ibid., p. 112.

[111]Ibid., p. 122.

[112]Ibid., 1:113.

[113]Ibid., 2:248.

[114]Ibid., 1:223.

Chapter XIII

Five Novels of George Gissing

George Gissing, whose own frustrations read like those of Somerset Maugham's protagonist in Of Human Bondage, wrote of London slum life in his early novel Workers in the Dawn with a spirit of missionary zeal embodied in his upper-middle-class hero and heroine. However unlike Besant's successful "missionaries," Gissing's never are, and their personal lives and hopes are destroyed bit by bit over the course of the novel. Life and its destructive elements cannot be understood or controlled by Gissing's characters as they were by Besant's, even for selected individuals. The purist or idealist is particularly hard-hit in Gissing's world; if the depressed economic situation doesn't destroy him, his social relationships or a natural catastrophe will.

Gissing's early writing was aimed at social reform; later, however, he denied any but aesthetic goals for his writing. He greatly admired Dickens, and allusions to Dickens's work are seen in the similar descriptive terms and words used by Gissing. For instance, there is a Shooter's Gardens in Gissing's The Nether World which reminds the reader of Stagg's Gardens in Dickens's Dombey and Son, and a Peckover in The Nether World recalls Pecksniff in Dickens's Martin Chuzzlewit. He uses the same words as Dickens did to describe slums: filth, rottenness, evil odors, dens. Gissing does what Dickens could not--write from within the slums and its inhabitants. Dickens wrote as an outsider from the middle class position. Gissing begins with a hero and heroine who are

upper-middle class in Workers in the Dawn (1880); in Thryza (1887), he introduces a working class heroine; in Demos (1886), two slum inhabitants with a tenuous hold on middle class rationality are the protagonists; and in New Grub Street (1891), the slum consumes intellectual authors with upper-middle class aspirations.

In real life the slums almost consumed Gissing as he struggled to uphold his intellectual ideals and succumbed to the irrationality of sexual tyranny as did Maugham's protagonist. He disdained writing for money or to please the public, and it took a long time before he could be called successful. He paid for the publishing of his own early works because no one else would, and began to develop a small following. New Grub Street was his first novel to go into a second edition a month after publishing, but he had sold it outright to the publisher for only £ 150 and did not benefit financially from its success.

Unlike Besant, who was raised, educated, and accepted as a gentleman, and who identified himself with the upper classes, Gissing's background was socially marginal to the middle classes. His father, a worthy botanist by avocation and a druggist by vocation, died when George, the oldest of five children, was thirteen. The story of George's shame and dismissal from Owen College, Manchester, where he held a scholarship, for stealing money for a girl friend, is widely known. Like Maugham's hero, George was dominated by a passion for a prostitute whom he later married, much to their mutual unhappiness. Their natures and their intellectual tastes and understandings were too diverse for harmony. After her death, Gissing repeated his folly with a second wife similar to the first. It was only late in life that he met a bourgeois Frenchwoman who was aesthetically and intellectually satisfying and with whom

he found some contentment in a sexual relationship.

Gissing's intelligence did not extend to social relationships and although his family ties remained strong, he found social affairs difficult. He appeared diffident to others. Frederic Harrison, impressed with Workers in the Dawn, became a patron and friend of Gissing for a while and helped him to bridge the social and economic gap. Gissing's writing also made him a friend of George Meredith. Both men were intense and aesthetic in their approach to writing. These tow, along with others interested in literature, were members of the dinner club Omar Khayyam. Gissing also joined the Society of Authors, but was disappointed at its tradesmanlike atmosphere. He though Besant, one of its founders, commonplace.[1]

Gissing's social philosophy ranged from Comtean positivism in his early writings to a staunch individualism in his late writings. Martineau was once absorbed by Comtean positivism and translated his work into English; George Eliot embraced his teachings for a while; but it is Gissing, in the development of Helen Norman in Workers in the Dawn (1880), who has a character develop mentally through the Comtean stages. Later, in the Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft (1903), he writes of the superiority of the individual:

> I am no friend of the people . . . they inspire me with distrust, with fear, as a visible multitude, they make me shrink aloof, and often move me to abhorrence. For the greater part of my life, the people signified to me the London crowd . . . The people as country folk are little known to me; such glimpses as I have had of them do not invite to nearer acquaintance. Every instinct of my being is anti-democratic, and I dread to think of what our England may become when Demos rules irresistibly . . . Take a man by himself, and there is generally some reason to be found in him, some disposition for good; mass him with his fellows in the social organism, and ten to one he becomes a blatant creature, without a thought of his own,

> ready for any evil to which contagion prompts him. It is because nations tend to stupidity and baseness that mankind moves so slowly; it is because individuals have a capacity for better things that it moves at all.[2]

The Novels

Workers in the Dawn (1880)

Workers in the Dawn begins with a description of workers being let out on Saturday night, as Martineau's Manchester Strike did. The place is the East End of London, decayed, filthy, often with an evil look, "where starvation, dirt and exposure have coarsened the grain" of the inhabitants who are "unconscious of their degradation."[3] The protagonists are a young man and a young woman who are children of two public school chums. The young man, Arthur Golding, is born in the slums of a father who has gone down in life; the young woman, Helen Norman, is raised as a lady in her father's parsonage. Those two become "missionaries" in the East End where they work in vain to educate and refine the slum dwellers to socially acceptable behavior, and to get the workers to save some of their wages for the good of all.

In the slums, the efforts of organized charity and government assistance are seen as futile while the activities on the part of individuals for slum betterment have some influence on other individuals, but no success at developing middle class respectability for the masses of the East End. Mr. Heatherly, a Dissenter, is another missionary who fails in his attempt to uplift the masses by bringing religion to them.

There is some effort toward social responsibility on the part of the workers. Some workingmen, who are single and employed, organize a club to help their fellow workers. Gissing was aware that family responsibilities often plunged a worker into poverty. The printer Tollady

is another who provides charity for needy persons, and he is assisted by two artisan friends.

A small legacy from Mr. Norman permits Arthur to continue his study of art, but Arthur seeks to earn his own livelihood and chooses to become an apprentice to the printer Tollady, who lives in a London working-class district. Mr. Tollady's position as intelligent and practical adviser to Arthur resembles that of Kingsley's MacKaye to Alton Locke.

Arthur's enthusiasm for good works and self-development is thwarted by his lack of self-discipline, and he is not successful as a printer. His zeal for slum improvement, which denies human social differences, leads him to marry a pretty girl of the slums as Gissing himself did. The girl's illiteracy appalls him and he seeks to raise her to his intellectual level without success. Later, this marriage stands between him and his true love, Helen Norman, and in frustration over his life, Arthur commits suicide. His wife, an alcoholic, ends up on skid row.

Helen holds classes for young work girls to teach them social refinement, much as Angela does in Besant's All Sorts and Conditions of Men. Her missionary work is successful to some degree in refining these young women, but her larger goals in the slums are unrealized. After her love for Arthur is frustrated by his marriage, she leaves for a cloister, disillusioned over her mission to the slums as well as with her lover.

Helen's mental development follows the Comtean pattern. She passes through a theological stage to the metaphysical when she becomes enthusiastic about Strauss' Leben Jesu (which George Eliot translated into English). Later, when she moves to active response to empirical

conditions in her work in the slums, she has moved to the positivist stage. Ultimately, however, she gives this up in moving to the cloister.

Gissing excuses the debauchery and drunkenness of his working class slum characters on the ground that although they were not born with these behavior patterns, but life's economic pressures and privations have developed them. Gissing is not sanguine about remedies except in individual cases and by individual efforts. The religion that Gissing would carry to the slums is aesthetic and intellectual instead of theological.

Thryza (1887)

Sexual attractions form one plotline for Thryza, and the improvement of workingmen's lives by various means, another. Central to the story is a beautiful young girl, Thyrza, who is taken care of by an older sister, Lyddy. They dwell in the Lambeth section of London where Thryza works as a milliner.

There are three men who love her. First, there is the mechanic Luke Ackroyd, who constantly reads to educate himself along scientific lines. He is an angry young man and scoffs at religion and the upper classes. Then there is Gilbert Grail, an older, bookish workman who lives downstairs from the girls with his mother. Thryza at one point is ready to marry Grail, who is self-educated in the humanities and attends classes in the slums.

Finally there is the hero of the tale, young Egremont, whose father earned a fortune in manufacturing and managed to impart to his son a love of the humanities. Egremont starts a school in the slums to overcome the lack of humanistic education which characterizes the workman. His students are artisans and mechanics. Luke attends some of his classes,

and Gilbert is a faithful student. Egremont sees no chance of success in teaching the humanities to those below the artisan and mechanic level of workman:

> With the mud at the bottom of society we can practically do nothing; only the basest changes to be wrought by time will cleanse that foulness, by destroying the monstrous wrong which produces it. What I should like to attempt would be the spiritual education of the upper artisan and mechanic class.[4]

Egremont thinks that journalists, socialists, and vulgar propagators of free thought are not doing a proper job in enlightening the working men. The latter still seek only to live in comfort, take no part in religion, and are not conversant with politics. He wants to make them social reformers. Even though the artisans and mechanics are seen as devoid of moral ideals, they are credited with instincts of decency and a strong tendency to associate in mutual benefit clubs and the like. He does not see them becoming rich or falling into privation, and their work permits enough leisure for education. Egremont's curriculum is not for technical and material, but for social and spiritual betterment, and he sees that "reform of institutions can only come as the natural result of a change in men's minds."[5]

The social groups in Thyrza center around religious affiliations. There is Tottie Nancarrow, a work girl, who is spurned because of her Roman Catholicism. She later inherits money and marries Mr. Bunce, a widower with three children. The author depicts her as sensible and warm and worthy of respect. Tottie shares her money with Mr. Bunce, who opens his own locksmith shop, and she is a good mother to his children.

The Bowers, who run the Little Shop with the Big Heart in Lambeth and whose wares are often more expensive and less reliable than shops outside, are chapel-goers. Lyddy sometimes attends chapel with Mary

Bower. Mr. Bower is influential in Lambeth, and Egremont goes to him to get help in setting up his classes.

Luke Ackroyd and Bunce are distinctly anti-church. Grain and Egremont are non-believers, but see some good and beauty in religion. Egremont says that the religious spirit must be restored and a pure love of moral and intellectual beauty take its place.[6] His attempts to do this by lecturing to the workmen in the humanities, and by starting a library in the area with the help of Gilbert Grail, end in failure.

Charity as an individual enterprise is not successful in Thyrza except for kind Mrs. Ormonde's little convalescent hospital. Improvement in the workers' lives comes instead from the efforts of Dalamaine, a self-seeking member of Parliament who, needing the votes of the working class, manages to get some legislation for the working man through the government mill. In America on a visit, Egremont finds that it is the charity of Cornelius Vanderbilt, a vulgar, self-interested man, which is most effective. In Workers in the Dawn, individuals and individual relationships had to be of a certain positive character for successful improvement in the working man's conditions; in Thryza, Gissing recognizes the place of self-interested men like Dalamaine and Vanderbilt in bettering slum conditions.

The artisan and mechanic are not job-bound to the extent that they cannot take a day off now and again or even change their work place (something rather difficult in Mr. Bounderby's factory in Hard Times). They even attend concerts now and again outside the slums. However they are not able to rise above the artisan-mechanic level.

Gissing has all marriages remain within class lines. Thus before the end of the story Thryza dies so that Egremont can marry a woman of

his own class who loves him. Lyddy marries Luke Ackroyd.

Gissing describes Paradise Street in Lambeth as made up of poor dwellings, mean and cheerless, with some factories and shops and a public-house. The street is arched over by a railway trestle. He describes the people of Lambeth as "men who toil without hope, yet with the hunger of an unshaped desire" and "women in whom the sweetness of their sex is perishing under labour and misery.[8] These people, not knowing what they want, deform thought by "gross expression, which clutches at the beautiful and soils it with foul hands.[9]

Yet they come from all the various subdivisions of the working class and make the streets merry on market nights with laughter and the interchange of good fellowship.[10] Their good will is shown in a benefit performance to raise money for a disabled worker:

> Plebian good humour does not often degenerate into brutality at meetings of this kind until a late hour or the evening. The girls who sat with glasses of beer before them and carried on primitive flirtations with their neighbors were honest wage-earners of factory and workshop, well able to make themselves respected. If they lacked refinement, natural or acquired, it was not their fault; toil was behind them and before, the hours of rest were few, suffering and lack of bread might at any moment come upon them. They had all thrown their hard-earned pence into the soup plate, gladly and kindly; now they enjoyed themselves.[11]

Contrasted with Lambeth is the Caledonian Road area, reached by tram-car from King's Cross to Holloway. Gissing describes the densely populated area as mean and ugly with inhabitants who appear "to be employed in labour that soils body and spirit."[12] It utter degradation of human life makes Lambeth appear "picturesque and venerable," St. Giles "romantic," Hoston "clean and suggestive of domesticity," Whitechapel "full of poetry," and Limehouse "sweet with sea-breathings."[13]

The end of the story is graced by a romantic description of the countryside, which appears as heaven in comparison with the city slums:

> . . . their eyes rested on as sweet a bit of landscape as as can be found in England, one of those scenes which are typical of the Southern counties. It was a broad valley, at the lowest point of which lay West Dean. The hamlet consists of very few houses, all so compactly grouped about the old church that from this distance it seemed as if the hand could cover them. The roofs were overgrown with lichen, yellow on slate, red on tiles. In the farmyards were haystacks with yellow conical coverings of thatch. And around all closed dense masses of chestnut foliage, the green just touched with gold. The little group of houses had mellowed with age; their guarded peacefulness was soothing to the eye and the spirit. Along the stretch of the hollow the land was parcelled into meadows and tilth of varied hue. Here was a great patch of warm grey soil, where horses were drawing the harrow; yonder the same work was being done by sleek black oxen. Where there was pasture, its chalk-brown colour told of the nature of the earth which produced it. A vast oblong running right athwart the far side of the valley had just been strewn with loam; it was the darkest purple. The bright yellow of the 'kelk' spread in several directions; and here and there rose thin wreaths of white smoke, where a pile of uprooted couch-grass was burning; the scent was borne hither by a breeze that could be scarcely felt.[14]

Demos (1886)

With Demos Gissing gives the reader a picture of the rise of a workingman. It is by inheritance, not by working and saving, that Richard Mutimer comes to live as the gentry in the old manor on the hill. We are first introduced to Richard in the bosom of his working class family in London. His mother is widowed and keeps house for her children. Richard is introduced sympathetically. We are told that he physically resembles the upper class although his views differ since he is a Socialist. His flaw is that he shows no sensitivity to art or literature, a negative attribute for a Gissing character. He is an independent man of action and asks no man for aid. His occupation is that of a mechanical engineer in the ironworks.

His younger brother 'Arry is a drifter and doesn't stay with a regular job or regular hours; he is a constant worry to his mother until his final downfall. Richard's sister Alice is a pretty girl who goes out to work each day and yearns for the finer things in life. The improvement in Richard's fortunes enables her to meet a man who marries her for her money and leaves her when it is gone.

Richard has a working-class girl friend, Emma Vine, who is a dressmaker. She is true to Richard although he throws her over when he gets a chance to marry Adela Waltham, a woman of higher status and education who lives in New Wanley Valley.

It is in New Wanley Valley that Richard inherits the mines and develops the works to support a socialist community. The expected heir was Hubert Eldon, a young gentleman who lived with his mother in a penurious style in the old manor. Adela's mother had originally planned for Adela to marry Hubert, a marriage that was favored by the young people. When Richard inherits instead of Hubert, Mrs. Waltham changes her plans. Richard marries the lady Adela to grace his manor instead of his workgirl fiancee Emma Vine.

Richard explains to Adela that the workingman is owned by the employer and cannot afford the luxuries of religion or education because of the lack of time and energy after a full day's work.[15] Over time Adela learns about the workingman herself:

> Now Adela was in the very best position for understanding those faults of the working class which are ineradicable in any one generation. She knew her husband, knew him better than ever now that she regarded him from a distance; she knew 'Arry Mutimer; and now she was getting to appreciate with a thoroughness impossible hitherto, the monstrous gulf between men of that kind and cultured human beings. She had, too, studied the children and the women of New Wanley, and the results of such study were arranging themselves in her mind.

> All unconsciously, Stella Westlake was cooling Adela's zeal with every fervid word she uttered; Adela at times with difficulty restrained herself from crying, "But it is a mistake! They have not these feelings you attribute to them. Such suffering as you picture them enduring comes only of the poetry-fed soul at issue with fate."[16]

Stella Westlake is the friend of Adela and the wife of the newspaper editor of the Fiery Cross who supports socialism. Newspapers play an important part in the story. Besides the Fiery Cross there is another competitive socialist newspaper The Tocsin. Propaganda for the socialist cause is important enough to Richard that some of the earnings of his works are directed to its dissemination.

Richard Mutimer speaks for socialism at a union meeting. A conservative worker in the audience gets up and leaves in the question and answer period, grumbling that he can see no use in the statistics Mutimer used to illustrate his ideas;

> He never heered yet as figures made a meal for a man as hadn't got one; nor yet as they provided shoes and stocking for his young'uns at 'ome.[17]

Another man rises and speaks for a socialist utopia where there are no factories and people stroll the fields hand in hand. Richard speaks again of the workingman, admitting they have some faults--drinking, brawling, and the like. However he blames these vices on the pressures of the worker's life: excessive toil, lack of healthy recreation, the poisonous air of garrets and cellars, educational deficiencies, and poverty.

These pressures of life are seen in Gissing's description of the housing areas of Hoxton and Wilton Square. Hoxton is seen as:

> . . . a region of malodorous market streets, of factories, timber yards, grimy warehouses, of alleys swarming with small trades and crafts, of filthy courts and passages leading into pestilential gloom; everywhere toil in its most degrading forms; the thoroughfares thundering with high-laden wagons, the

> pavements trodden by working folk of the coarsest type, the corners and lurking-holes showing destitution at its ugliest.[18]

Wilton Square, north of Hoxton, is a slightly better area but:

> To walk about a neighborhood such as this is the dreariest exercise to which man can betake himself; the heart is crushed by uniformity of decent squalor; one remembers that each of these dead-faced houses, often each separate blind window, represents a 'home' and the associations of the work whisper blank despair.[19]

The Works and Richard's attempts at a socialist community destroy the tranquility and beauty of New Wanley Valley. However an old will is found in the church which restores the estate to Hubert, who dismantles the Works and restores the valley to its previous rural state.

The Nether World (1889)

The Nether World marked Gissing's acceptance as a successful novelist. It is said to be his vision of Hell, but it is not entirely void of himan comfort. In the story some evil-dorers get their just due while trust, understanding, and an unspoken reverence for common ideals develop between two of the characters. It is not a love story in the sense of sexual satisfactions or marriage, but there is the development of a particular kind of trust and understanding between two persons in spite of the nether world.

The setting is the section of London known as Clerkenwell just south and east of King's Cross Station. Gissing warns the reader, "this nether world has been made by those who belong to the sphere above it" and if they do not help feed and care for those of the nether world, they must face the consequences.[20] Gissing, as in previous novels, contrasts a grim picture of the slums with a happy picture of the countryside. In Chapter II, the Clerkenwell factory workers are seen being let out in slashing rain and darkness, their way home blocked by

traffic jams, with the result that the air rings with curses and the public-houses brighten as the men seek to escape their troubles. In the country, the sun is shining and the fields are fragrant with blossoms.[21] Later in the story, the slums are again contrasted with the countryside when two characters travel by train from the "abominations" of the slums to the land of level meadows, hedges, and trees.[22]

Clerkenwell is an area of small industries, at the time of the story, and employment is difficult to get. One older man, John Hewitt, has dyed his hair so that he will seem younger and perhaps gain employment. His understanding of the employment situation is that there are too many workers for the amount of work and that the employers solve the problem by getting rid of the older workers.[23]

Dress is an important indicator of occupation and status. The first character the reader is introduced to is described as an old man wearing attire that is neither that of a man of leisure or that of an English mechanic, so his status is in doubt. John Hewitt wears the workman's usual corduroy trousers. His son, Bob, dresses as an artisan and works at metal molding. John is pleased that his son wears a collar, indicating a rank above those who merely use their muscles in their work.

Workgirls, too, are characterized by clothing and hair-dos. One workgirl's dress is described as "unsubstantial, ill-fitting, but of ambitious cut" and her hair as "abundant, and rose upon the back of her head in thick coils, an elegant fringe depending in front" like Melenda's in Besant's Children of Gibeon.[24] Another wears a new red feather in her hat much like Morrison's character Lizerunt.[25]

Gissing saw above-average intelligence as undesirable in a worker, as did Besant in describing Joe (Children of Gibeon), Bob Hewitt is

described as perhaps too intelligent, and by the end of the book his cleverness has gotten him arrested for counterfeiting and inadvertently leads to his death. As to the quality of workman's intelligence, Gissing comments, "Irony is not a weapon much in use among working people: their wits in general are too slow."[26]

John Hewitt's daughter Clara at seventeen wants to work at a Mrs. Tubb's luncheon bar, but her father is against it. Sidney Kirkwood, a family friend, persuades him that he will have to let his daughter go to work there:

> "We're working people, we are; we're the lower orders; our girls have to go out and get their livings. We teach them the best we can, and the devil knows they've got examples enough of misery and ruin before their eyes to help them to keep straight. Rich people can take care of their daughters as much as they like; they can treat them like children till they're married; people of our kind can't do that, and it has to be faced."[27]

When the workshops that John Hewitt started on a small legacy failed, he has to find work for himself and his children. He sends his daughter Clara to learn 'stamping' at the same factory where his son Bob had been put in the diesinker's craft because he does not want his daughter to be "set to the usual needle-slavery."[28] She, however, is unhappy with this work and has visions of a much higher style of life based on her beauty and brains. The author warns that this combination of traits does not lead to patient virtues.[29]

Housing in Clerkenwell is mixed among the factories and shops. Families like the Hewitts live in lodging houses. Sidney Kirkwood, who had been apprenticed to a jeweler, lives in a slightly more respectable lodging house on a street that houses reputable watchmakers and jewelers and craftsmen at one end of the street. His lodging house is characterized by clean white blinds and curtains.[30] The future bride of Bob Hewitt,

Pennyloaf Candy, lives with her drunken mother and simple-minded brother in Shooters Gardens:

> . . . the slum was like any other slum; filth, rottenness, evil odors, possessed these dens of superflous mankind and made them gruesome to the peering imagination. The inhabitants of course felt nothing of the sort; a room in Shooter's Gardens was the only kind of home that most of them knew or desired. The majority preferred it, on all grounds, to that offered them in a block of model lodgings not very far away; here was independence, that is to say, the liberty to be as vile as they pleased. How they came to love vileness, well, that is quite another matter, ...[31]

The Hewitt's landlady is a Mrs. Peckover, who has a ferocious daughter Clem who works at an artificial flower factory in Clerkenwell. It is Mrs. Peckover who gives the reader another look at the old man introduced on page on:

> Everything about him told of a life spent in mechanical labour. His speech was that of an untaught man, yet differed greatly from the tongue prevailing in Clerkenwell; he was probably not a Londoner by birth, and--a point of more moment--he expressed himself in the tone of one who is habitually thoughtful, who, if the aid of books has been denied to him, still has won from life the kind of knowledge which develops character.[32]

This indication of thoughtfulness and character apparently belies Gissing's association of intelligence with deviance in the workingman which may lead to crime as with Bob Hewitt.

Mrs. Peckover keeps a young girl, Jane Snowden, in her house as a servant. Jane's mother is dead and her father, who was an electroplater when last seen, has absented himself for six years. It turns out that the old man is Jane's grandfather. He rescues her from exploitation by the Peckovers and begins to train her for a life of sacrifice to the poor and needy. He is well-off, although he does not show it, from the estate of a son who did well in Australia.

Jane's grandfather, Michael Snowden, and Sidney Kirkwood become

friends. Clara Hewitt disappears to make her fortunes as an actress and Sidney and Jane become closer and marriage appears imminent. However Clara, her face destroyed by acid thrown by a jealous colleague, returns and claims Sidney.

This leaves Jane free to spend all her energy on missionary work in the slums, but in a moment of panic she cries to her grandfather that she cannot undertake such a life. He destroys his will and dies before he is able to write a new one in her favor. This leaves the wealth to the father of Jane, who has returned to the scene and married Clem Peckover. Jane's father again leaves the scene with the money, but without Clem or Jane, only to die abroad after wasting the wealth.

Birth into this slum is seen as condemning one to the mercy of landlords and the like:

> How foolish . . . not to be born of the class of landlords! The inconvenience of having no foothold on the earth's surface is so manifest.[33]

Sidney sees Clara's waywardness as a chance of birth:

> "Suppose she'd been the daughter of a rich man; then everything we call a fault in her would either have been of no account or actually a virtue."[34]

The author views Clara's attempts to attain status in life as at war with fate which "flings her to the ground pitilessly and bade her live out the rest of her time in wretchedness."[35] Thus it is not the genetic strain that necessarily condemns one to a life of misery in the slums, but the place and the social conditions of one's birth.

Births are not joyous advents in the slums and babies have a short life expectancy. Pennyloaf Candy shows indifference on the death of her baby. Other nameless babies sicken and die in the story. Birth is not a heralded event.

Death, however, is another matter. Funerals denote the status of the person and his family. The mother-in-law of Mrs. Peckover is given a most respectable funeral, according to the guests.[36] There were proper refreshments at the laying-out, a proper display of mourners in the funeral procession through the streets, followed by a proper post-burial dinner for close friends and relatives.[37] The money for the funeral had come from the deceased's membership in a burial club.[38] John Hewitt had burial insurance for his family through a workingman's benefit club, but just before his wife dies one of the members made off with the funds. John is embittered to think that the workingman could not even trust his own kind.[39] Burial clubs were noted in earlier novels in the sample, for example those of Disraeli and Gaskell.

Education is related to status. The Hewitts pay to have Clara sent to a church school instead of the free Board schools of which Clara was disdainful.[40] The rogue Scawthorne loses his moral virtue from too much book learning coupled with social striving.[41] Jane Snowden is kept from an education as befits one of wealth because her grandfather does not want her to forget the misery of those about her and undertakes her Christian education himself.[42] This education is not one of religion, but of learning moral virtues from the bible stories.[43]

Politically, John Hewitt is a Radical who speaks out against rent[44] and suggests universal suffrage as a panacea for the workingman's troubles.[45] This suggestion "half-astonished and half-amused" Sidney, who begins as a juvenile Radical but for whom common sense ultimately prevails.[46] Sidney's early Radicalism flowered in a belief in the perfectability of man, which Gissing indicates is an outcome of a noble heart sheltered by ignorance.[47] Sidney has become a practical man and

takes life as he finds it:

> "We are the lower orders; we are the working classes," he said bitterly to his friends, and that seemed the final answer to all his aspirations.[48]

Gissing shows Bob Hewitt and Mr. Scawthorne using dubious means to rise socially. He warns those like Clara, who seek their nirvana in material social betterment:

> Never yet did true rebel, who has burst the barrier of social limitation, find aught but ennui in the trim gardens beyond.[49]

He shows Mr. Scawthorne, in spite of his material and intellectual successes, as not accepted in any refined home in London; there was "not one domestic circle of educated people could he approach and find a welcome."[50] Thus Gissing does not appear to encourage or approve social mobility on the part of the workingman.

Gissing has the madman in the story give the pronouncement that the people of the nether world are all passing through a state of punishment for their sins and the end is Hell and total abandonment.[51]

New Grub Street (1891)

New Grub Street focuses on poverty-striken writers living in the slums, who, although they are cultivated and literate, have not escaped the reach of the slums. Yet they do have some attributes which make their lives different from the ordinary working-class man or woman. They have ambition and skill, education and manners, and work on developing social contacts as well as competent work skills to remove themselves from the grip of the nether world. Their success to a great extent depends on the size of the audience that will be interested in buying and reading their works.

Their progress to success is delayed by the heavy yoke of having

to write the standard three volume novel that was prescribed and supported by the circulating libraries that charge subscribers on a per volume basis. Their progress is also delayed by the level of education of their audiences. Gissing's character Whelpdale complains of the quarter education characteristic of most of the audience to whom the writer must communicate:

> " . . . that is to say the great new generation that is being turned out by the Board schools, the young men and women who can just read, but are incapable of sustained attention. People of this kind want something to occupy them in trains, and on 'buses and trams.' As a rule they care for no newspapers except the Sunday ones; what they want is the lightest and frothiest of chit-chatty information--bits of stories, bits of descriptions, bits of scandal, bits of jokes, bits of statistics, bits of foolery."[52]

Because of their sojourns in the nether world, the young writers often marry girls of the working or trades classes. This precipitous marrying of the authors with working class girls led, according to Gissing, to the failure of the writer to ever attain a hold on the middle-class life and social intercourse, and thus to misery.

On the other side of the picture, Edwin Reardon, the hero marries a girl of higher social standing and finds her unable to endure the harshness of life in the nether world while he is writing his novels. Reardon comments on the life of a young writer in London:

> "It's a huge misfortune, this will-o'-the-wisp attraction exercised by London on young men of brains. They come here to be degraded, or to perish, when their true sphere is a life of peaceful remoteness. The type of man capable of success in London is more or less callous and cynical. If I had the training of boys, I would teach them to think of London as the last place where life can be lived worthily."[53]

The circulating library, the new literary agents, and syndicating system are all seen as aiding the circulation of the new writer's works,[54]

but the poorly educated and the romantic-minded working class audience will not read stories of real life[55] so that the author must turn to hack writing to gain an audience.

Edwin Reardon dies of lung congestion on the eve of being reunited with his wife after the death of their son from diphtheria. Another dedicated writer commits suicide. The successful literary man is one who supports himself by commercial writing and literary criticism and who marries a woman with money and social grace.

Gissing comments on the working-class wife of a successful literary man: "The London work-girl is rarely capable of raising herself, or being raised, to a place in life above that to which she was born, she cannot learn how to stand and sit and move like a woman bred to refinement, any more than she can fashion her tongue to graceful speech."[56] This woman's realtives live in Holloway and their lives are characterized by drinking and quarreling and her niece is "about the streets at all hours."[57]

Summary

Social Worlds of the Novels

The qualities favored by Gissing are aesthetic and intellectual. Unfortunately, they do not bring financial and social satisfaction to their possessors. The urban slum world, through its economic pressures and privations manages to destroy most of Gissing's characters. His missionaries to the slums from the more cultivated upper-middle class, whether voluntary like Helen Norman (Workers in the Dawn) or involuntary like Edwin Reardon (New Grub Street), are doomed to failure.

His self-motivated workingmen, like Richard Mutimer (Demos) and Sidney Kirkwood (Nether World) or even Luke Ackroyd (Thryza), do well

to survive at all; their successes are temporary, and finally it is only in personal contentment that any modicum of success is reached. Mutimer and Ackroyd are unable to bridge the social gap because of their lack of aesthetic and humanistic qualities, while Kirkwood is simply too ineffectual and self-effacing to propel himself out of the nether world.

Gissing begins with a faith those individuals might be able to influence other individuals and to bring about improvement in the lives of the working class in the slums (Workers in the Dawn). In Thryza he acknowledges the worth of some charitable institutions, unpleasant benefactors, and even self-interested politicians in bettering the living conditions of the slum dwellers. In Demos the protagonist, Richard Mutimer, is a mechanical engineer who is going to improve the lot of the workingman, but Gissing becomes disillusioned with his spoiling of the countryside and his attempt at impressing vaporous ideals rather than trying to build on already known truth and beauty. The irony is that Mutimer rose in life by inheritance and not by his own productivity. In Demos the decaying aristocrat and his mother are restored in the public mind by Mutimer's ineffectiveness and in legitimacy by the finding of another will that puts the Valley back in the hands of the young aristocrat. The latter quickly begins the rural restoration of the valley. For Gissing, one's own efforts do not lead to triumph. Furthermore Adela, Mutimer's socially acceptable wife, recognizes that like Kingsley's Tom (Water Babies), the workingman needs more than one generation of evolution to become socially acceptable.

The Nether World depicts only the slum world and its residents, but the economic success of one of its ex-residents introduces the

missionary spirit as Michael Snowden returns to train his granddaughter for a life of sacrifice for the uplifting of the world. His granddaughter Jane comes to realize that her grandfather's dream will deny her human happiness. But the forces of avarice and opportunism again help only the self-interested, and Jane's father makes off with the inheritance. Again, lineage and inheritance have played a part in the novel.

In New Grub Street, the intellectual and aesthetic "missionaries" or writers live in the slums in order to survive economically until they are financially successful. They are no better at resisting the destructiveness of poverty than are any of the others. Death at the brink of fulfillment after an unhappy marriage overtakes the striving Edwin Reardon. Suicide is the fate of the writer who tried to achieve success according to his own literary standards. The writer who places social and financial canons over intellectual and artistic ones weathers the economic and social storms and marries the socially acceptable and financially able young widow.

Gissing wants people to be heroic, but in his ruthless observation and experience he finds that those who dare are impotent against social life, no matter what their struggles, their intentions, or their cultivation. He also notes that good may issue unintentionally from the activities of the devious. He would like a world where the well-intentioned, cultivated persons are individually able to slay the social dragons; while Besant makes this happen in his books, Gissing's experience with slum life will not permit him to do likewise.

Gissing's social world is created in the slums with missionaries from outside entering to improve it (Workers in the Dawn and Thryza),

from inside to displace it (Demos), with outside resources (money) and inside agents to change it (The Nether World), and with outside persons moving in and falling victim to the slums (New Grub Street). In the latter he makes the statement that poverty is the cause of the problems of the wealthy as well as with the problems of the slum dwellers, and he sees the urban slum as a product of social dynamics that strangles the efforts of individuals.

Demographic Factors

Births are not so welcome and infant deaths are high as noted in The Nether World, while death like that of Mrs. Peckover is a ritual status affair. Death is much more a part of Gissing's novels than birth. There are suicides, deaths from lung congestion, and from diptheria as well as from old age.

Migrations into the slums are made by upper-middle-class missionaries and by intellectuals forced by economic pressures into the slums. Gissing, like Besant, gives remarkable accurate descriptions of Hoxton, Lambeth, Clerkenwell, and other settlements of the working class in London that agree with Charles Booth's careful observations. Like Besant, Gissing mentions the respectable white blinds, the bland conformity of the housing of the upper levels of the working class, the density of population, the lodgings, and even the rents.

A reverse migration, out of the slums, results when Richard Mutimer (Demos) tries to build his socialist utopia in New Wanley Valley, but instead creates an industrial slum in the pretty countryside. Like Dickens a city man, Gissing knew little of the countryside but he idealizes it in his novels against the harsh backdrop of urban-industrial life.

Industrialism

Industrialism and the factory are not favored by Gissing. His two descriptions of factory let-out times (Workers in the Dawn, The Nether World) are harsh and violent, the air rings with curses, and the public-houses light up. He sees the industrial worker as coarse, with a tendancy to drunkenness and without the ability to save his money or manage his business affairs. Finally in Demos, industry pollutes the fair countryside.

The artisan-mechanic is the focus for most of Gissing's personal characterizations of workers. Below this level he sees workers as unteachable. Whatever success his "missionaries" have in the slums is with this level of worker. Even at this level, Gissing has Adela (Demos) realize that it will take generations before men like her husband can develop into socially acceptable human beings. Some of these craftsmen and skilled workers share the middle-class work ethic of Gissing's middle-class characters. Others like Bob Hewitt (The Nether World), a diesinker, and Joan Snowden's father (The Nether World), an electroplater, are simply opportunistic. Besant finds this level of workers lacking humor; Gissing observes that they lack the wit for irony.

Politically, the position of Gissing's workers varies from the utopian socialism of Richard Mutimer (Demos), the outgrown juvenile Radicalism of Sidney Kirkwood (The Nether World), to the naive socialism of John Hewitt (The Nether World). Workers do, however, assist each other in their burial clubs, but as seen in John Hewitt's case these institutions do not always function properly.

Richard Mutimer can be added to the list of mechanical persons, but he is different in that Gissing describes him as a full, rounded

person. He is not the happy worker of Egan's, nor so honest, but he is a hard and earnest worker. Luke Ackroyd (Thryza), another mechanically oriented person, shares with Mutimer the definiency of lacking a classical education. Artisans and mechanics, unlike the upstart weavers of Galt's Andrew Wylie, are not seen as moving up socially and economically in life. Workers with inherited money are able to move up in status for a short while, but like John Hewitt (The Nether World) and Richard Mutimer (Demos), come crashing down.

Although Gissing gives personal portraits of his artisans like Richard Mutimer, he continues to lump workers together in seeing them all at an earlier stage of human social evolution just as Kingsley and Eliot did. Like Gaskell, he portrays a range of workers with different qualities, statuses, and aspirations, but he does not portray them with sentiment as she does. The reader does not feel affection for his workers, but only abhorrence and horror at the harshness of their lives and their frailty.

There are no successful marriages across class lines in Gissing's novels, and even that of Edwin Reardon, a middle-class intellectual, and his wife, who is socially acceptable upper-middle class, cannot survive slum life.

The occupation of milliner for young girls, which was sought out by Burney's lady (The Wanderer) and by John Barton for his daughter Mary Mary Barton), is no longer seen as desirable. It is exploited under a domestic system of work where the young girl as shown in Besant's Children of Gibeon goes to the shop to pick up articles to finish for insufficient wages. When she returns after almost constant labor, she may be "drilled" for her efforts. John Hewitt (The Nether World) prefers

that his daughter be trained at a factory skill.

Individuals from different parts of society work to better slum life. Gissing shows single workmen, artisans, upper-middle-class youth, and religious representatives all trying to better the conditions of slum life to no avail. Ultimately, it is not just the unteachability of the worker that perpetuates the destructive forces of slum life. The failures of the writers in New Grub Street show conditions such that even with the intellectual and aesthetic sensibilities which Gissing values, the individual cannot overcome these forces.

Gissing tells the reader of changes in the literary world that are helping the diffusion of books throughout the public. Libraries are present and sought out by Gissing characters for self-improvement and employment. Although the three volume novel is still a burden to the writer, it is an asset to library circulation.

There are no answers for the dilemma of poverty and slum life in The Nether World or New Grub Street. Some individuals find at least a peace with their existence, but the social problems are not resolved. Similar portrayals of slum life appear in the stories of Morrison and Kipling.

Notes to Chapter XIII

[1]Jacob Korg, George Gissing: A Critical Biography (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963), p. 200.

[2]George Gissing, The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft, orig. pub. 1903 (London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1914), p. 47.

[3]George Gissing, Workers in the Dawn, 2 vols., orig. pub. 1880, ed. Robert Shafer (New York: Doubleday Doran & Co., Inc., 1935), 1:7-8.

[4]George Gissing, Thryza, 3 vols. (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1887), 1:24.

[5]Ibid., p. 156.

[6]Ibid., p. 158.

[7]Ibid., p. 43.

[8]Ibid., pp. 190-1.

[9]Ibid., p. 191.

[10]Ibid., pp. 63-64.

[11]Ibid., p. 70.

[12]Ibid., 2:269-70.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid., 3:283-4.

[15]George Gissing, Demos: A Story of English Socialism, orig. pub. 1886, ed. Pierre Coustillas (England: Harvester Press, 1972), p. 96.

[16]Ibid., p. 282.

[17]Ibid., p. 61.

[18]Ibid., p. 25.

[19]Ibid.

[20]George Gissing, The Nether World, orig. pub. 1889, ed. John Goode (Rutherford, New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickenson University Press, 1974), p. 252.

[21]Ibid., p. 10.

[22]Ibid., p. 164.

[23]Ibid., p. 20.

[24]Ibid., p. 5.

[25]Ibid., p. 105.

[26]Ibid., p. 32.

[27]Ibid., p. 24.

[28]Ibid., p. 56.

[29]Ibid., p. 34.

[30]Ibid., p. 50.

[31]Ibid., p. 74.

[32]Ibid., p. 45.

[33]Ibid., p. 341.

[34]Ibid., p. 102.

[35]Ibid., p. 281.

[36]Ibid., p. 41.

[37]Ibid., pp. 40-43.

[38]Ibid., p. 5.

[39]Ibid., p. 290.

[40]Ibid., p. 80.

[41]Ibid., p. 194.

[42]Ibid., p. 233.

[43]Ibid., p. 151.

[44]Ibid., p. 182.

[45]Ibid., p. 53.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Ibid., p. 57.

[48]Ibid., p. 58.

[49]Ibid., p. 277.

[50]Ibid., p. 269.

[51]Ibid., p. 345.

[52]George Gissing, New Grub Street, orig. pub. 1891, ed. Bernard Bergonzi (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Penguin English Library, 1968) p. 496.

[53]Ibid., p. 474.

[54]Ibid., pp. 493-4.

[55]Ibid., p. 416.

[56]Ibid., p. 116.

[57]Ibid., p. 117.

Chapter XIV

Novels of Trollope, Meredith, Barrie, Morrison, and Kipling

Anthony Trollope and George Meredith, two of the novelists whose works are discussed in this chapter, valued their gentleman's life highly. Trollope, the neglected youngest son of Fannie Trollope, struggled to obtain and maintain the life of a fox-hunting country gentleman. His novels reflect the gossip-controlled lives of the aristocrats and the upper middle class. The Eustace Diamonds, though not about the working class, indicates the weakening of the traditional aristocracy and the rising importance of achievement criteria such as wealth and occupation as a basis for social status. Meredith, whose father lost the family nestegg built by a tailor grandfather, strove to overcome any taint of trade or craft in his efforts to appear and act the life of a gentleman. His novels, Diana of the Crossways and The Tragic Comedians, indicate that the political concerns of the working class were being discussed in the drawing rooms of England and that representatives of working-class interests were entering the social circles of the elite.

J. M. Barrie, the son of a Scottish weaver, writes in Sentimental Tommy of how magical the life of the Scottish village appears to a young Scottish boy growing up in the London slums until his experience in the village disillusions him. Arthur Morrison's two books, Tales of Mean Streets and Child of Jago, reflect the stark reality of London slum life, its size, its density, its violence, its poverty, its impact,

its degradation, and the futile efforts of the well-meaning to improve it.

Some stories of Rudyard Kipling complete the sample. In one of them, set in India, the mechanical gods of the Western world overcome those of Indian myth and religion. In another, the character of a London slum woman is illustrated and also the in-group loyalty of slum dwellers. Kipling brings the working-class soldier, "Tommy Atkins," to fictional life.

The Authors

Anthony Trollope

Anthony Trollope lacked self-confidence. Left behind when his family went abroad, unhappy at school, he yearned to become a member of the aristocracy yet, he spent most of his life as a postal clerk earning extra funds writing successful novels to support his large household and his fox-hunting. He wrote systematically, rising early each morning to get the writing done before the social life of the day began. Like his mother Fannie, he lived to support a prestigeful social life and frankly confessed that he wrote for money.

When his Irish novels did not prove successful in England Anthony realized that people like to read about themselves and set to writing about English characters.[1] He preferred to write about what he discovered about human nature, but recognized that too much of this type of realism would keep him from success as an author.[2]

Trollope was concerned over the conditions of life and work of the workingman, as shown by his investigations of gold mines in Australia, the Negro workers in the West Indies, and the workers in the factories of Lowell, Massachusetts.[3] Yet the factory life in industrial Britain was not a subject that Trollope felt would endear him to his readers,

"the genteel public." Hennessy writes:

> His only references to the industrial scene in Britain were to use these as explaining why some of his characters were so enviably rich.[4]

Trollope was a hard worker and he expected others to work just as energetically and conscientiously. He attacked laxness in work, whether found in the aristocrat or in one further down the social ladder. Unlike Diana of Meredith's Diana of the Crossways, Trollope was not unhappy with the gentleman's life and did not seek to reform society. Yet the Stebbins's comment on the conflict in Anthony between his attachment to the past and his common-sense conviction of the need for reform.[5] Although he was against slavery, he was not for abolition.

His friends included the artist Millais and G. H. Lewes and George Eliot. Trollope did not get along with Thackery at first but later became his friend. He was a member of both the Atheneum and the Garrick Clubs. Interested in journalism and earning more money, Trollope developed a new genre of periodical, the Pall Mall Gazette, and he later founded the Fortnightly Review (1865). His popularity as a novelist waned after 1875.[6]

The Eustace Diamonds (1873) contributes a view of the social life of aristocratic society centering in London to the picture we are developing of the late nineteenth century. The view is one of duplicity, moral laxness, and hedonism on the part of the participants. These aristocrats are not the leaders of the revolution, or those who take the populace through the wilderness. They appear directionless, and we are given no instance of their assuming social responsibilities wider than themselves. In Parliament, Trollope's aristocrats show concern over the rights of an Indian prince as a front for party and

self-aggrandizement and ignore urban issues of the day. The ideology that Trollope presents is that of traditional conservatism and it is presented favorably when Trollope is describing the Dean of Bobsborough as a "fine old Tory of the ancient school, who thought that things were going from bad to worse, but was able to live happily in spite of his anticipations." Meredith's Lord Dunstane in Diana of the Crossways shares the Dean's views. The Dean's politics are old-world in that he accepts the politics of his party "without any special belief in them." These old world politicians are against any change, whether reform, repeal, or emancipation, according to Trollope. Yet changes do occur and England, to them, remains the best of all possible worlds to live in. They are aware of their status and their rights, which prevail even when their party loses, and they are not upset by increasing harmless grievances because they enjoy a very fine standard of living. Trollope sees these men as the "very salt of the nation" and writes:

> The well educated, widely read Conservative, who is well assured that all good things are gradually being brought to an end by the voice of the people, is generally the pleasantest man to be met.[7]

The Dean is socially acceptable, with £ 1500 a year and an uncomfortable but picturesque house to live in. Although not well off, he manages to pay his just bills. He and his wife have three daughters and a son, Frank Greystone, who figures prominently in the story. The Dean's brother, the Admiral, has lived far beyond his means and left an orphaned daughter, Lizzie, to make her way in the world.

Both Frank and Lizzie are calculating and aim to get ahead in life. Frank is a bit more appealing as he does exhibit some human tenderness toward the poor but lovable Lucy Morris. Lizzie must be admired for her outrageous self-centered behavior that is carried on in such a

grand style in her retaining a £ 10,000 diamond necklace, a family heirloom of her first husband which under English custom belongs with the blood line. Lizzie's lies to retain the necklace cause great entanglements.

Two robbery attempts are made to secure the jewels, with the second being successful. Lizzie is threatened with a trial for perjury. However she goes off to her late husband's castle in Scotland and refuses with the aid of a medical certificate to return to London even to attend the trial of the successful robbers. One of the lords comments on Lizzie's avoiding arrest:

> "If you were nobody, you would, of course, be indicted for perjury, and would go to prison. As it is, if you will tell all your story to one of your swell friends, I think it very likely that you may be pulled through."[8]

Other aristocrats in Lizzie's acquaintance are painted as less than attractive. Sir Florian, Lizzie's husband, was "vicious" but not in the common sense of the word. "He was one who denied himself no pleasures, let the cost be what it might in health, pocket, or morals." Lady Linlithgow, Lizzie's aunt, "was a very powerful human being. She knew nothing of fear, nothing of charity, nothing of mercy, and nothing of the softness of love. She had no imagination. She was worldly, covetous, and not infrequently cruel."[9] The Fawns were poor rich people because the title their family held necessitated expenditures over income. Young Lord Fawn hopes to marry Lizzie at one point in the story for her money, but when he finds she won't return the necklace, and his lawyer says she should, he breaks off their relationship.

Trollope comments on the trust the aristocrat places in the family lawyer:

> There is no form of belief stronger than that which the ordinary English gentleman has in the discretion and honesty of his own family lawyer.[10]

Frank Greystock faces the fact that if he marries Lucy, who is poor, his ambitions will not be realized; he will have to retire into "dim domestic security and the neighborhood of Regent's Park."[11] Frank's sentiment finally wins over his calculation and he does keep his engagement to Lucy.

The Duke of Omnium is described as "a worn out old debauchee, with one foot in the grave, who was looked after by two or three women who were only anxious that he should not disgrace himself by some absurdity before he died."[12] The social world is completed with social hangers on like Mrs. Carbuncle, who looks to make a good match for her niece, and Mr. Carruthers, who at forty-five hunts and plays with men of means, but does not fraternize with them.

The theft is finally found to have been engineered by a pawnbroker who had hired two thieves for the job. Lizzie's adventures are of interest to society so she is not banned. The details of her tale are spread by letters, gossip, and newspapers among the best circles.

Thus Trollope gives a picture of the decay of the established who are being mauled and stripped by rising opportunists who would have the money and prestige of society. Money and prestige are obtained by a good marriage, inheritance, acceptance by society, and to a lesser extent from occupation. For example, Frank Greystone planned to earn money and prestige through his occupation as a barrister, and becoming a member of Parliament enhances his reputation and acceptance.

Trollope addresses his readers at one point and explains why characters in novels are not without blemish. After all, he points out, daily life, the stuff novels are made of, is not peopled by persons of perfection, and readers would not be comfortable if faced with paragons of virtue.[13] Trollope writes that his aim is to indicate some of the imperfections so that all may begin to work, but slowly, toward improving ourselves.

George Meredith

George Meredith was brought up by his aunts as a little gentleman after his bankrupt father ran off with the cook. A German education helped him to "be whatever he liked without falling into the English habit of turning a class worry into a moral worry," and he liked being a gentleman.[14] Although he began his writing career as a journalist he disdained it later, as did Gissing.

The Tragic Comedians (1880) relates the fatal love affair of Frederick La Salle, one of the competitors of Marx and Engels for the political leadership of the workingman. La Salle worked for state socialism and the importance of the state, rather than for the fading away of the state in the classless society. The story contributes to our subject in its depiction of the qualities of character exhibited by the fictional La Salle as a prototype of the idealistic leader of the worker. Meredith conveys the personal impact of the man, his personal charisma and self-confidence. The novel also shows La Salle as a Jewish merchant's son who is able to enter the drawing rooms of Europe. However La Salle is not able to penetrate to the point of receiving parental approval in marriage to the daughter of a baron.

The result is a conflict that ends in a fatal duel, with La Salle being mortally wounded by the approved suitor. The idealism of the young La Salle (and of Meredith) is expressed in the story by comments on writing for money:

> Fiction and verse appeal to a besotted public, that judges of the merit of the word by the standard of its taste: -- avaunt! And, journalism for money is Egyptian bondage. No slavery is comparable to the chains of hired journalism. My pen is my fountain--the key of me: and I give myself, I do not sell. I write when I have matter in me and in the direction it presses for, otherwise not one word![15]

Diana of the Crossways (1885) is the story of an orphaned young Irish beauty, Diana, who is a friend to an aristocratic English couple, Sir Lukin and Lady Emma Dunstane. The times are those of the Corn Laws, and Meredith has different characters illustrate the liberal and radical positions of the proposed repeal. Lukin is an avowed liberal and Tom Redworth, a young man Lukin befriends, is a radical. Diana herself is committed to a society based on heart.

After an unfortunate marriage, separation, and finally the husband's death, Diana shocks London society by running her own household and entertaining journalists and politicians at her dinner table to encourage certain legislative reforms which are supported by such as Sir Percy Dacier, who almost becomes her lover. However Diana is 'saved' from this elopement by the illness of her friend Lady Emma, and ultimately comes to take the loyal and loving Tom Redworth in marriage.

Boredom is shown in the lives of the landed in the persons of Sir Dunstane and Lady Emma. Their lack of purpose in society make them and others like Sir Dacier appear slightly decadent next to the hustling idealism of Tom Redworth. The central focus of their lives is social

and pleasure seeking, not the political and economic focus of Redworth's activities. Redworth is seen as a man of calculation, not of tradition.[16]

Diana's own life bridges aristocratic and professional circles: she has access to the aristocratic circles because of her beauty and wit and her sponsorship by the Dunstanes in English society, and access to the professional circles by her career as a successful novelist on her own in London. Meredith depicts Emma and Diana as reading all sorts of printed matter on a variety of subjects and coming to the conclusion that "logic and the vaunted laws of economy" should be dispensed with and instead of leadership should be vested in a beneficent despot in society. Later, they are not so sure of having a solution. Instead, they are seen as seeking the secret of good governance and trying to reconcile the policies of good government, whatever they are found to be, with the pressing realities of "the poor, the starving, the over-taxed in labour." They reason that the secret of good government that can successfully deal with these problems has not yet been found, and until then the conditions of the poor must be met by individual means.[17]

Diana develops guilt feelings over her enjoyment and acceptance of the pleasure-seeking life. She learns from Mr. Redworth, who is invited to dinner at the Dunstane's, about reform, beginning with the repeal of the Corn Laws "as the simple beginnings of the grants due to the people." She begins a series of dinner parties to bring politicians and journalists together for a strengthening of the cry for reform. Her first parties are aristocratic in makeup. The gentlemen rally to Diana's support. Later, she has dinner parties to persuade middle class persons to her reform principles. Meredith describes the contrasting character of this group:

> The class below it is governed in estimates of character by accepted patterns of conduct; yet where innocence under prosecution is believed to exist, the members animated by that belief can be enthusiastic. Enthusiasm is a heaven-sent steeplechaser, and takes a flying leap of the ordinary barriers; it is more intrusive than chivalry, and has a passion to communicate its ardour.[18]

Redworth is elected a member of Parliament and Diana sees him "striking against unjust laws, which keep the really numerically better-half of the population in a state of slavery." Sir Lukin, a traditional liberal, counsels the radical Redworth not to tear down the country's institutions or he will be sorry when he finds England ruined. Later, Sir Lukin speaks to Sir Dacier about Redworth:

> "What I can't comprehend in Redworth is his Radicalism, and getting richer and richer . . . He'll find they don't coalesce (Radicalism and wealth), or his children will once the masses are uppermost! It's a bad day, Dacier, when we've no more gentlemen in the land."[19]

Diana is impressed with the Radicals and their army of facts, which has brought them increasing numbers of adherents. One of the legislative battles that Redworth wages is against the publicans diluting beer. It is in discussion of this issue that Meredith notes the inconsistencies of political ideologies and actions. Redworth is referred to as holding on to Whiggish Liberalism while "flying various Radical kites" and supports the interference of the State "to stop the poisoning of the poor." Meredith writes:

> Upper classes have never legislated systematically in their interests . . . . The State that makes it a vital principle to concern itself with the helpless poor, meets instead of waiting for Democracy; which is a perilous flood but when it is dammed.[20]

Redworth comments on the new breed of noblemen:

> "He's one of the new set of noblemen who take bribes to serve as baits for transactions in the City. They help to the ruin of their order, or are signs of its decay."[21]

Meredith, in true romantic style, has his unhappy heroine turn to Nature for solace, he paints the flag of London as a bank of smoke, and he has Lady Dunstane complain of the railroads which are disfiguring the English landscape.[22] Neither the sentimental Lady Dunstane or the calculating Tom Redworth see any way that the onrush of the railroads will be abated in English life. Further, Redworth earns his fortune by speculations in railroad stocks.

The lack of sanitary conditions is hinted at by the epidemic of malaria that hits England and attacks our heroine almost fatally.[23] It was seen as arising from groups other than the circles around Sir Dacier and Diana and was hardly spoken of in their circles.

James Barrie

James Barrie's novel, Sentimental Tommy (1896), adds two new pieces to the puzzle that we are completing on the picture of the nineteenth century workingman in English novels of the period. First, the occupational, residential, and cultural segregation of the migrants from the Scottish village of Thrums in the city of London is described. Second, by a reverse migration of the city-bred Tommy to Thrums, the reader sees the village of Thrums and learns how it compares to London in the eyes of the boy.

There are no lords and ladies, no great merchants or manufacturers, gracing the pages of Sentimental Tommy. Instead, we see the residential area of clerks, masons, bakers, waiters, and postmen in London. They live in tenements or lodging houses as families, singles, lodgers, and widows with children. In Thrums, we see the independent craftsman such as the weaver Aaron Latta. A doctor, who plays a small role in the story, is the doctor of Thrums much as the minister of the Auld Lichts

Church is the minister of the place.

The weaving village and its people were known to Barrie, since he was born and raised as the son of a weaver in just such a place. His father became a clerk in the factory when it moved into the village because women were hired to run the machines. In this village, like other sons of thrifty craftsmen Barrie and his older brother went to universities. But, Barrie refused to pursue the ministry and began to write a column for a newspaper. Finally, he moved to London to write for a London paper. In London he began to write and publish plays and novels and prospered from his writings. By the time that Sentimental Tommy was published in 1896, he was an economically successful writer.

In the novel, the life of the boy Tommy Sandys is lonely. His mother is a widow; she and Tommy and his baby sister Elspeth live in a London tenement. Mrs. Sandys goes out each day to work, taking her baby and Tommy with her to the dancing school where she is employed as a woman of all work, cleaning, mending costumes, etc. Their lodgings are kept fairly clean and on the mantelpiece stands a clock with a Bible from Thrums on top of it.

Tommy's mother keeps alive the sentimental myth of Thrums and its life for the boy. So when he wanders into the street where migrants from Thrums settle, it is like an entry into an enchanted land for Tommy even though the street is as shabby as that on which Tommy and his mother live:

> The magic began at once. "Dagont, you sacket!" cried some wizard . . . . It was the Thrums tongue, and this is the first he heard it except from his mother . . . .[24]

The games the boys play on the street are like the ones played at Thrums, as his mother had taught him. Tommy shouts at the boys that he

is one of them. He startles them so that they run off. When he relates his adventures to his mother, she does not encourage his return to the world of the streets. However Tommy continues to visit and becomes friendly with the little community, keeping secret his identity, i.e., his last name. His mother enjoys the news of Thrums he brings home just as she had enjoyed secret visits as a stranger to the street when she had first arrived in London to hear "a few words in the old tongue . . . so sweet to her."[25]

There is a community atmosphere on the street where Thrums people help each other and where home town gossip and manners flourish. Reared as weavers, many still carry themselves as if there are webs (looms) on their backs, their very walk, was well as their accent, distinguishing them from other London residents. Many of the migrants work as bakers and Tommy finds their sleeping by day strange, and at first, thinks them lazy. The Thrums migrants are described as receiving good wages to support themselves, but they tend to die at an early age, around thirty-eight. Other Thrums migrants work as masons and a few drifted into trades. As each Thrums migrant arrives, the others find him work. One old man continues to knit stockings in the old way, in competition with the factory. After work the people shed their London ways and live their lives as much like they had in Thrums as possible. They marry within the community.

After their mother's death, Tommy and his sister are taken to live in Thrums with a weaver who was formerly a mason. Barrie writes of the children's residence in Thrums as a child's tragedy since it in no way lives up to the expectations derived from their mother's tales. Everything is smaller and uglier. The Auld Licht church that Tommy expected

to surpass St. Paul's is tiny and uninspiring to the London children's eyes. The Cuttle Well in the Den is nothing more than a mud hole to the children. Even the people do not seem as attractive or interesting as what they have been used to in London. The final blow comes when the children are attached by a group of boys who accuse Tommy of being English.

Elspeth and Tommy make friends with another outcast, the English daughter of a woman of ill repute in Thrums. She worries whether or not her mother's bad blood will make her err in the same way, but is reassured by the local doctor, who insists that behavior is not inherited.

Thus Barrie, in this portrayal of reverse migration, indicates that the rural scene is not as romantic as painted by some and that migrants to the city tend to live in communities segregated by occupation, housing, and culture. Tommy's disillusionment with this traditional provincial community, and the doctor's statement that behavior is not inherited, indicates Barrie's belief in individual learning and action. He himself had made the passage from rural village to an independently successful life in London. Education is the ladder for this move; Tommy is successful in school and promises to write his way up the ladder. Barrie's view of Tommy's slum childhood and the fantasy about the village of Thrums which consoled both Tommy and Elspeth shows Barrie's faith in imagination as an escape from conditions of poverty. It is also seen as a basis for the writing which will ultimately allow him to escape from these poor conditions as they allowed Barrie to escape.

Arthur Morrison

Arthur Morrison was one of the publisher William E. Henley's young men along with Besant, Kipling, Barrie, R. L. Stevenson, Hardy, and

others on the staff of the National Observer. Kipling, Keating reports, remained a life long friend of Morrison. Their prose has a similar journalistic punch, whereas Besant's tends to be academic and Barrie's dramatic.

Morrison's father was an engine-fitter and Arthur probably lived some of his life in the East End of which he writes so movingly.[26] It is interesting that Morrison worked as a clerk in the People's Palace that Besant helped to found that was intended to bring culture to the working class in the East End. Thus he was immersed in the slums as a participant more than any of the other authors of the sample.

His stories are harsh and do not offer hope of solutions. They relate the development of human beings in the slum, their gathering together in some sort of solidarity (there were rival street gangs), their common characteristics of opportunism, violence, drunkenness, their dress and speech, their visions (aims), and their inability to handle financial and trade affairs effectively.

In "Lizerunt," one of the better known of his Tales of Mean Streets (1894), the heroine is a workgirl who wears "an elaborate and shabby costume, usually supplemented by a white apron." She works at a pickle factory and earns 10s a week. Her "bloke" twists her arm and bumps her against the wall to ask her for a date. He wears a "bobtail coat with the collar turned up at one side and down at the other." The gift that clinches the relationship is a hat of the "reddest of all plushes and the bluest of all feathers."[27]

But the relationship does not go smoothly. First, Lizerunt has two "blokes" fighting for her favor and the animosity lasts beyond the marriage day. Second, her new husband depends on his mother, who mangles,

and Lizerunt, who continues to work, to support him. Third, the "bloke" fathers a child a year, diminishing Lizerunt's earning powers. Fourth, he drinks and beats his wife. Fifth, he attends labor rallies for the unemployed because he enjoys the drinking and agitating. Ultimately, he sends his wife charring to support him and finally locks her out, forcing her to earn money as a prostitute. He has already taken his mother's precious burial money before she died.

The pregnancies of his wife, the arrival of babies and his overworked mother, do not affect the "bloke." Even so, Lizerunt defends him from the doctor's dispenser, who attends her latest premature delivery, and finds the "bloke" beating her, and throws him out of the room.

Several of the stories deal with the problems of a proper funeral. There is the chicanery of an old wife who wants a good funeral for her dying husband and, rather than buying food for the dying man, saves the money to pay for a funeral with mutes, who must be provided with liquor, and plumes for the horses drawing the hearse. In All That Messuage, the concern of the principals is to be buried in a proper oak coffin and not the pine box of the poor, which shows the bulge of the body in the bottom.[28]

The radical in the "Red Cow Group" sits at the bar all day and exhorts the other workingmen as they come in to join a revolutionary group. He finally organizes a group and suggests that they bomb something to show they are in earnest. The hardworking workers teach the radical organizer a lesson by voting him to plant the bomb. The radical is so frightened that they need to ply him with liquor first and they tie him up to where the bomb is planted. The bomb turns out to be a

firecracker. When the police find him reeking of gin and incoherent at the scene, they jail him as drunk and incapable. So ends the revolutionary cell.[29]

Shopkeeping and landlordism are seen as steps up the social ladder by the East End dwellers. When a small inheritance or other means of attaining such occupations present themselves, the East Enders unhesitantly take on these new roles and invariably there is a quick slide back to their previous states. This lact of competence in trade and realty affairs is illustrated in "In Business," "Squire Napper," and in "All That Messuage."[30]

Morrison does not overlook the place of the religious missionaries in the East End. In "Conversion," a long-time thief attends a prayer meeting and is rewarded by an easy snatch of the contents of the till.[31]

A Child of Jago (1896) is the least sanguine novel of the entire sample and offers no solution for the deplorable problems of slum life that it presents. The story centers on Dicky Perrot, who is raised on Jago Street in the Shoreditch area of East London. His father was a plasterer and has turned thief by the time the story opens. His mother, as the daughter of a boilermaker, is of more respectable status than most housewives in the area. Dicky is a bright little boy of eight when the story opens and a street-wise young man of seventeen when he dies of wounds in a street gang battle at the end of the story. His father has just been hanged for murder.

Thievery is part of the nature of the Jago the author tells us. The neighborhood, however, is not without some social cohesion. On the street two factions, the Ranns and the Learys, fight it out regularly.

When the Dove Laners attack, the Ranns and the Learys join forces against them. There is a sacred rule among the Jago that they shall never nark (squeal) to the police. Drinking and brawling are the accepted social behaviors of the street.

The aim of a rising young man in the Jago is to become a High Mobsman, an important role within organized crime circles in the city London. Dicky Perrot shares this aim and works hard at the profession of stealing, which he learns and practices because he and his family need the money to live. The Jago provides fences disguised as shopkeepers who know how to encourage a young man to "work" for them. These pressures socialize the young men to crime.

The plight of the women in the Jago is grim. When they are widowed or their husbands are away in jail for long periods, they try to support their families. They seek work to do at home such as making sacks, rush bags, matchboxes, shirts, or they go out charring. Sack-making brought sevenpence a hundred, and with speed a woman could finish a hundred in four days. Rent was three and sixpence a week for the Perrot family so that sevenpence would not suffice. The pawnshop was usually the place where the difference was made up. The kindliest and most sensible of women in this story is Pigeony Poll, a prostitute.

The one person who is waging a war against immorality of all kinds in the Jago is Father Sturt, but he realizes the enormity of his undertaking and not sanguine about the results. Father Sturt is a realist, and is thus more successful than some in the slums.

A self-betterment society exists in the Jago, but it is patronized by tradesmen's sons and not the lower classes. This society is run by more fortunate young men from other parts of London who stay a short

time and are endured by the local populace. The version of the East End that they take away with them differs from the version they had when they arrived in the East End:

> The people were quite a decent sort, in their way: shocking Bounders, of course, but quite clean and quiet, and very comfortably dressed, with ties and collars and watches.[32]

They have, of course, only met up with the tradesmen's sons.

The police blotters tell a different story of the East End:

> . . . wilderness of slums; slums packed with starving human organisms, without minds and without morals, preying on each other alive.[33]

Morrison's stories have working class people or below as the central characters; in fact, there are no middle class characters to speak of to contrast with the slum dwellers. Following Mayhew's scheme of the nineteenth century working class, Morrison's thieves are simply the bottom rung of the working class. His view of the working class in the slums is harsher and less optimistic than that of either Besant or Gissing.

Rudyard Kipling

Some of the short stories of Rudyard Kipling are included in this sample for their contribution to our knowledge of the individual, group, and collective thought and action of the workingman. We learn of the workingman's knowledge and acceptance of those higher on the social scale. We learn of one of the mightiest migrations of Englishmen that occurred at the peak of the British Empire and of its effect on the workingman. We learn of the workingman's relationship with the institution of the army and some of his feelings of obligation and identification with the nation. In one story, the focus is on the wife of a workingman who lives in the London slums and on her relationship with

the various religious missionaries intent on inproving slum life. A final selection tells of the battle that rages between the Indian pantheon of gods and those of English mechanical technology, with success finally going to the latter.

Kipling came to write fiction by way of journalism. His father was the son of a Methodist minister and the Kipling forbears had resided in Yorkshire for generations at such occupations as clockmaker, small farmer, and bell-founder. Kipling's father made his way at a higher level of social life as a museum curator and professor in an Indian college. Born in Bombay, Kipling spent his preschool years in India and returned at seventeen for seven years as a newspaper journalist. Later, he lived in a downtrodden area of London where he saw urban life in the making. Although he might know of the places he wrote about first-hand, he often knew of the events he wrote about from newspaper reports of earlier times.[34] It is in the relationship between personality and place, and the resultant personal or social action rather than historical events, that Kipling develops his greatest insights into the English workingman in the last decades of the nineteenth century. In the stories of Mulvaney, Ortheris, and Learoyd, he shows an Irishman, a Cockney, and a Yorkshireman and their lives together as "Tommy Atkinses" in India.

Kipling's literary success began with his return to England in 1889. His first year back was difficult financially, but his stories were soon selling well. He was one of the earliest writers to employ a literary agent. His biographer, J. I. M. Stewart, calls 1890 Kipling's year in the literary world of nineteenth century England.[35]

Kipling, on his return to England, fell in love with the sister of

an American literary agent and married her. Henry James gave the bride away. The couple lived in Vermont, where Kipling noted that building and working together held American society together more than common social conditions.[36] In-law problems drove them back to England in 1896.

Kipling's social connections included membership in the Atheneum Club, which had been founded by Sir Walter Scott among others.[37] It was made up of men of academic and intellectual distinction. He was also a member of the Saville Club of writers and critics. However, Kipling's contacts with other writers diminished over the years. He was a pallbearer at the funeral of Thomas Hardy along with Meredith, Henry James, Barrie, Galsworthy, Shaw, Houseman, and Gosse. By the time of his own death in 1936, there was not one writer among his pallbearers, although Rider Haggard and Arthur Morrison were two writers who did remain friends with Kipling in later life. His pallbearers were men of action --generals, admirals, and the like.

Kipling's perspective on life moved from that of the workaday world to one from the top of the social world by the end of the century. He was not a professing Christian and created characters who face life without a visionary perspective. The prejudices bred in his youth persisted through his maturity. He became a member of the Liberty League, which was to fight Bolshevism by propaganda.[38] He was an anti-semite, anti-trade unionist, anti-liberal, and anti-internationalist. He foresaw the menace of Nazi Germany and wrote about it in a poem in 1932 called "The Storm Cone."

Kipling's readership changed over his writing lifetime. As Kipling's work became more mature and skilled, he lost "many of those readers who had enjoyed chiefly the simple, emphatic, and pictorial

side of his writing." Kipling failed to attract either professional critics or the more sophisticated "common readers" in his maturity. Stewart, agreeing with Edmund Wilson's "The Kipling that Nobody Read," indicates the fault may lie in the early dramatic success of Kipling that set the stereotype for his work.[39]

The stories from Soldiers Three (1895) illustrate Tommy Atkins's knowledge of the behavior considered proper to the gentleman and his support of it, his grasp of organizational and collective behavior control, his opportunism and braggadocio, and the conditions of his life in India. Kipling's view of the function of the private in the army in India is often seen as motivated by individual interests, as in the case of Private Slane, but results in the maintenance of the army. This view of social life is similar to that of Adam Smith's invisible hand theory, whereby each follows his own interests and the "invisible hand" keeps society functioning. On the other hand, in the character of Mulvaney in the "Big Drunk Draf," Kipling writes of an ex-army private who has retained his allegiance to the army and goes to the aid of a young officer unable to control his homeward bound troops. Kipling has Mulvaney say " . . . my heart's sick in my ribs for a wink at anything wid the Quane's uniform on ut."[40]

In "The God From the Machine," Mulvaney prevents the colonel's daughter from running away with the captain who is not a gentleman, but had pressed his attention on the young lady behind the scenes of a play in which they both had parts and persuaded her to elope with him. Mulvaney upsets the "kyart" in more ways than one to prevent the elopement. Thus the private expresses his understanding of what is acceptable behavior on the part of gentlemen among gentlemen.

In "Private Learoyd's Story," we are acquainted with some of the opportunism of the three privates, Mulvaney, Learoyd, and Ortheris. The story opens with a look at the three after their hitch in India. Ortheris has the "little stuff bird-shop" of his dreams in London, Learoyd is "back in the smoky-stone-ribbed North, amid the clang of the Bradford looms; Mulvaney--grizzled, tender, and very wise Ulysses, sweltering on the earthwork of a Central India line . . . ."[41] The story continues with a description of how the three contrived to sell a pet dog of one lady to another in India by stealing a dog of similar size, clipping its tail, and painting similar spots on it and selling it to the second lady for 350 rupees.

In the "Big Drunk Draf," Mulvaney is reminiscing about a spring march of draftees back to the ships for England which passed by where Mulvaney was in charge of a cooly construction crew. One day his coolies begin to come in with tales of beatings and rapes and destruction by a regiment of soldiers. Mulvaney puts two and two together and figures that some young officer is in charge of the march and is unable to control his troops; he goes to help the young officer. First, he reconnoiters the march and finds Peg Barney, an old hand at mischief, in full swing leading the marchers in destruction. Seeing that Peg is not about to mend his ways, Mulvaney introduces himself to the young officer with a salute and offers his help. With the officer's acceptance, Mulvaney moves among the troops and talks with whomever is sober enough to remember him from the old days. Then he talks with the non-coms and helps them to get the men to their tents. When Peg Barney taunts the young officer, Mulvaney whispers in his ear to have Peg "pegged out," and the officer complies. One private remonstrates that pegging out

is against regulations, and the officer has him pegged out also (pegging out refers to the staking of a man face down on the ground with limbs outstretched). The non-coms quickly carry out both orders. The officer continues the discipline by ordering the men back to their tents and putting a sentry on duty to see that they stay there. Discipline wins the day and there is no more marauding on the way to the ships.

"In the Matter of a Private," Kipling discusses the collective nature of Thomas Atkins and public opinion. Kipling compares the development of giggles in a girls' school into near hysteria with the development of hysteria in the army. Kipling writes:

> . . . it is a fact that under certain circumstances, Thomas in bulk can be worked up into dithering rippling hysteria. He does not weep, but he shows his trouble unmistakably, and the consequences get into the newspapers, and all the good people who hardly know a Martini from a Snider say: 'Take away the brute's ammunition!'

Kipling stands up for the soldier when he writes:

> Thomas isn't a brute, and his business, which is to look after the virtuous people, demands that he shall have his ammunition to his hand. He doesn't wear silk stockings, and he really ought to be supplied with a new Adjective to help him to express his opinions: but, for all that, he is a great man. If you call him 'the heroic defender of the national honour' one day, and 'a brutal and licentious soldiery' the next, you naturally bewilder him, and he looks upon you with suspicion. There is nobody to speak for Thomas except people who have theories to work off on him, and nobody understands Thomas except Thomas, and he does not always know what is the matter with himself.[42]

Kipling stands for physical discipline to indicate to all the range of behavior that will be tolerated on the part of the army. The range of permitted behavior in the army allows the privates the pursuit of individual pleasures when it does not conflict with the interests and activities of the army. The use of the belt buckle and pegging out are examples of physical means of discipline beyond that of detention in

the company brig. In Kipling's stories the privates do not appear to envy the life of the officers but seek their own style of pleasure in life.

In India the privates had a good deal of time for themselves. Their work was completed by eight in the morning and they spent the rest of the day in various desultory activities. Neither eating, nor drinking, nor reading, nor games chases away the boredom, and some took to harassing others as an occupation. Private Losson took to bedeviling Private Simmons to the point where Simmons goes berserk and shoots his tormentor and proceeds to go on a shooting rampage.

In the company, Slane is a young corporal who is to be married shortly. He attempts to subdue Simmons, calculating that he will be offered a reward for his heroism. He succeeds and is offered a reward for heroism. He asks for a proper barouche and four battery horses to draw it to carry off his bride in proper style. Thus motivated by his private interests, Slane has acted successfully to restore order in the company.

The stories from Life's Handicap (1891) show how Tommy Atkins performs his duty and pursues his interests, his superstition, and how he differs from some Methodist Yorkshire miners.

In the "Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney," we find Mulvaney, Learoyd, and Ortheris fighting the between-wars-boredom by trying to figure out how to get some money for drink before payday. Mulvaney is selected by the three to take a day off and go peacock hunting because there is a market for peacocks. Kipling comments on the three:

> They were in no sense refined, nor to be admitted to the outer-door mats of decent folk, because they happened to be private soldiers in Her Majesty's Army; and private

> soldiers of our service have small time for self-culture. Their duty is to keep themselves and their accoutrements specklessly clean, to refrain from getting drunk more often than is necessary, to obey their superiors, and to pray for a war.[43]

Disappointed in his search for peacocks, Mulvaney hatches another scheme for money-making which causes him to be overdue at his post. His commanding officer has faith that Mulvaney has not deserted. He is in need of Mulvaney's special use of his blarney and the buckle of his belt to indoctrinate a batch of new recruits. Mulvaney returns claiming sunstroke and instead of detention is put right to work on the raw recruits teaching them to "Fear God, Honour the Queen, Shoot Straight, and Keep Clean."[44] Thus boredom leads to fighting, drinking, and deviltry, but the professional soldier fulfills his duties.

In the "Courting of Dinah Shadd," Mulvaney brags how he could keep relationships with several women going at once, but when courting Dinah Shadd he almost gets blackmailed into marrying another. The frustrated female curses Dinah and Mulvaney, telling them their only child would die, and it all comes to pass.

"On Greenhow Hill" tells how Ortheris manages to shoot a deserter who was disturbing the soldiers' sleep every night by trying to get others to desert. The three wait on the hill for the deserter to appear so that Ortheris can shoot him. While they are waiting, Learoyd tells the story of his courtship of a Yorkshire girl. The area was a mining area and the people were Methodists. They not only did not approve of Learoyd's drinking, but they insisted on his attending chapel in order to court one of their women. These people did not approve of soldiering and Learoyd thought it ironical that their preaching was so war-like. They spoke of the sword of the Lord, of vengeance, of the armour of

righteousness, and of fighting the good fight o'faith. The girl was dying of consumption and could not marry, so Learoyd joined the army and was sent to India.

Tommy Atkins pursues drinking, fighting, and deviltry and is superstitious, but he remains a disciplined part of the army organization. The army workingman, symbolized in Tommy Atkins, is tied by the code of the military and not by the community where he was raised.

In "The Record of Badalia Herodsfoot," Kipling writes of the life in the London slums from the perspective of a laborer's wife.[45] It seems that wife-beating is typical of the area and Badalia gets her share. Loyalty to a husband is also typical and the women, though abused, do not call in the police to control their husbands. Missionaries work in the slums, and the relationship of the various missionaries with Badalia and the slum populace is the basis for the story.

The missionaries are middle-class and attempt to save the slum dwellers by giving them religion along with charity. Badalia informs the missionaries that the people of Gunnison Street do not want religion except when they die. Instead, they need food. Furthermore, the charity dispensed by the missionaries often finds its way to supporting the vices of the recipient such as drink. Badalia tells the missionaries:

> "You give Lascar Loo custids . . . give her blankits. Garn'ome! 'Er mother, she eats 'em all, and drinks the blankits. Gits 'em back from the shop, she does, before you come visiting again, so as to 'ave 'em all handy an' proper; an' Lascar Loo she sez to you, 'Oh, my mother's that good to me!' 'she do. Lascar Loo 'ad better talk so, bein' sick abed, 'r else 'er mother would kill 'er. Garn! you're a bloomin' gardener--you an' yer custids! Lascar Loo don't never smell of 'em even."[46]

The missionaries decide to entrust Badalia with the dispensing of charity in the district because she has the practical knowledge of the

needs and ways of the inhabitants. Everything functions smoothly for awhile, with Badalia regarding the funds as a sacred trust, using them where they are needed and seeing that they are properly used. Then one day, her drunken husband who has been living with another woman returns in a drunken rage for drinking money. Badalia protects her trust, and her husband beats her to death.

The missionaries are alerted to come to Badalia's room and they find her dying. She tells them that she has protected the funds entrusted to her, insists that she has not seen her husband, and dies.

This story illustrates the problem of drinking and wide abuse in the slums, the disparity between the middle class and the slum dwellers, the perversion of charity by the recipients, and the in-group loyalty of the slum dwellers. Kipling has avoided impressing middle class attitudes and values on his slum characters.

In "The Bridge Builders," Kipling tells of an English engineer and some English workmen who, along with hundreds of coolies, are building a bridge over the river Ganges. The superstitious coolies see the coming of the monsoon rains and flood as the Indian gods rising against the intrusion. In a nightmare of fantasy and reality, the engineer witnesses the survival of the embryo of the bridge and the conquest of the Indian myths and gods by those of English mechanical technology.[47]

Kipling takes the machine age one step further in "The Ship that Found Herself" when he personifies the machinery and parts of the ship so that they "talk" and "consult" with each other as they voyage successfully through the heavy seas of a trial run.[48]

Thus Kipling is the first author of the sample to acknowledge the

world conquest of the industrial revolution in the engineer's dream, and of the estrangement of a mechanized world by finding it necessary to personify the ship's engines to create an empathy with the reader.

Kipling sees the workingman as loyally aware of his national identity and its class differences which he supports. The workingman in Tommy Atkins pursues deviltry and drink but fulfills his military duties. The urban slum world is portrayed with an in-group loyalty that is stronger than personal revenge in Badalia's failure to identify her drunken husband as her killer, just as Morrison's Lizerunt defended her "bloke" from the doctor after being beaten.

Kipling continues the pattern of writing dialect for the workingman. Thus his language pattern continues to differ from that of the middle class.

Summary

The Social Worlds of the Novels

These novels deal with either the upper classes or the lower ones and do not provide the panorama of social life that Scott, Dickens, and Eliot did in their novels. Trollope's novel indicates that the society of the upper class is open to achievers of wealth and to those who gain occupational status through law or government positions, so there is a chance for a workman to gain acceptance by the upper class by one of these routes. Trollope's Frank Greystone becomes educated as a lawyer and calculates a government position in order to be socially successful. Meredith's upper class is concerned with Parliamentary issues affecting the working class, and a representative of working class interests is shown interacting on a social level with traditional aristocrats. Barrie sees imagination and education and the drive to write as a way of

social mobility for Tommy. Morrison's fictional social world of the slums emphasizes physical prowess, opportunism, and bullying as important to slum survival, and the rituals of death as important to slum status. In Child of Jago, organized crime forms the "aristocracy" of slum life, material wealth is gained by cunning and thievery and not by legitimacy of lineage or regular employment. Preindustrial occupations such as landlordism and shopkeeping are valued by Morrison's slum dwellers. Kipling's world places the English machine technology and the support of the social order and its customs at the core of his fictional world.

Wealth is a basis for status in these novels. The addition of lineage, beauty, talent, certain occupations (such as lawyer or member of Parliament), or outright force reinforces the position of wealth. Mobility depends on acceptance by the desired circle (Trollope and Meredith), talent accepted at the marketplace (Barrie), or by institutional or organizational acceptance (Parliament in Trollope's or Meredith's novels; the High Mobsmen in Morrison's).

Demographic Factors

Birth is not a heralded event in these novels. Death is much more important in changing the financial support that motivates the characters (for example, the case of Lizzie in The Eustace Diamonds) and as a status ritual for the poor, who even deprive the living to exalt the dead as in Morrison's story. There are deaths by murder, by duel, by epidemic, by execution, by beating, and by street battles. There is even the purported death of Mulvaney's child by superstitious faith in a curse placed on the child by a jealous woman. Death frees characters to change their lives, like Tommy's going to Thrums (Barrie), Learoyd's

enlistment (Kipling), and Diana's London household and her dinner parties (Meredith).

Characters like Lizzie (The Eustace Diamonds) and Diana (Diana of the Crossways) can move for pleasure while those like Tommy (Sentimental Tommy) and Dicky Perrot (Child of Jago) move of personal necessity, and those of Kipling by government order. It is this migration of the army to India that characterizes migration in this period more than any other. In Period I of the sample, migrations were often individual and associated with war; Period II included work migrations by individuals, and now Period III has massive collective migrations under government order.

Urban areas are still plagued with overstuffed houses, and run down environments characterized by unsanitary conditions. Within urban communities there are strong territorial attachments, as seen in the gang warfare in Child of Jago, and strong human attachments to one's own kind, as seen in both Lizerunt and Badalia when they defend and protect their husbands.

Industrialism

No interest in the work-place is shown in these novels. Attention is given to the after-work life of the workers.

Developing industry has brought the rural Scottish weavers into London to work as masons and bakers (Barrie). They live in their own settlement and pursue their traditional tongue and customs after work hours.

Morrison's radical in "The Red Cow" indicates the political agitation present in the slum world of the working class. His working class

characters may possess qualities of hard work, consideration, and a desire to improve their condition, but they are frustrated by slum life based on physical force and material opportunism. Morrison's slum wife Lizerunt, like Kipling's Badalia, is loyal to her "bloke" even though he physically abuses her.

Industry in Kipling's stories has reached beyond England, and the gods of technology have subdued the ancient gods of India. From India the workingmen soldiers get a perspective of more than their own regional area of England and become aware of their national identity as well as their class identity.

Authors' Visions

Trollope did not let his concern over the workingman as seen in his investigation of the conditions of certain work groups around the world show in his novel The Eustace Diamonds. In it he writes of the bickerings and conflicts for status and wealth, and of the calculations and characters of some socially mobile individuals. He does not view the socially established aristocrats with awe, but caricatures them with the flaws of a social group whose strengths and morals are ebbing. He views the middle class as happy with their standard of living and ignoring their diminishing political dominance.

Meredith depicts the social life of the aristocrats as boring and sees the enthusiasm of the middle class as more potent in political and social change than the chivalry of the nobility. In the Tragic Comedians Meredith shows the violence engendered when love assaults the fortress of cultural purity in the death of La Salle.

Barrie's fictional world is limited to the Thrums migrants and villagers, and it is one where the marginal individual can escape via

education and imagination from the social and cultural bindings of the Thrums world.

Morrison sees the urban slum world of his stories as having rules and regulations of its own. The young are socialized to thievery by the organization and domination of their lives by the High Mobsmen. On the streets, local gangs prevail by sheer force. Death is one of the great status rituals, while birth is debilitating and downgrading.

Kipling enlarges the workingman's world to India and shows the workingman's realization of his nationalism and the prominence of England's technology and power in the world. Physical discipline is the way Kipling keeps the mass of Tommy Atkinses in order. Kipling's workingmen, like Morrison's slum residents, do not live like persons in the middle or upper class, but they know the ideal codes of the middle and upper classes and help enforce them for members of those classes but not for their own.

Even though these authors look in different directions, their views do add up to a common one of the world at the time. There is decay and boredom among aristocrats, although occasionally their ranks are sparked by some individual moving into their ranks who entertains them. They maintain a life of pleasure, while the middle class is carrying out the organizational and economic demands and the working class fills the service roles that support these demands. The Thrums migrants support London life by their occupations, Kipling's soldiers extend the empire and maintain it. Barrie sees the marginal individual as able to be upwardly mobile by education and imagination and the occupation of writer. Morrison sees the slum world as lacking bridges to the middle class, and Kipling sees the Tommy Atkinses as choosing to remain in their working-class status.

Notes to Chapter XIV

[1]Lucy Poate Stebbins and Richard Poate Stebbins, The Trollopes: The Chronicle of a Writing Family (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 71.

[2]Ibid., p. 143.

[3]James Pope Hennessy, Anthony Trollope (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1971), pp. 316, 178; Stebbins, pp. 202-3.

[4]Hennessy, p. 179.

[5]Stebbins, p. 238.

[6]Ibid., pp. 176, 213, 226, 317.

[7]Anthony Trollope, The Eustace Diamonds, orig. pub. 1873 (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Penguin English Library, 1969), pp. 99, 70-71.

[8]Ibid., p. 617.

[9]Ibid., pp. 43, 88.

[10]Ibid., p. 129.

[11]Ibid., p. 158.

[12]Ibid., p. 602.

[13]Ibid., pp. 356-7.

[14]V. S. Pritchett, George Meredith and English Comedy (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 37.

[15]George Meredith, The Tragic Comedians, orig. pub. 1880 (London: Constable & Co., Ltd., Memorial Ed., 1910), p. 73.

[16]George Meredith, Diana of the Crossways, orig. pub. 1885 (London: Constable & Co., Ltd., Memorial Ed., 1910), p. 109.

[17]Ibid., p. 47.

[18]Ibid., pp. 48, 153.

[19]Ibid., pp. 166, 297-9.

[20]Ibid., pp. 340, 458.

[21]Ibid., p. 471.

[22]Ibid., pp. 432, 436.

[23]Ibid., p. 238.

[24]James Barrie, Stentimental Tommy, orig. pub. 1896 (New York: Charles Scribner's ons, n.d.), pp. 49-50.

[25]Ibid., p. 65.

[26]P. J. Keating, The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), pp. 167-8.

[27]Arthur Morrison, "Lizerunt," Tales of Mean Streets, orig. pub. 1894 (1921, Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, reprint ed., 1970), pp. 1, 2, 11.

[28]Morrison, "On the Stairs," "All that Messuage," Tales of Mean Streets, pp. 154-162, 224-251.

[29]Morrison, "Red Cow Group," Tales of Mean Streets, pp. 130-152.

[30]Morrison, "In Business," "Squire Napper," "All that Messuage," Tales of Mean Streets, pp. 113-128, 164-193, 224-251.

[31]Morrison, "A Conversion," Tales of Mean Streets, pp. 207-222.

[32]Arthur Morrison, A Child of Jago (Chicago: Herbert S. Stone, 1896), p. 24.

[33]Ibid., p. 25.

[34]J. M. Stewart, Rudyard Kipling (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., Apollo ed., 1966), p. 54.

[35]Ibid., pp. 87, 82.

[36]Ibid., p. 103.

[37]Edgar Johnson, Sir Walter Scott: the Great Unknown, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1970), p. 878.

[38]Stewart, p. 238.

[39]Ibid., pp. 189-90.

[40]Rudyard Kipling, "Big Drunk Draf," Soldiers Three, orig. pub. 1888 (New York: Doubleday & McClure Co., 1899), p. 31.

[41]Kipling, "Private Learoyd's Story, " Soldiers Three, pp. 17-18.

[42]Kipling, "In the Matter of a Private," Soldiers Three, pp. 76-77.

[43]Rudyard Kipling, "Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney," Life's Handicap, orig. pub. 1891 (New York: Doubleday & McClure Co., reprint ed. 1899), p. 83.

[44]Ibid., p. 101.

[45]Rudyard Kipling, "The Record of Badalia Herodsfoot," Many Inventions, orig. pub. 1893 (New York:Doubleday, Page & Co., 1908), pp. 326-60.

[46]Ibid., p. 328.

[47]Rudyard Kipling, "The Bridge Builders," The Day's Work, orig. pub. 1887 (1898, New York: Doubleday & McClure Co., 1899), pp. 3-47.

[48]Kipling, "The Ship that Found Herself," The Day's Work, pp. 83-106.

Coda--Period III

By 1870 England's population was more than double what it had been in 1800, and its urban population and industrial interests were becoming dominant in Parliamentary affairs. By 1880 investments had become more important in making fortunes than industrial production. The workingman had the vote and the Education Bill had made elementary schooling mandatory for all. The wretchedness and violence of the lives of urban slum dwellers had become a popular subject since Mayhew's day, and moved Charles Booth to write his meticulous survey of the London poor. The novels reflected the interest in slum life, and authors attempted to define and explain this life to the late century reader and to suggest ways of alleviating or changing the conditions of slum existence. The establishment of the empire and its maintenance by expeditionary forces brought an awareness of national identity to the British soldier in Kipling's stories. At home, the working class was organized into friendly societies and unions which helped unite and support it within society. This organizational life was not the focus of these novels as it had been in those of mid-century.

The message of the early novels of the period was directed primarily to middle-class readers, whom the authors (Besant and Gissing) attempted to motivate to missionary efforts for the educational and social betterment of the slum dwellers. Later, Kipling's "The Record of Badalia Herodsfoot" and Morrison's Child of Jago illustrated the futility of missionary efforts in the slums. There was no message to

the bulk of the working class in these novels, although Barrie wrote for the upwardly mobile working-class individuals when he suggested that Tommy might leave his cultural community, and by education, writing, and hard work make a social and economic success of himself. He downgraded the sentiment attached to Scottish village life and its importance to the individual.

These authors were middle class and their fathers included a lawyer, a well-to-do-merchant, a chemist, a tailor, a steam-fitter, and a professor. Only Gissing and Meredith attempted to make literary writing their only occupation, but they both began as journalists. Morrison, the steam-fitter's son who was raised in the East End, was the most pessimistic over the possibility of making the slum world less violent, less opportunistic, and more supportive of human life and development.

The authors focused on differences in the cultural development of the working class from the rest of society. Besant and Gissing hoped that middle-class missionaries would help to provide the urban slum dwellers with a higher level of culture. Besant envisioned an immanent evolution of workers' cultural life. Gissing envisioned raising the cultural level of the workers by classical education. The culture of Morrison's working class was immutable and in conflict with that of the middle class. Kipling's soldiers had their own cultural patterns and place in society; they respected those of the gentlemen but were not envious.

Mobility to a gentleman status was from the ranks of engineers or artisans, and depended mainly on education. Claude and Violet (Children of Gibeon) were educated as gentlefolk, as was Robert (The Master Craftsman).

Jack Armstrong (Son of Vulcan) had a Cambridge education. Barrie's Tommy had imagination and was developing his writing skills in school. The economic oppression and slum environment of Gissing's characters thwarted the mobility of any of his workingmen characters. The stigma of the slums marked subsequent generations by limiting the breadth of their humanist thought and behavior, the range of their experience, and their speech and physical appearance. There was no mobility for Morrison's slum dwellers except for those who became High Mobsmen. Kipling's soldiers were content in their places. Successful social mobility in these novels depended on acceptance by the sought after social circle (Trollope and Meredith), talent accepted in the market place (Besant, Barrie), or by institutional or organizational acceptance (Parliament in Trollope's, Meredith's or Besant's novels; the High Mobsmen in Morrison's).

Population expansion continued in this period as births exceeded deaths. A scarcity of rural work depleted the countryside, strengthened urban dominance, and supported a "floating population" that fueled the work force. Upper class members migrated seasonally from town house to country estate, working-class soldiers migrated to India, and the urban middle class stayed put for the most part. Even so, less than half of London's population of over four million had been born there.

The novel was no longer a major vehicle for developing consensual social knowledge and defining social issues in the last period of the century. Authors and their works glutted the market and writing livelihoods were not as lucrative as earlier in the century, as noted by Gissing's New Grub Street. The readership had greatly expanded over the early part of the century but it was more fragmented.

The working-class press and cheap reprints provided fare for many working-class readers while the successful novelist, many of whom are still widely read today, wrote for the broad middle-class spectrum of readers. There are no social panoramas like Scott's, Dickens's, or Eliot's among these novels. Trollope wrote parochially to a middle-class audience and was successful financially. Another factor in the decline of the novels' importance was the rise of other forms of printed matter such as the increasing number of small circulation periodicals that appealed to special audiences.

Differences in speech, dress, life style, and place of residence continued to be characteristic of working-class characters, as did drunkenness, aggression, financial ineptness, and a lack of wit. Cleverness in a workingman often led to illegitimate activities, as seen in Gissing's Bob Hewitt (The Nether World). The traditional occupation of milliner was no longer desirable, according to Gissing's Clara (The Nether World) and Besant's Melenda (Children of Gibeon). Factory foremen lacked humor in these novels and were understood to be in a more primitive stage of social development than middle-class characters. The working and the middle class alike responded to national over regional identity and ties in these novels.

The novels made the reader aware of the working class and its distinctive social and cultural differences. The working-class culture was evaluated as lacking in the respectable manners and life style of the middle class and as inferior in content to that of the middle class. However, the personal portrayal of workingmen by Gissing, Kipling, Barrie, and Morrison indicated an acceptance of members of the working class as members of English society with certain rights and obligations.

Chapter XV

Conclusions

Public communication is, over time, the vehicle that individuals and groups use to develop and disseminate the social knowledge used in creating a public opinion that sustains social policy and decision making. In nineteenth century England the novel was a channel of communication from literary intellectuals to larger and larger audiences. Images of English workers in an urbanizing and industrializing century were introduced through novels to readers who lacked personal knowledge of workers, by authors who often had little contact with industrial workers. These images may also have influenced and reinforced the images formed by those readers who had such personal contact. The authors created these images from what they could see and understand. The images and the fictional social worlds in which they resided became one basis for understanding the social changes of an England undergoing industrialization. They created a perception of their society for the literate population who were responsible for the education of the young and the enactment and implementation of public policy. In short, they introduced the industrial worker into an intellectually articulated image of the social hierarchy of England.

Prior to the nineteenth century, the image of the industrial worker was necessarily absent in literature and in the overall image of the nation's hierarchy. But in the nineteenth century such an image was emerging, though it was slow in developing. It was fragmented, contradictory, and weighted with conflicting moral and political evaluations. We are

concerned with the emergence of this image.

Partly, it is the subjective moral evaluation of these images which influences the response of audiences to workers. The authors saw the emerging industrial working class from different social positions and with different value perspectives. But they responded to a set of common events and conditions that took place late in the eighteenth century and during the nineteenth. Personal differences among authors can only suggest different social perspectives since the sample is fairly small. However the image of the worker that the middle-class authors present may be considered largely a middle-class phenomenon. At the same time, the authors are not necessarily representative of the English middle class as a universe. The accidents of social position, education, career and talent make them less than precise mirrors, and their literary specialization, moral concern, and the necessity of articulating their point of view in literary form must inevitably have made them something other than mere mirrors. In articulating their points of view and in disseminating them in concrete images of character, setting, and drama, they undoubtedly diffused and intensified the images they collectively presented, whether or not these were accurate.

That these images had an effect in their own time is testified to by a concrete response to Besant's All Sorts and Conditions of Men. In the novel, Besant has the hero and heroine create a cultural palace for the workers' betterment. His readers were so enthusiastic over the idea that they contributed enough money to build a real one, which still stands on Mile End Road.

These images also may set a tone for the present-day evaluation of the working class and of the image of typical working-class characters

and characteristics among literary audiences. The contemporary literary audience of the authors and subsequent generations of audiences are apt to be in a position where they present views, including models for political, social, and moral opinions concerning classes, character, and social hierarchy. Thus the influence of the novels persists through and over generations.

Of course the interpretations of novelists' writings drastically changes over time. Scott and Dickens, among the most widely read of these authors over time, have probably suffered the most by misinterpretation of their viewpoints. For example, Scott has often been described as the champion of the traditional aristocrat, but the novels used in this sample show the hard-working businessmen like Osbaldistone and Jarvie (Rob Roy), and the hard-working, honest lawyer like Fairford (Redgauntlet) becoming successful, while the traditional aristocrat's fortunes decline as industry and commerce began to replace agriculture as the mainstay of the English economy. Mark Twain saw Scott's popularity as reinforcing the reverence of the American Southerner for rank and caste.[1] Yet Scott's remorseless observation and logic supports the hard-working businessmen, even though his sentiment is often on the side of the declining aristocrat.

As another example of shifting critical interpretation, Dickens has been seen by many, even in his own time, as a champion of the poor. His caricatures have caused certain stereotypes to be etched indelibly in the mind of his readers. Yet the novels used in this sample show that Dickens viewed such workingmen as Toodles, Joe Gargery, and Mr. Plornish as illiterate, not very bright and gauche, but goodhearted. In Stephen Blackpool, Dickens draws the factory worker as limited by his lack of

social understanding, his dress, and his personal distress. This is true despite the fact that Blackpool is a good worker and a man of integrity. Other workers have even less vision and reject Stephen when he will not support the dissolute Slackbridge in a strike. At one extreme in his spectrum of workers, Dickens draws Orlick--evil, lazy, vengeful, and anti-social. At the other are inventors like Doyce and Wemmick, who are similar to Egan's mechanical person. Yet they lack personality and depth of character. The reader cannot warm to them, probably because Dickens could not. But Dickens's treatment of the upper classes is often so sardonic that by comparison perhaps the working class appears to be treated more sympathetically.

All the problems of sender, message, receiver, decoding, embedding, and static that are found in any communication process are present in trying to perceive the ultimate social image conveyed of the worker and the probable impact of that image on society in general. This study has been concerned with the delineation of the novel's image of the working-man, the historical context, the author, and the audience to some extent, but the central focus has been the novel itself: the social world described, its demographic characteristics, and its descriptions of industrial life. A statement of the author's world vision is included to help tie the created pictures to the social place and point of view of the author.

This research has provided the data to develop the fictional picture of the preindustrial and industrial workers over the century in three time periods for which the century is divided roughly into thirds. For each period the preindustrial picture is presented followed by the industrial picture, and the two are then compared for continuities and discontinuities. Finally an assessment of the apparent points of view of the authors is

included in order to see what relationship, if any, exists with the image of the industrial worker that has been presented.

The Image of the Worker

In this sample of novels, the reader becomes aware of changes in the focus of the novels that emerges over the entire century. In the first period, the traditional world dominates manners and life style, even while that world is decaying economically and politically. The novelists are aware of some difficulties of adjustment on the part of a rising middle class. Characters like Burney's upstart grocer and Opie's tradesman succeed financially but lack the manners to be socially acceptable to the traditional upper class. Glimpses of the industrial worker are only fleeting, nominal, and marginal. It is the preindustrial worker who is found most frequently in the novels of this period in the role of servant, fisherman, farm laborer, traditional craftsman, or thief.

Industry and its impact on the nation dominate the novels of the second period as the authors use their characters to embody and personify industrial conditions and conflict. In doing so they organize and articulate social, political, and economic problems for the literary audience. Since the authors' perceptions of social life vary widely, their plot resolutions and development of characters suggest various social-political responses which refer to religion, humanism, political economy, Parliamentary reform, and faith in the sovereign and nation.

Novels in the third period focus in general, on the cultural development of the inhabitants of the huge urban slums as individuals and on the fact that the urban slum environment imprisons its inhabitants, preventing working-class individuals from developing the characteristics

usually desired (by the authors) of the middle class. The industrial workers, whose lives are featured in the novels, are no longer simply symbolic representatives of certain industrial conditions; they are not cardboard characters but are drawn as complex individuals, mixtures of good and bad, love and hate, competence and incompetence, but increasingly "human." The working class becomes capable of sharing the British national identity.

Several aspects of industrial life reappear continuously in the novels throughout the century. The first is the impact of the factory on the individual and society, although there are strong differences of opinion among the authors on its effects. But all agree that the factory has made a difference. Disraeli describes, for instance, the factory in Coningsby as adding architectural splendor to the countryside, while Dickens in Hard Times sees the factory as degrading and oppressing. Reade's factory fouls the streams and air of the picturesque village, while in Besant's Son of Vulcan it revives the economy of a dying market town. Gissing's factories, like those of Dickens, are harsh and inhuman, and at war with the very forces of nature.

Another aspect of industrial life that continuously reappears is that of conditions of factory work. The machines of Disraeli's factory hum and sing, while those of Dickens slash and tear. Trollope's and Godwin's factories deform and oppress children, while those of Gaskell and Disraeli offer young girls independence from their families and money to buy pretty clothes. The sweatshops of Kingsley's tailors are reminiscent of a Dantean hell, while Besant's brewers are "jolly" at work.

The most important aspect of industrial society for the authors of Period II is the fact of workers' organization and collective action.

From Peterloo to the reform legislation of 1867, workers' grievances, riots, unions, the organization of the Chartist movement, and the demands for factory legislation, the abolition of child labor, factory safety, and the right to organize and to vote, were central issues of English politics and society. Yet this dimension of political and social conflict occurred along with another, the rise of the middle class, symbolized by the Reform of 1832, the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the rise of the Whig and later the Liberal party. A vast transformation of English society and politics was occurring. The old Tory landed interests and aristocracy were giving way to the industrial and commercial middle class, who developed their own claims for justice and the sharing of power. Both older groups, the Tories and the Whig-Liberals, had to deal with emerging working classes, and both had to do so from their own perspectives. The middle class, themselves agents of change and reform, had to contend with the working class, the unions, and Chartists, whose demands for change and reform were in direct conflict with the demands and interests of the middle class. The Tories could oppose both the rising middle class and the workers, but in doing so they would isolate themselves from the rest of society. They could concentrate on the most immediate enemy, the liberals, or they could vaciliate. By the Second Reform Law, they had allied themselves with some of the aspirations of the working class.

But in the meantime, a century-long debate ensued. Not only were the issues centered around the rise of the working class, but even more important were those clustered around the interests and ideologies of the middle class. These included free trade (Corn Laws) and laissez-faire, the rotten boroughs and property qualifications for voting, factory legislation, and government intervention to protect children, women,

orphans, students, workers, and the like. Manchester liberals and their "laws of political economy" provided an ideological framework in which much of this debate took place. The novelists, especially in mid-century, participated in this debate, and their literary works were often parts of it. As novelists they presented their contribution and commentary in the form of plots, characters, and dramatic issues, yet the central economic, political and moral issues of English society resonate throughout their works.

Martineau, Gaskell, Disraeli, Dickens, Bronte, Kingsley, Eliot, and Reade all write about collective action on the part of the working class. For Martineau, if the union were to be favored by society, the workers would have to abide by the "laws of political economy" rather than strike against the masters. Gaskell is horrified at the violence of union organization, and Disraeli does not approve of the conspiracy elements of its organization. Bronte abhors the web of organization that supports destruction and violence on the part of the workers. Eliot sees the workers manipulated by politicians and union leaders on election day. Kingsley sees the educated worker erroneously leading the efforts for Chartism. In Reade's novel, union despotism and violence restricts the development of the worker.

The living conditions of the workers are another concern and they are described in portraits that range from the slatternly cottage of the Mucklebackits in Scott's Antiquary to the charming, pre-depression home of Gaskell's John Barton in Mary Barton. Disraeli's Gerard lives in a rose-covered cottage in Sybil. Dickens's Toodles (Dombey and Son) lives in decaying Stagg's Gardens. Gissing's workers live in the Nether World. In different sections of Besant's and Gissing's urban slums, the degree

of respectability is indicated by the presence of the clean white window blind. The recreational patterns of the workers include too much drink and tobacco, street activities, and the summer excursion.

A fifth aspect is that of social mobility. The workers over the century in the novels are not socially mobile. These English novels are not the Horatio Alger stories that fired the American reading public to believe in the possibility of social and economic success and preached the merits of social striving. The difference may be due to the later advent of industrialism in America: Galt's hero's ability to rise from humble beginnings is noted in the early period of the century, as are the successes of weavers turned manufacturers before the opening of novels like Mary Barton. But Barrie's promise of a successful, mobile Tommy in the third period is of a single talented individual and not one of many such successes. Although education improves Dickens's Pip in the second period, it cannot make a gentleman of Kingsley's Alton. The change of occupation of Gissing's Mutimer (Demos) from engineer to factory owner in the third period is by inheritance. It improves his position, but his genteel wife recognizes that it will take more than one generation for men like Mutimer to become cultured, civilized human beings. Lineage continues to be a prime necessity for social position until the waning years of the nineteenth century novel. The novelists even suggest the possibility of declining class mobility: early in the century, Galt's weavers had become rich manufacturers, but late in the century individuals like Barrie's Tommy may become socially mobile by individual talent and achievement.

These, then, are five dimensions of industrial life that are the focus of many novels although they are evaluated differently. There is

consensus over their existence as issues but not on their resolution.

The Preindustrial Worker in the Novels

Preindustrial workers include agricultural laborers, fishermen, craftsmen like blacksmiths and weavers, servants including grooms and coachmen, gypsies and thieves. It is important for our purposes to separate them analytically from industrial workers, although some authors do not.

Scott's novels give the impression that the preindustrial worker was dependent and good hearted for the most part, but he was poor. Even with the affluence afforded by the largess of the nobility, as in Lovel's providing for the Mucklebackits in the Antiquary, the workingman and his family could not manage their own financial affairs and deferred to social superiors. Scott describes the shiftless living conditions of the preindustrial worker in the Mucklebackits and shows how the old paternal relationship between the manor house and the fisherfolk continues even though Oldbuck, the local landowner, made his fortune primarily in business before the opening of the story.

The preindustrial worker was subject to the winds of change; the servant of Sir Wardour (The Antiquary) served in loyalty to his master, but with the coming of wages, according to Touchwood in St. Ronan's Well, servants became clockwatchers. Similarly in Scott's novels, military authority has passed from landed aristocrats to the central government, and Sir Everard in Waverley cannot send his own troop to battle under the control of his nephew. The major must put up with a motley crew of militia made up of small artisans, shopkeepers, farmers, inn-keepers, etc. who are more given to Evangelical preachings than to military obedience. Loyalty to a patrimonial lord can no longer be counted upon.

Thus Scott shows, in Waverley set in 1745, that the preindustrial worker had fitted into the paternal mode of life based on loyalty to the manor lord even though the manor was no longer supported by vassalage. However this pattern began to change as the right to bear arms passed to small artisans in a state militia, and servants no longer need serve because of loyalty. The gypsies were expelled from the manor lands (Guy Mannering) and drifted into thievery (Heart of Midlothian).

In Meg Dodds (St. Ronan's Well), Scott shows the social mobility of domestic preindustrial workers over a generation. Meg is the daughter of house servants who saved their money and developed a flourishing inn which she has inherited. Scott also indicates a flexible preindustrial work force of coachmen, imps, waiters, and postilions who act opportunely for legitimate or illegitimate material gain in his novels.

Among other views of preindustrial workers in the first part of the century are Burney's agricultural laborers, who are coarse and who by no means live in a rural utopia, and her milliners who are no more honest than the gentry they serve. Opie's successful tradesmen lack a code of honor, and Egan's East Enders are prone to violence, not always honest, but have more fun in life than West Enders. Bulwer-Lytton paints the pickpocket as more trustworthy than some gentlemen. The social mobility of Galt's weavers turned manufacturers is economic, not social. Primary relationships and marriages between workers and gentry of lineage are not to be considered (Austen, Bulwer-Lytton, Burney, Galt).

These novels give a varied view of the preindustrial worker. In one case he cannot mind his finances and lives in a slatternly fashion; in another, discipline and foresight to save money and invest in an inn enable social mobility; and in a third, one moves from weaver to manu-

facturer. In the East End, as a group they are threatening to the West Enders, but as an individual the worker may be as trustworthy as any gentleman. Rural preindustrial workers are not seen as having an idyllic existence. As if to underline their inferiority, the authors make the preindustrial workers speak in dialect, though they do not have the upper classes speak in their own dialects.

In Period II, the authors contrast preindustrial work roles with industrial ones. Trollope points to the preindustrial agricultural laborer's outdoor life as healthier for Michael than factory work while Martineau shows the agricultural workers in Deerbrook as superstitious, coarse, slovenly, ignorant, helpless, and degraded. Disraeli's distinction between the preindustrial peasant and the industrial worker is that the former fits into a traditional moral order based on rights and obligations for all groups while the industrial worker lacks a place in that moral order.

Dickens's rural, preindustrial workers are superior in religious duties, cleanliness, and tranquility to their urban counterparts, as noted in the descriptions in Oliver Twist. In Joe Gargery (Great Expectations) Dickens shows the preindustrial worker in the blacksmith unable to act intelligently when in urban social life but competent enough in his work and good-hearted in his own environment. Joe's illiteracy and his inability to learn to read are seen as barriers in social life. Orlick is the lowest of all workers in Dickens's novels and is animalistic in his strength, vengeance, and ox-like dullness of wit.

Gaskell, like Trollope, suggests that agricultural workers enjoyed better health than industrial ones. Her agricultural laborers have stronger local attachments than the urbanites, and their family life is

more complete (Mary Barton). However Gaskell notes that the housing conditions and the food consumption of industrial workers surpasses that of the traditional agricultural workers (North and South). Both Gaskell and Bronte point out that industrial workers are mentally keener than preindustrial workers. John Barton prefers the preindustrial occupation of milliner for his daughter to the industrial factory job that pays better wages.

Bronte's industrial workers break machines as the factories become more mechanized, and they even attack a factory to try to halt its development. They are led by a Methodist troublemaker, Moses Barraclough.

Preindustrial craftsmen are described by Eliot as honest, hard working, self-disciplined, and proud of their artisanship. Yet she agreed with Dickens's portrait of the rural worker in Orlick (Great Expectations) as ox-like and devoid of human grace. Her Silas is of the dying breed of handloom weavers who migrated to the countryside to work outside the controlled conditions of an urban community. Her workers do not intermarry with the gentry (Silas Marner). Eliot, like Gaskell, mentions the change from close community relations to less personal ones as industry moves into the countryside (Felix Holt). Agricultural workers in Middlemarch are cottagers and tenant farmers who tend the land of the gentry and see themselves at the mercy of the rich folk.

The preindustrial craft of the tailor that is being destroyed by the factory system is the focus of Kingsley's Alton Locke. Kingsley shows the tailors as literate, competent, but ill-directed in their Chartism and advises such craftsmen to look to Christian leadership for betterment of their condition. Kingsley's artisan is one of the first in these novels to pursue literacy and learning on a classical level. His chimney sweep

Tom (Water Babies) is also a preindustrial worker and Kingsley suggests it will take a social evolution lasting generations to bring the sweep to the level of the English gentleman's civility and humanity.

In Reade's novel, the artisan Henry Little has been absorbed by industry and is no longer preindustrial, but is forced back to practice his craft as an individual because the unions will not allow him the autonomy needed for creative work in the factory situation.

So in Period II the different aspects and effects of preindustrial labor compared to industrial labor in rural and urban settings is a focus of attention; as rural preindustrial life is seen as physically healthier and more tranquil, while mentally less stimulating, and the result is often an ox-like worker like Orlick. Some preindustrial craftsmen such as Reade's Henry Little are absorbed into industry and lose their autonomy. The growing factory system threatens the independence and livelihood of tailors in Alton Locke and stimulates political action in Chartism. But everywhere personal and local ties are weakening with the advent of industry.

By Period III, the preindustrial worker is no longer a major concern but is still present in the novels. Besant shows the blacksmith, Joe, in Children of Gibeon, as a typical preindustrial worker who was an apprentice for eight years before being allowed to ruin the householder's pipes. He was slow of wit but a steady citizen; he wore the characteristic garb including the neckerchief, and a pipe was stuck between his teeth. His sister Melenda was a seamstress and at the mercy of the laws of political economy as her piece work competed with factorymade and sweatshop-made garments. Her hairdo and dress were characteristic of the working girl. In the Master Craftsman there is a voluntary reverse in status as the baronet chooses to be a craftsman and leave

socially prominent life, while the master craftsman chooses to be a politician and move into higher social circles.

Besant was no longer worried, as Opie or Disraeli had been, about developing moral codes of behavior for emerging occupations. His hero of the Master Craftsman is made to comment on the existence of standards, ideals, a code of manners at every level of social life (not only those of workers), and of a sense of shame or resentment on the part of any individual who does not come up to his standards.

Gissing has a preindustrial worker in the milliner Thryza, who is sickly and dies, and in the milliner Emma Vine in Demos. In the Nether World John Hewitt refuses to let his daughter become a milliner with its poor wages and working conditions and encourages her to work in a factory. A milliner's job is no longer seen as a desirable occupation but as needle slavery, but jewelers and other apprentice-type craftsmen live in slightly better housing in the London slums (Nether World) than do other workers.

Trollope's jewel thieves in The Eustace Diamonds are important to the plot but are not made real as personalities. Morrison's East Enders look to setting themselves up in preindustrial business occupations, such as shopkeepers or as landlords, if they inherit money. His High Mobsmen and street gangs are of an industrial-urban genre rather than preindustrial.

Barrie's Thrums weavers do not measure up to the fantasy of young Tom when he views them in their natural habitat. He sees this community of preindustrial weavers as bigoted, controlled by gossip, and detrimental to the individual pursuit of happiness.

Thus in Period III there is still some deference given to preindustrial

occupations by the urban-industrial workers. London artisans are seen as slightly better off in their housing than other workers. However the preindustrial occupation of milliner is no longer desirable. The old communities of preindustrial weavers are seen as limiting individual advancement.

Over all periods, the authors recognize a physical difference in well-being between rural agricultural workers and urban factory workers; the latter are generally smaller, paler, not as attractive, and may even be deformed by factory work. On the other hand, factory workers show keener mental attitudes than the agricultural workers.

Some authors recognize the lack in the new industrial order, of a code of rights and obligations to direct the industrial worker in social life. By Period III, Besant writes that this is not a problem and that all levels of life have moral codes and feel shame or not in coming up to them. Some of these preindustrial workers are dependent on others for support and aid in managing their financial affairs. There is little or no organization of the preindustrial workers in these pages.

The perceived threat to the middle class did not come from pre-industrial workers but from the urban and industrial workers who were increasing in numbers and concentration around urban centers. Preindustrial workers in the nineteenth century depended on their social superiors for welfare assistance and support and were given government relief by the Poor Laws and their creation, the Work House. Urban-industrial workers began to depend on each other and to organize to support their own interests by strikes, creating a threat to the traditional dominance by the upper class.

The Industrial Worker

Industrial workers include inventors, engineers, mechanics, railroad workers, mill hands, and other factory workers. Some craftsmen like Henry Little in Reade's novel and Felix Holt in Eliot's novel of the same name are participants in the industrial work world and are included under the category of the industrial worker. Little works in a factory and is a union member for a time, and Holt seeks to lead industrial workers in supporting their own interests.

In Period I industrial workers are scarce and are only incidental in the novels. In Scott's novels they creep in as Highlanders fleeing starvation in the hills move to Glasgow to work in manufacturing, settling by themselves in the city. In his Heart of Midlothian, journeymen mechanics, a new breed of craftsmen associated with industry, are found along with others of the urban populace able to organize for a specific public act and to limit the crowd action so that after the goal is reached the crowd disperses rather than carrying on in rioting. These mechanics are polite and considerate in escorting women off the streets before the crowd forms. In St. Ronan's Well the death knell of the traditional landed aristocrats is symbolized when two raw lads from a manufacturing town are able to crash their party. Scott's industrial workers are mostly labels whose industrial work is not described and who intrude only marginally in his stories.

Godwin gives a description of the exploitation of French children in the textile mills of Lyons, showing how the children become physically deformed and therefore remain visible as a group throughout life. He also tells how the town fathers defended the employment of children by arguing that working children are not delinquent and can support them-

selves, thus relieving their parents of that burden after the age of three or four.

Egan introduces the mechanical person in his picture of early nineteenth century stratification and assigns him a place just above the bottom of the ragtag and bobtail. He describes this person as honest, hard working, happy, and independent.

Thus the industrial workers in Period I are recruited from Highlanders, children, and raw lads, and some have developed into industrial craftsmen who are considerate, able citizens and who pursue their work whole-heartedly. They are known only nominally in the novels and are not seen as individuals but in terms of aggregates or occupational types. Galt's weaver-manufacturers purchase aristocratic life styles.

In Period II, industry comes to the fore and description of the worker's life and behavior are tools to understand the effects of industry. The authors, with different degrees of emphasis and favor, show concern for the exploitation of the worker on the one hand, and fear his organizing in his own interests, on the other. Workers of different kinds and different statuses are pictured in their workplaces as well as at home. The motivations and conditions of the workers are revealed, as are the goals they attain.

Whereas Period I authors indicated the traditional pattern of the paternalistic responsibility of the upper classes for the lower, these Period II authors write as if the power and authority of the past were already swept away or are in the process of being swept away. Their responses to the urban-industrial impact introduce a range of social-political issues of the time: the Reform Bill, the Corn Laws, the Poor Laws, Chartism, and the proper focus of power and authority in institu-

tions and individuals, or upon nature and the environment. Before looking at what individual authors brought to the creation of an image of the industrial worker, let us look at the range and kind of social-political base these authors favored.

Kingsley, Disraeli, Trollope and Reade all favored or accepted some form of traditional institutions as the basis for power and authority in society. Kingsley, a minister, favored a new Christian leadership. Disraeli, later to be the Queen's prime minister, had an almost mystical faith in the power and authority of the monarchy embodied in the sovereign. In so believing, he was willing to see Parliament fade away. Trollope, the mother of five children, looked to Parliamentary reform to protect the child laborer. Reade, a gentleman Whig, sought Parliament and reform as the basis for power and authority in industrializing England; union tyranny and other injustices were to be corrected.

Dickens, Gaskell, Eliot, and Bronte placed their faith primarily in the power and authority of individual men. Dickens saw corruption everywhere, even in educational institutions, yet hoped for men to educate themselves "to wonder" in order to break out of the constraints of corrupt institutions. Eliot, who also lacked faith in the institutions of the day, hoped that even the ignorant masses of workers could develop sensibilities that would prevent the misuse of the power of public opinion by less worthy men in their rush for power. Gaskell, who was rash enough to have one of her characters state a preference for a republican form of government, developed a fictional world that resolved its problems through personal understanding between men of different statuses. They came to the conclusion that they did have common aims and needs in life and must cooperate for survival. Bronte, the minister's

daughter, sees individual virtue as the proper basis for power and authority in life.

Only Martineau in this period supports the governance of mankind by immutable "laws of political economy". But characters in novels by other authors in this period are created as upholders of the "laws" among these are Dickens's Dombey and the masters of Coketown. Even Gaskell's masters are prone to reflect this attitude until enlightened. Characters who are businessmen or manufacturers tend to follow "laws of political economy." Martineau, the daughter of a manufacturer, supports the fictional association of the other authors of political economy with the roles of businessmen and manufacturers.

All of these authors saw a need to reflect on the changing basis of power and authority in the nineteenth century and to make some alterations or radical adjustments in thought if not in deed. They express both a fear of workers organizing and acting in their own interest, and a hope that a common power and authority will be upheld and prove adequate to changing social and political conditions.

Each of the authors of this period develops a different dimension of the picture of the industrial workingman. Although there are descriptions of the various industrial aspects in most of the novels, it is worthwhile to look at the major thrust of each author's work rather than enumerating the various points of view on the five aspects of industrialism indicated above. In summary, then, the contribution of each novelist is as follows.

Trollope focuses upon the oppression and exploitation of child labor. Martineau illustrates the fallacy of the strike. Disraeli explains how the working class needs to be incorporated under the

sovereign in a single hierarchy of rights and obligations commensurate with those assigned to other groups, and begins the fictional social merging of the industrial hierarchy with the traditional social hierarchy at the top levels by allowing the marriages of his characters. Dickens warns the reader of the fearsome consequences of industrial domination while describing workmen as not too bright but goodhearted. They still must depend on the leadership of others. Gaskell's view of the union's use of assassination belies her humane judgment of workers, but she hopes, as seen in the resolution of her plots, for the creation of personal understanding and cooperation between masters and men, a working equality of workers and masters.

Bronte turns the matter back to one of personal virtue rather than one of social roles. Some workers are virtuous and some not. It is not a question of workers being bad and masters good, for only individuals are bad or good. However she recognizes different characteristics and qualities associated with different work roles. For example, she notes the keener wit of the industrial worker as compared with the agricultural worker but also his susceptibility of the manipulation of others. Eliot paints the march of industry into the countryside and the developing political importance of the industrial workers. Kingsley writes of the oppression and exploitation of the tailor in the sweatshop that denies even the highly educated worker a leadership role. Reade, at the end of the period, shows that the unions are established but despotic in their domination of the worker and the workplace. Thus the picture includes pity (Trollope), the iron logic of political economy (Martineau), the hope for social consensus (Disraeli), the hope for individual man's mental development and judgment (Dickens), the hope of human equality

and cooperation (Gaskell), the belief in individual virtue (Bronte), the realistic observations of social change (Eliot), the need to reinforce traditional leadership (Kingsley), and the hope for Parliamentary Reforms (Reade). The following paragraphs expand upon the major contributions of these authors.

In Trollope's novel, the factory boy Michael succeeds in moving up in life style through his own perseverence and charm as well as by the patronage of a manufacturing heiress, but he can never fit into English society. Even though educated as a gentleman, he must live abroad. Trollope describes the indenturing of children into rural mills where society does not protect them, while conditions of poverty, ill-health, and death stalk the families of mill hands in the factory towns.

Martineau's mill hands in Manchester Strike suffer from unemployment and poverty caused by economic depression. There are simply too many workers for the jobs available, explains Martineau according to the "laws of political economy," but the men blame the masters for not giving them a living wage. The men, with the help of the union organizer Clack, organize a strike at a meeting in the local tavern. The strike is futile, and after it is over the man elected as leader by the strikers is blackballed by the masters so that the best job he can get is that of street sweeper. Thus the middle-class Martineau attempts to tell the reader of the uselessness of the strike; instead, the worker should seek to control his numbers, both in family planning and in limiting job-seekers, in order to improve his economic position in the marketplace.

Disraeli offers the reader a wider spectrum of industrial workers who are self-reliant and rational in pursuing their interests. Gerard,

the foreman of a model factory, lives in a rose-covered cottage and reads the philosophers, and agitates for the rights of workers consistent with the rights of other classes. Young girls who work in Disraeli's factories are freed from family dependency. Urban industrial workers in Devilsdust and Dandy Mick (Sybil) pursue self-development as members of the Shoddy Court Literary and Scientific Institute. Stephen Morley, a journalist active in the workers' cause, gets Mick initiated into the brotherhood of a trade union under the secrecy of night and the rituals of conspiracy. This workers' cause is responsible for rick-burning and rioting in the countryside.

Egremont, the young aristocratic member of Parliament, is the hero of the story and creates a bridge to the working class by his marriage with Sybil, Gerard's daughter and symbol of the workers' cause. However she is shown to have noble Anglo-Saxon lineage which makes her marriage with the young aristocrat acceptable by traditional standards.

In Coningsby, Disraeli shows the social acceptance of the successful manufacturer in the marriage of the manufacturer's daughter to the aristocrat Coningsby. Thus Disraeli offers the possibility of the merger of the industrial hierarchy with that of the traditional one. His industrial workers are developing an urban culture of their own, as seen in the Institute as well as in the pleasure palace where they may spend their evenings. His workers are in the process of organizing trade unions, developing their own journalism, and becoming responsible for their own lives.

Dickens is more preoccupied with the urban environment and its clerks, shopkeepers, professionals, thieves, and reigning powers than he is with the industrial sphere of life. However there are industrial

workers in his novels chosen for this sample. His novel Hard Times is devoted to an industrial town and its inhabitants. He made a special trip to Preston to view a cotton mill strike to provide the background for his story, for although he lectured at Mechanics' Institutes and later in life gave readings for his working class audience, he did not have first-hand industrial experience.

Hard Times is as harsh and molded as cold steel. The inhabitants of Coketown are molded and suppressed by industry. The book is a stylized and disciplined piece of writing that suppresses even the natural buoyancy of its author as he writes to warn his public of the terrors of industrial dominance. Human life and its disarray are stamped out by the pressure mold of industry; its dimensions are flattened, and the possibilities of growth are stifled as wonder is suppressed.

Stephen Blackpool is one of the mill workers in Coketown. Dickens describes him as competent and as retaining a subservient faith in the wisdom of his social betters. The master Bounderby and his Mrs. Sparsit of Family do not measure up to this deference, they are self-interested and pompous. Stephen is rejected by his fellow workers when he refuses to go along with their strike. He is an individual who makes his own decisions, attends to his work and abides by rules and regulations--a model worker in the eyes of middle-class England--but he is isolated from the human support of either social peers or superiors. But Dickens draws Stephen as not as bright as he appeared.

The other hands are described as earnest and honest, but virtually illiterate and amenable to manipulation by a lesser man than themselves in the interests of union power. Their life conditions are dreary, and their labor leads only to the grave. For Dickens it is this desperation

that forces them to accept the demogoguery of the union man Slackbridge. The masters offer no better hope for the workers as they justify impossible work conditions in terms of political economy. Dickens is for the right of the workers to organize in their own interests just as the masters combine in theirs, but he sees a need for education to raise the worker to self-reliance. This education must be based on "wonder," not only on facts, so that the social pattern may change as the human mind develops and not keep men prisoners of any particular social mold. Dickens is not just making a plea against industrial conditions but is attacking the industrial domination of life that he sees as threatening. He is a romantic in seeing the tranquility of the rural scene as superior to both the hurly-burly of the urban environment and the mindless conformity of the industrial environment.

Other industrial characters in this sample of Dickens's novels emerge as dramatic characters such as Mr. Toodles (Dombey and Son), a railroad stoker, who is deferent, illiterate, good hearted, and foolish is his relationship with Mr. Dombey. There are the pleasant and well-meaning workers in Bleeding Heart Yard (Little Dorrit) for whom there are not enough jobs and who send their wives and children out to do needlework. They are exploited by an absentee landlord and are not bright enough to manage their own affairs. They are also slow in paying their bills at Mr. Plornish's shop, even though he had been one of their own class. In London, other workers live in the densely packed, poorly drained Ludgate Hill section and are so oppressed by the quality of their lives that policemen are needed on Sundays to control their outbursts of frustration.

Dickens's workers often speak in dialect, dress characteristically,

are segregated in their living quarters and exploited by union leaders, absentee landlords, and masters, and tend to illiteracy and dullness. He creates two pasteboard characterizations similar to Egan's mechanical person in Daniel Doyce, the inventor whose factory graces Bleeding Heart Yard, and Wemmick, whose weird mechanical inventions fill his home.

Gaskell's approach to industry is more sanguine than that of Dickens. She sees that industrial workers have a more affluent life style than traditional agricultural workers. She also credits them with keener intellects. Her concerns are the deteriorating economic conditions of the workers' lives as market conditions deteriorate. She does not give political answers and does not see either Parliament or the monarchy solving their problem. The solution must be in the mutual understanding of masters and men, whom she sees as having a common interest in the health and vigor of industry. Her working-class characters are more human than other authors in this period in their complexity of good and bad, competence and incompetence, love and hate.

Her picture of John Barton is of a good family man and worker with leadership qualities who is frustrated over the failures of Chartism, resents the economically successful, and does not consider or understand the problems of trade or the human rights of other groups in society. His life before the onset of the depression was pleasant, his home was charming and open to friends, and reflected sentimental and aesthetic attachments. He participates in his union's terrorism by assassinating the son of the master in order to get more attention for the power and support he feels is due his union and the workers.

He and his friend take responsibility for less able workers and their families such as the Davenports, but he does not extend such

human responsibility and regard toward social superiors. Davenport, a Methodist, is literate and writes to his wife when on a tramp for work. She is illiterate and has to find someone to read it to her. They live in a cellar apartment in Manchester where the sewer drainage seeps through the floor on which the children play. The children sicken and die as does Davenport himself. Ironically, the one child who remains to support the mother is put out of work because of the passage of a Child Labor Law forbidding the employment of children of his age. This child was not too bright and unable to stay in school. The factory had served him, according to Mrs. Gaskell, as it did Godwin's child laborers, by keeping him occupied and out of trouble while helping to support his family.

In North and South the now classic arguments between individualism and achievement, on the one hand, and community and tradition, on the other, are represented in the conflict between the hero, a northern manufacturer, and the heroine, a southern minister's daughter. Each comes to respect the attributes of the other, but little sympathy is lost between the master and the men who strike his factory. Their conflict is a war for domination and is tinged with deep hatred. Little thought is given to the problems of trade by the men, or of the desperate life conditions of the men by the master. Gaskell has the master finally come to understand the honest problems of the workers' existence while Higgins, representing the workers, comes to understand the problems over which the master has little control. They both begin to realize that their interests are similar in their mutual need of a successful market and a stable industrial relationship.

Gaskell portrays the worker Higgins as a philosopher from early in

the book while the master Thornton must be educated to classical humanism through the minister's tutoring. Higgins and his daughter retain the speech patterns of the north from where they migrated. The daughter dies from lung disease brought on by working in the mills. In Higgins, Gaskell has developed a worker who is literate, thoughtful, and able to come to an understanding with the master. He is also competent.

The rift between master and men is increased by the use of Irish strike-breakers in both Mary Barton and North and South. The railroad, harbinger of industrial life, rushes in and disrupts the village life of Gaskell's Cranford. However the worlds of agriculture and industry are symbolically joined in the marriage of the northern master with the southern minister's daughter.

Bronte, like Dickens, tended to see industry negatively. She saw it as an intrusion into the agricultural countryside, as her industrial workers often are intruders on the local scene. The mill's master is foreign, the strikebreakers are foreign, and some of the workers come from other parishes. The local agricultural population can lump them altogether as "outsiders", but among these "outsiders" there is no common cultural unity.

As in Martineau's and Gaskell's novels, the workers do not understand the problems of trade and angrily blame the master for failing employment and wages, and break his machinery which they see as taking away their jobs. Bronte sees the machine-breaking action of the workers as part of a larger web of organization. The local leader of the machine breakers is viewed by Bronte as not manly or trustworthy. However her view of workers is not wholly negative. In the story, the trusted mill foreman Scott finds the northern industrial worker more intelligent and

knowledgeable than the southern agricultural worker. But education by itself is not seen as the solution for the conflicts of men and master. More important are the personal virtues of sympathy and benevolence which can be found equally among all groups in society.

Only in her description of the master does Bronte begin to develop an industrial character who responds to more than the industrial scene, but this is mostly suggestive. Her workers represent different aspects of the industrializing conditions. They include the trusted competent foreman, mill hands, agricultural workers employed by the mill whose job status is threatened by machines, and the rabble-rouser Barraclough.

Bronte writes of both industry and the industrial worker as foreign to her agricultural community and without a common cultural tradition of rights and obligations. This leads to conflict as each group understands and perceives the world only in terms of its own visible interests. In all groups there are good people and bad, and Bronte sees that lack of vision leads to conflict. Although she sees industry as an intrusion, she does not try to turn back the clock; she accepts its presence. Likewise, she does not condemn industrial workers anymore than she does agricultural workers, and in fact sees industrial workers as mentally keener. Virtuous people exist in all walks of life and it is by their efforts that society may be able to function harmoniously.

Eliot continues Bronte's picture of an industrial age that intrudes into the countryside. This is especially true in Middlemarch, where the surveyors for the railroad are attacked by laborers organized by a local landowner who has convinced them the railroad will deprive them of work and will change their lives. However her characterization of Caleb Garth reveals a local resident of long standing in Middlemarch who has

been embued with the romance of industry since his youth. He and his wife embrace the rational thought of the modernizing world and are not bound to the traditional social world of Middlemarch. Caleb, an inventor, surveyor, and estate administrator, has the attributes of Egan's mechanical person in being honest, industrious, happy, and independent.

Eliot's Felix Holt is an artisan who has taken up the cause of the workingman, and although his education would permit him to improve his social status he chooses to work for the interests of the worker. In that way he is like Gaskell's John Barton in limiting his life work to the interests of one group rather than trying to work for the betterment of all, or as moderator among groups. He is unique in being idealistic.

Public opinion is a major basis of public action in Middlemarch. It is an "objective" fact replacing custom. Eliot has her characters acknowledge its importance, for instance in the election for Parliament and the discussion of the Reform Bill when it goes against the wishes of Squire Brooke.

Customary ties no longer join laborers and landowners, as the weavers and tanners and even the tenant farmer see political events in terms of their own interests rather than in terms of local loyalties to the landowner. All workers are outside the social circles of the gentry who dominate social life in Eliot's novels, and live to themselves. Her artisans are isolated even more; they are neither a part of the workers' communities or of the dominant social circles of the gentry. But it is in Eliot's artisans, Felix Holt and Caleb Garth, that the leadership of industrial life is developing.

Eliot's great contribution in these terms is in fitting the pene-

tration of industry into the English countryside and showing the waning local dominance of the landed gentry-led society as a new town bourgeoisie come to power under the banker and the small business interests represented by Bulstode and the Vincys. Meanwhile the community of tanners and weavers, whose factories are powered by the water wheel, live to themselves. When it comes time to send a representative to Parliament they do not support the traditional candidate Squire Brooke. The professional Lydgate, who has come to escape city pressures, is thwarted in his idealism by his wife's drive for material things that reflects town values. He finally returns to the city, thereby accepting town values for the sake of his marital responsibilities. On the other hand, the young journalist Will Ladislaw, who has a tenuous connection with local lineage, marries the Squire's niece Dorothea and moves off to the city to take up a life of responsibility for others. He is not associated with Church, Parliament, Law, or Education, but simply an individual carving out his own career with the help of his wife in the service to others. Thus in Middlemarch, the dominance of a town bourgeoisie is ebbing, as the established are corrupt (Bulstode) and economically failing (Vincy) in their pursuit of a life of conspicuous consumption. The young are leaving for the city (Ludgate and Ladislaw), and the nearby weavers and tanners become vocal and influential in Parliamentary elections, blocking the election of the local squire. The weavers and tanners look to national politics and issues to define themselves and their interests.

Her Felix Holt is more a symbol of idealized leadership of workers than a portrait of a real person. The other workers do not follow his reasoning nor listen overmuch to him.

The battle for dominance between the workers and the money powers over the conditions of the tailors' work is important to Kingsley. His Alton Locke exposes the reader to what happened when the factory system began to replace the domestic system in the tailoring trade. Besides the exploitation of the tailor by pecuniary interests, Kingsley indicates the related issues of overcrowded and unsanitary housing conditions that brought cholera to the workers and their families. His remedy is the development of an enlightened Christian leadership under the sovereign. Kingsley joins urban and rural workers in his depiction of the conflict of Chartism. Although Kingsley praises the self-improvement of the workers who struggle to further their education, he concludes that men are born to their place in life and though they may improve themselves personally they must remain in their designated slots and not pursue upward social mobility. However Alton is advised in Kingsley's story that clerical, military, or literary occupations may provide upward social mobility if one has the proper contacts. Alton as a characterization is more a vehicle for relating the conditions of tailors in London than creating a portrait of a fully realized human being.

In Reade's novel, the unions have already established their power in the factory. They are locally controlled and members of a trade from London must be represented in the local union in order to work locally. Unions within the factory compete with each other for limited resources, jobs, and power. Union leaders prove to be as callous in regard to workmen's lives as are the masters in other stories. The workers share the leaders' and the masters' higher evaluation of materialistic and power gains than of factory safety, although it is their own lives that are at stake. The unions prove to be just as in-

flexible after they gain power as were the previous holders of power and prestige. They resort to terrorist methods as did Gaskell's Barton, but they do so to maintain their power position, not to attain it. They destroy men and machines as it suits their strategy.

Reade is not for ridding society of industry and its workers even though he complains of how the factory soils the countryside. He sees, with Bronte and Eliot, the oncoming industrial world eroding the boundaries of the successful eighteenth century commercial world that still attempted to uphold the manners and life styles of a bygone rural aristocracy, in a world that dismissed all newcomers with equal distaste.

Reade's Henry Little can be seen as another in Egan's line of mechanical persons who are honest, hard working, and happy in their work. Like Kingsley's Alton, Reade's Henry is not developed as a complex character and is little more than a device to explore the tyranny of the unions. The other workers in Reade's novel vary in intelligence but all choose money and power over physical safety in the factory. Some are friendly to Henry but follow the demands of their unions in ostracizing him. They accept the violence and destruction as part of the industrial scene. Reade wants his readers to push for Parliamentary reform in order to insure a saner and safer work place which can permit creativity and development. In his story, such reform is blocked by the unions. Thus blame for social ills has now spread to the working class and its representatives, certainly a mark of social recognition of that class. The class as a whole is now seen more realistically with a developed organization, its disregard for human life, and its pursuit of material gain and power.

The authors of Period II dramatize and create individual representa-

tions of the macroscopic effects of the process of industrialization, developing characters as representatives of industrial conditions. They stress different aspects of industry and its effects and describe different industrial situations, yet they manage to produce a total image of the developing dominance of industry in nineteenth century England which threatens the traditional order. They describe the emergence of a hierarchy of industrial workers headed by literate, competent artisans who seek social responsibility and leadership but who are denied social success and the support of the workers in general.

In the lower echelons of the working class there are signs of self-reliance, social responsibility, and self-improvement. The authors are for economic and social improvements and political protection for the workers as a class, but they fear workers' organization which challenges middle-class dominance. This fear can be seen in the failure of the authors to permit artisans to rise to successful leadership. In general, authors accept the traditional order and they attempt to bring artisan and industrial workers into the traditional hierarchy of rights and obligations at the level where Egan first placed them, below the successful commercial middle class.

Another common characteristic of the authors is their desire for stability in the social order. Workers are supposed to prefer remaining as workers, and for their children to remain in the same class (as illustrated by John Barton's desire for Mary not to become a do-nothing lady). Thus the authors project values of self-reliance, self-improvement, and social responsibility on workers but deny them the social fulfillment inherent in these values by stressing the need for workers to submit to others at least until evolution and education can bring them

up to the "standards" of the authors. The workers, with the exception to some degree of artisans like Felix Holt, Alton Locke, or Henry Little, are different in dress, speech, housing, manners, and education from middle-class society. Felix and Henry both sought to retain working-class identity by dress and occupation, but were ostracized and isolated by workers and their organizations.

Period III workers are urban dwellers for the most part, and the novelists are concerned with their housing, their culture, and their support of the social order. They portray workers with unique individual personalities; Kipling even gives his soldiers humor and wit in their awareness of themselves in relation to others. Besant gives his workers a variety of political opinions (Master Craftsman). In all of the novels of this period the reader learns of local and family allegiances that fragment any monolithic workers' allegiance. Leaders of workers must work to develop support for what are considered the workers' interests: better living conditions and power over the environment (as Mutimer's attempt at a Utopia in Demos). After beginning with hopes for missionary work on the part of the middle class these authors (Besant and Gissing) conclude that worker self-reliance, both in individuals and as a class, must be the basis for social development and control. They no longer appear anxious over the threat of dominance by workers in their organizations.

The workers continue to be seen as deferent for the most part, dressed uniquely, prone to drunkenness and tobacco, aggressive, and ignorant of their political and social-historical condition. They lack aesthetic and intellectual tastes and live in drab, monotonous housing graded to their work status. Environment is a molding force in their

development; they are unable to overcome the pressures of slum life. Even Gissing's educated slum-dwelling writers in New Grub Street are unable to maintain themselves in their environment against the onslaughts of a life of despair. Education is still important and can create at least the outward grace of a gentleperson, but it cannot add the security of self that permits the "true" gentlewoman Besant's Children of Gibeon to move into the slum as a missionary. But a national identity is transcending regional and occupational identity for the characters in these novels.

Besant's strikers and Kipling's pillaging soldiers retain the readers' mental picture of workers as uncontrollable mobs. In Besant's case the heroine appealed to their strikers' English character to turn them away and in the other, Kipling's Mulvaney practices physical punishment to control the unruly soldiers. Morrison's street mobs can be contained within the slums but not controlled in Child of Jago.

Besant, one of the period's most popular authors, tried to draw sympathetic pictures of the workingman. His Jack Armstrong (Son of Vulcan) can be included in Egan's prototype as an honest and industrious worker who likes his work. He has unacknowledged rights and lineage from birth, and he develops with experience, tutoring, and a university education to become a steel-maker and inventor. Like Eliot's Felix Holt and Reade's Henry Little, Jack must stand off a crowd of workers bent on destruction. Norah appeals to their English manliness and sense of fair play to turn the crowd away. Jack moves up in economic status as he succeeds at steel making and becomes his own master. His education permits him the appearance and manners of a gentleman and provides him the technical knowledge for advancement. Jack accuses the workers of

drunkenness and a lack of self-reliance. Like the workers in Reade's novel, these workers choose jobs and wages over safety, even when it concerns their children. In this novel, industry has revived the dying market town of Esbrough.

In All Sorts and Conditions of Men, Besant's concern is with a London community of working people which includes, among others, brewery workers and milliners. Their living conditions are rundown and the symbolic white blinds are often dirty and broken. Their recreation patterns include street strolling and drinking. Besant seeks to develop aesthetic tastes and pursuits through the founding of his Palace of Delight where intellectual and educational resources including tutors were available for the workers' self development. These workers have not yet improved themselves, but were helped by the support of a young heiress and a young gentleman whose own education and patronage had enabled them over several generations to rise from the working class. Besant draws the brewery workers as happy, wearing the traditional work attire of the apron and in some cases even the paper cap. The milliners are all young women whom the heiress gathers into a work and living group and trains them to middle-class manners, behavior, and dress. The status of foreman is associated with a humorless personality. The factory creates problems of ventilation and noise. The workers are pale and deferent to their superiors.

In Children of Gibeon Besant brings the reader back to the problem raised by Bulwer-Lytton in Paul Clifford: whether it is environment or heredity that makes a gentleperson. Included in answer is that training and education can make a lady in Violet, but only the well-born Valentine has the largeness of spirit and the security of self to move into the

slum world and work for its betterment. Harry (All Sorts and Conditions of Men) comments that birth is no longer important to social success. In the Seamy Side of Life Besant supports the theory of environment over heredity as the daughter of the "snake-in-the-grass" proves to be a lady. The children of the washerwoman in Children of Gibeon have made their way in separate directions. Claude, with a university education and the physical appearance of a duke, will return with Valentine to minister to the slum world. Joe, a steady worker but not too bright, wears the traditional clothing of a worker, speaks in dialect and has married and produced a large family. Sam is the pompous Socialist school teacher, who talks reform but does not act. Melenda is an independent, hard working milliner, who holds out at first from accepting the help of Valentine. She and the other young milliners are exploited by the clothiers who farm out piece work to them at starvation wages and then proceed to "drill" them (making them wait for their wages) if they in anyway displease the management.

In the Master Craftsman a gentleman chooses to become a craftsman while a craftsman chooses to become a gentleman. Each helps the other with dress, manners, and contacts in the double metamorphosis. The craftsman who becomes a gentleman does so through becoming a politician. At one of the workers' gatherings the reader finds that the workers lack a common political ideology. The political confrontation between workers and the middle class characteristic of Period II novels is no longer central or monolithic, for different workers hold different political views as individuals.

Besant dwells on the ignorance of the workers concerning the English constitution and national history. He despairs of their lack of social

life (Seamy Side of Life) and their contentment with their life of beef and beer and summer excursion boat trips. He is contemptuous of the "will of the people" in Children of Gibeon, but recognizes the "power of the people" in Harry's speech to the workers in All Sorts and Conditions of Men. He hopes, on the one hand, for the workers to develop their own culture and to become gentlemanly in their behavior; on the other hand, he hopes that the rich will fade away. The workers must educate and develop themselves for their own leadership. In the meantime, the hopes of the workers must rely upon the humanistic leadership of intellectual gentlemen and ladies and not upon the empty promises of politicians. Ethnic communities within Besant's urban slums are orderly and neat and present a supportive life style for their inhabitants in All Sorts and Conditions of Men.

Gissing reinforces the mental picture of workers as unintelligent, drunken, brawling, unable to manage money. He pictures factory life as harsh and evil. Workers live in drab housing, destitute and despairing, and the heaven of the countryside lies beyond their reach. Even when Richard Mutimer in Demos tries to create the industrial jobs in the countryside, the experiment fails because the workers bring their own destruction and desecration with them. Whereas Dickens is romantic about the rural workers, seeing them as more pure and pious than their urban counterparts, Gissing sees only the natural environment of the country as superior to that of the city. People at the bottom of social life, whether peasant or urban proletariat, are not desirable anywhere, and the gap between them and more cultivated persons cannot be bridged in a single generation (Demos), according to Gissing. Eliot and Kingsley also held this view of a gap extending over many generations of social

and biological development between the multitude of workers and the upper classes.

However Gissing does not lay all the blame for the workers' lack of humanity and of aesthetic and intellectual grace at the feet of genetics but blames the overpowering oppressions of slum life. Within the slum, power and influence are exercised by intruding representatives of the middle-class world (Workers in the Dawn, Thryza), successful artisans and mechanics (Thryza, Workers in the Dawn), and more importantly, with the shopkeeper Bower (Thryza) who is interested in his shop and his prestige and power. The middle-class representatives act through such slum agents in their missionary work.

Although Gissing toys with the idea of missionary work in the slums by upper and middle class youth as did Besant, he soon loses faith in it. In fact he finds no remedies for improving slum life. The only joys are in personal relationships and personal development, but marriage across class lines brings disaster to Gissing's characters in all of his stories, just as it did for him in his own life.

Religion is dismissed by Gissing's characters in favor of aesthetic and intellectual pursuits. Education varies over class conditions. Its main purpose should be, according to Gissing, humanistic and not technical. The flaw in his engineer protagonist Richard Mutimer is that he lacks a humanist education and orientation. He does not fit in as a gentleman, even though he physically resembles the upper class, because his views are socialistic.

There are different brands of socialism revealed among the workers in Demos. There is even more than one socialist newspaper. Propaganda is seen as so important to the socialist cause that Mutimer contributes

a sizeable sum for its development after he receives the legacy. Sidney Kirkwood (Nether World), a more sympathetic character than Mutimer, is described as having moved from Radical to a common sense acceptance of the status quo. Bob Hewitt, who works as a die-sinker, is less sympathetically treated by Gissing; he uses his abilities to counterfit coins, misuses his wife, and is fatally injured fleeing from the police.

Gissing draws the worker's life as degraded and drab but writes of market night in Lambeth as full of laughter and fellowship (Thryza). Kirkwood (Nether World) is made to comment that virtues in one class may be a fault in another, for it is class circumstances that determine virtue or vice.

Factories and shops and businesses of all kinds are found along with houses in the slums. Different areas show more or less respectability and social order in their streets. Some artisans like jewelers live in slightly better dwellings in the slums (Nether World). Like Besant, Gissing was a careful observer and reporter of such housing areas.

Social mobility out of the slums is seen by Gissing as highly unlikely. His sympathetic characterization of John Hewitt reveals that Hewitt lost a small legacy in the failure of some workshops he tried to establish but could not manage profitably. Thryza, Jane Snow (Nether World), and Edwin Reardon (New Grub Street) lose their chance to move out of the slums and upward in life. Mr. Scawthorne (Nether World), who is intellectually and materially successful, is not accepted socially by any class. What Gissing does offer is a picture of individuals caught in various circumstances and unable to overcome them. And like Eliot and Kingsley, he retains the idea that there is a biological and

social evolutionary gap between the lower masses and the upper classes that will take more than one generation of development to close.

In Period III, Trollope's description of the upper classes exposes their lack of concern for others and the importance of wealth and position in providing favoritism under the law. Class, status, and money are all important to his characters and the working class is absent in Trollope's novels, as it was in Austen's, because of the author's understanding of his audience. He wrote for a middle and upper class audience, for although he was interested in the life of the working class he did not think his readers were.

Meredith's concern with the industrializing social scene is shown in his story of the ill-fated socialist leader (The Tragic Comedians) and in his politically conscious social circles (Diana of the Crossways), but it is only the workingman's political importance that occupies Meredith's professional and aristocratic social circles. His political views do not rest with the laws of political economy but seek a more human resolution of the problems of the social order. Like Gissing, Meredith views individual efforts as the only remedy that may meet with some success. His middle-class characters are enthusiastically motivated to reform politics while his aristocratic characters are more apt to be dutifully motivated by feelings of social responsibility. The irony of Tom Redworth's Radicalism is that his wealth grows with profitable capital investments. While Diana and Lady Dunstane complain of the soiling of the countryside by industry and the railroad, Tom accepts such development and makes a fortune in railroad speculations.

Barrie's pages include urban masons, bakers, clerks, and rural weavers. The urban workers are migrants from Scotland who bring their

culture with them and remain within their own settlement, helping newcomers from the North with jobs and housing, and marrying within their own community. Young Tommy is raised in London but his head is stuffed with romantic tales of the rural village of his ancestry by his widowed mother. He is disappointed when he finally views the tiny, inbred rural domain. The hint of the possibility of personal success is in his education, imagination, and departure from the community for a successful writing career like Barrie's own. One of Barrie's young rural heroines is assured by a doctor that undesirable social behavior is not inherited, indicating Barrie's own views on inherited vs. achieved behavior. Independent individuals like herself and like Tommy may make their social fortunes according to Barrie. The world is open to the success of talent and achievement.

Morrison, whose view of slum life is much harsher than Barrie's, has his young hero Dicky, in Child of Jago, develop with sensitivity, intelligence, and human concern, similar to the development of Barrie's Tommy, but there is no way out of the slum for Dicky Perrot and the pressures of economic survival destroy him as an individual. The charm of Barrie's urban Thrums community is not found in the drunken violence of Jago Street's inhabitants. Morrison's workers dress and speak distinctively and are coarse in manner. The men are less humane than the women who support them and who are loyal even when physically abused. Social status is attached to funeral rites and to traditional occupations such as landlord or shopkeeper. Radicals are made fun of and the efforts of missionaries to the slums fail in Morrison's pages. The goal of success for an inhabitant of Jago Street is to become a High Mobsman. Thus the occupation of thievery continues to be associated with the

workingman who wants to gain a better life just as it was in Bulwer-Lytton's Paul Clifford.

Kipling's three soldiers pursue their own interests and in doing so help to uphold society in a manner not unlike that of Adam Smith's invisible hand. Their life as soldiers in India causes them to develop an allegiance to the army, with its rank and its discipline. Mulvaney becomes so attached to the life of the British soldier in India that he is unhappy after being mustered out in England; he returns to India in charge of one of the many construction crews of coolies that swarmed over India at the end of the nineteenth century, building railroads, dams, and highways. The soldiers do not seek to become officers, but they are not painted as mentally dull in the way that Dickens described the working class in the characters of Toodles, Stephen Blackpool, and Joe Gargery. They have wit and energy in carrying out their escapades and are competent in carrying out their military duties. They are not deferent, but respectful in their relations with their social superiors. They do retain distinctive speech patterns and are superstitious rather than logical in some of their beliefs. They drink too much, fight too much, and are prone to deviltry. While regional association of the soldiers is overcome in the army, the soldiers return to their old regional molds after being mustered out. A sober, righteous Methodist Yorkshire community of miners is seen by an ex-soldier as hypocritical in their mouthing of non-violence, and as a community closed to non-believers.

Kipling's picture of slum life in "The Record of Badalia Herodsfoot" reinforces Morrison's picture of the loyalty of the physically abused wives in the slums and of the failure of slum missionaries. One of

Kipling's stories symbolically records the overthrow of the traditional Indian gods by the English gods of industry and technology.

Continuities and Discontinuities in the Image of the Worker

The image of the worker over the novels of the nineteenth century shows some continuity and some discontinuity. The mass of workingmen continue to be seen as coarse, vulgar, distinctive in dialect and dress, prone to drunkenness and violence, migratory, and often thieves. They are not able to handle their financial affairs and often look to others for leadership. Their housing is mean and monotonous and sometimes not even respectable in its dilapidation and dirt. The workers value money and jobs over their own or their childrens' safety just as the masters and union leaders do. Thievery offers a chance at a better life for the workingman, from Bulwer-Lytton's Paul Clifford through Morrison's Child of Jago.

At the top of a rather unchanged hierarchy of workers there are artisans and mechanics from Period I through Period III who are more apt to be accepted in middle-class circles in the novels, to be educated, and to be motivated to improve their social position. Egan places the mechanical person just above the ragtag and bobtail and declares them honest, merry and independent workers. In Period II Gaskell's Jem Wilson (Mary Barton), Disraeli's Gerard (Sybil), Bronte's Scott (Shirley), Dickens's Daniel Doyce (Little Dorrit) and Wemmick (Great Expectations), Eliot's Caleb Garth (Middlemarch) and Reade's Henry Little (Put Yourself in His Place) are examples of this type of worker.

In Period III, with Gissing's characterization of Richard Mutimer Demos, the reader is introduced to a more complex characterization of the mechanic. Mutimer is not the symbolic embodiment of workers frustrated

by Chartism as Alton Locke, or of workers threatened by union power as Henry Little. He is simply an individual raised in working-class circumstances who is able to understand the effects of his own acts in a limited way and does have the power to make decisions. So this prototype of the mechanic is continuous but the role unfolds over the century so that at the last a personality is projected. John Hewitt (Nether World) is another such worker. Both he and Mutimer are unable to manage their financial assets profitably. Thus the idea first described in Scott's novel The Antiquary in the Mucklebackit's inability to manage their finances continues to mar the picture of the industrial artisan in the novels of Gissing at the end of the century. These industrial artisans or engineers excell in mechanical and productive work rather than in pecuniary affairs in the same way that Veblen describes the engineer.

From a status just above the ragtag and bobtail, the industrial artisan in Dickens's Daniel Doyce becomes socially and economically successful on the strength of his mechanical creativity. However he is not described as a social leader, an administrator, or a financial entrepreneur, but simply as a successful inventor-engineer. Gissing's Richard Mutimer (Demos) begins with the position of hard-working engineer, and with a legacy he is able to move into the social world of the wealthy. His personality flaws and his lack of judgment keep him from being a social success even though he marries a socially acceptable lady. He loses even the support of other workers and is finally isolated in his failure. Besant's George introduces a new idea when the young baronet chooses to trade places with his cousin Robert who is a master craftsman. It is not a question of wealth or status but of the quality of life that is decisive for George. He prefers a less social life, one with the

pleasures of competence in working with one's hands and of living simply with persons one loves. Thus the success and status of the industrial artisan do not fit into a simple gradation model of stratification. Social status, wealth and political power are not the primary aims or attributes of these artisans. Competence in their work and simpler life styles are characteristic of their artisan status. The stratification model that more closely incorporates the artisan in the novels is the functional model where the role of gentleman offers a different, not necessarily a better, life style, as indicated by the choice of the life of the master craftsman by Besant's George.

One of the major discontinuities in the image of the worker begins in Period II as the worker looks to himself, his peers and union organization for assistance instead of depending on the patronage of the Earl as the Mucklebackits did in The Antiquary. However they see the outside world as the cause of their problems and attack machines and factories and strike for improvements in their conditions of work. Self-help, especially in educating themselves, is illustrated in Period II by Alton Locke, whose author denies that Alton's classical pursuits make him fit to lead workingmen. In Period III, Gissing attempts to make classical education basic to the social and cultural development of the worker, but he is pessimistic about its success. Self-help is the avenue for success for Barrie's Tommy, who leaves the community of his ancestors to develop as a writer by way of education, imagination, and talent. Social contacts and patronage continue in importance but are no longer based on local contacts or feudal responsibilities. The new basis of patronage are in politics, occupations, and social influence.

Another discontinuity is in the development of a characteristic

working-class education. In Period I Andrew Wylie, the laird's children and the servant Bell Lampit all received the same education. In Period II there are village night schools, a Charitable Grinders School, a Gradgrind School, and Mechanics' Institutes for workers, while gentlemen are tutored and sent to the universities. With the addition of the Board School (Gissing) for working-class children, the pattern remains the same for Period III.

By Period III the workers have the franchise and participate in politics, which becomes a route to social success. In the earlier periods, working-class men were paid in whiskey to demonstrate at election time.

The recognition of the legitimate rights of unions by the end of Period II is another discontinuity. At the beginning of Period II, union leaders are introduced as less than manly, dishonest and manipulative (Martineau's Clack, Dickens's Slackbridge), by the end, they are powerful despots (Reade's union leaders). They are paid little attention in Period III.

There is a discontinuity in what the authors consider important about workers' lives. As the Child Labor Laws and Factory Acts of Period II took hold the concern in the novels with social problems like child labor, ventilation, etc. in the factory fades away. In Period III, the authors concern themselves with the huge indigestible urban slums and the imprisonment of their individuals. In Period II the concern is with solving political and economic problems or with developing understanding between masters and men. In Period III it is with developing understanding between the individual and the resources of his society. National identity begins to be emphasized, and with it workers' acceptance of and into it.

Class is not an essential quality for the author's acceptance or rejection of a character, but each character is recognized first by class and then by personality, and class limits the horizons of development for the working class. Only the highly talented and educated who strive for middle-class respectability and who gain economic and social support can hope to move up in life. When they do so, they leave their cultural ancestors behind them.

The industrial hierarchy begins to appear as merged with the top of the traditional social hierarchy, as suggested earlier in Disraeli's novels. Gaskell also shows a joining at the top in the marriage of Thornton and Margaret in North and South. No notice is taken of these differences in Period III. Suggestions of upward mobility for the weaver or the factory boy by Galt and Trollope are recognized as not being palatable to the established society. No later author permits the rise of a worker into the traditional hierarchy unless he is discovered to have the traditional lineage necessary for higher status. Gaskell's Thornton succeeds in the industrial sphere and the young lady of the traditional sphere whom he marries is a marginal representative of the traditional social hierarchy. She is out of place in the industrial town: her father has left the traditional church and she is orphaned by the time of the marriage.

Education is the gentleman's most important asset. Dickens's Pip and Estella are able to move in genteel circles because of their education and the social contacts that began in their youth. However they are not successful personally as gentlepersons, but only in taking on the external attributes of these roles. Only in Kingsley is education to be dominated by Christian leadership. Dickens gives a picture of the

differences in education for different classes in society: the village night school, the Charitable Grinders, the Gradgrind School, the Mechanics' Institutes, and tutoring for gentlemen. The other authors of the middle period are concerned with workmen educating themselves to self-reliance. Kingsley's Alton's classical literary capacities are at first believed by the reader as able to raise him to the status of gentleman, but his rash political behavior negates that hope.

The vitality of urban workers' street life is noted by Besant and Gissing in Period III, as it was by Egan in Period I. Kipling, Morrison, and Gissing are impressed with the vitality of slum personalities, and the surprising loyalty among slum dwellers. Badalia Herodsfoot (Kipling), Dicky Perrot and Lizerunt (Morrison), and Pennyloaf Candy (Bob Hewitt's wife in Gissing's The Nether World) illustrate this view. Thus although the authors see no way to mold the mass of slum dwellers to middle-class existence, they are still aware of the creative life energies in the slums. These remain a raw resource for the social order for these middle-class authors.

The Authors' Points of View

There is a strain of anti-business sentiment that runs from Scott's description of the Quaker businessman in Redgauntlet, whose fishing nets threaten the sport of salmon fishing, through Dickens's harsh portraits of Dombey and Bounderby, and continues in Period III in Besant's The Seamy Side and in Gissing's and Meredith's disdain of authors who write for money. The lack of tradesmen or commercial men among the fathers of these authors may account for their anti-business sentiments. Authors' fathers included ministers, lawyers, an academician, artisans, a literary notable, gentry, a pharmacist, a lord, a merchant, and a manufacturer.

Although business is usually considered the source of middle-class gains, these authors (Martineau excepted) held the anti-commercial values of the eighteenth century aristocracy and did not support business to any degree. Ironically, many, beginning with Scott, maintained themselves and grew rich on capital investments, and their own commercial success as writers drew others into the field. While Gissing and Meredith deny writing for monetary gain, Trollope, much more successful commercially, admits he wrote to support his life style.

The artisans in their work and life styles are nearest to the novelists of any of the workingmen and as such are most approved. The authors share pleasures of competence, literacy, self-reliance, talent, lack of lineage for the most part, as well as some sense of social responsibility. However the manual labor of the artisan separates him from the novelist, who sees himself a gentleman in his pen-pushing because this was the occupation of the aristocratic and well-to-do in previous centuries. And so although they uphold the citizenship, integrity, work ethic, and even the manners of the artisan, they deny him drawing-room acceptability and upward social mobility. He is not to be a leader of men, but only a controller and developer of objects.

The rigidities of class membership are upheld over the century except for the early period where Scott, Egan, Galt, and Bulwer-Lytton shows cracks in the traditional class structure by featuring socially acceptable professionals, men about town without long lineage, and a criminal. For the rest, class identities become set and workers do not rise while the middle class achieves its position of dominance. It is only for the highly talented, educated, and socially sponsored individual that upward social mobility may occur.

Masses or categories of people hold material values highest while some individual characters maintain values of work competence, honesty, justice, and education. For most characters, the last is mainly a tool to get ahead. While a common set of moral rights and obligations are seen as needed by groups in society in the early periods, by Period III Besant comments that every level of life has its own moral code.

Except for Kingsley, religion fails to maintain importance in these novels. Industry and its impact is the major focus for Period II novels, while life in the urban slums is a major preoccupation of the authors in Period III.

The masses of workers are not desirable associates for these middle-class authors who are at a loss as to how to modify the workers' lives to accommodate to middle-class life.

Summary

The hypothesis that the workingman is first depicted by the nineteenth century English novelists in a sympathetic personal portrayal intended to draw attention to the social ills of industrialism does not hold up, for they are first depicted nominally and categorically or by specific roles: the journeymen mechanics, raw lads, child mill hands, mechanical persons of Period I. Their personalities are not developed but the reader is introduced to the politeness of the mechanics and their ability to organize to attain a goal; the brashness of the lads; the exploitation of the children to the point of deformity; and of the honest, hard-working and happy mechanical person. The personal picture of workers in Period I is of the preindustrial worker with whom the authors were more familiar.

In Period II working-class characters are representative of

industrial conditions and are intended to draw the readers' interest and sympathy while showing union organizers as unwholesome, grasping or manipulating. The authors focus on the relation of the industrial workers to society. Parliament, Christian leadership, education, and self-help are indicated as resources for improving the lives of workingmen. Lineage remains the basis of social status; workers do not rise in society without it, and generations of evolution are seen as necessary to make a gentleman from a worker. In Dickens's Pip and Estella there is a hint that a child of working people can become a successful gentleperson by education, but such individuals don't quite make it.

In Period III it is the urban settlements of the workers that are the focus of the novels rather than industry and its effects. Even class differences are overwhelmed by the immediate pressures of slum life.

The workers in the novels appear only marginally at first, then as representative characters, then as main characters, and finally as inhabitants of an urban world where the power of the middle-class characters to intervene is blocked by the immensity of urban slum existence.

The three periods can be characterized according to their probable meaning to middle-class readers. In the first period the reader sees the development of the middle-class position in England against the backdrop of the decaying aristocracy. In the middle period there is a plea to the middle class, which now has the vote, to become socially responsible for the beleaguered workers through Parliamentary legislation that will improve their lot. In Period III the authors introduce the reader to a world of workers in the urban slums and press for a more personal commitment through missionary work on the part of the middle

class, but the authors themselves become disillusioned over the effects of this effort. They find that middle-class charity is manipulated by the working class, and that middle-class values are understood but not followed within the confines of the urban slums. Meanwhile the styles of life of workers--the floating population, for one--develop differently from those of the middle class and only some workers follow the middle-class values of respectability. They do join in the pursuit of success through politics; but those who are successful often detour through the drawing-rooms of society where the politicians are made.

Newspapers are recognized as political in nature. It is in Period III that the importance of the novel in providing a common literary focus for the English literary audience loses its dominance when national Sunday papers and other publications proliferate. The reading public includes increasing numbers of the working class readers and England begins to move from a class society to a mass society.

The authors of Period II were most apt to write in a macroscopic, historical-political vein and it is this period that is characterized by the struggles in Parliament over reform, the widening franchise, the Corn Laws, and the agitation over Chartism. The conflicts were both between the old aristocracy and the middle class, and between the middle class and the working class. In Period III it appears the authors are trying to communicate with the working class but can no longer be heard; the working class is no longer struggling to improve its lot, to the disgust of Besant and Gissing and the fatalism of Morrison.

The novels reflect the disappearance of the autonomous craftsmen in the rise of the factory system, the apprenticed child labor in the hill factories, and the pressure for humanitarian relief by the authors,

who oppose the political organizing of workers in their own interests. As the century progresses, the unions become an accepted fact in the novels. Agitation for reform, the repeal of the Corn Laws, and for Chartism illustrate the novelists' awareness of legislative struggles of the time and their impact over the century. Strikes and riots against factory conditions, mechanization, and the control of workers by unions reflect the social dynamics of the time. The descriptions of the sanitary problems of the burgeoning cities and the need for town codes and improved housing in the novels reflect the living conditions of the workers. The industrial migrations and the increasing size of urban working class settlements are revealed to the literary audience as the conditions of nineteenth century industrial England.

The novelists add their own views on the direction social action should take in relation to these facts. They argue for a coming to grips with social responsibility by the middle class. In Period I, it is that the newly prominent middle class that must develop moral codes to maintain a decent social order. In Period II, the middle class is urged to develop legislative protection for the beleaguered workers, but although they eulogize the work ethic and individual self-help, the authors are against the workers organizing to help themselves; and their final rationale is that natural evolution and God-directed positions in life must be accepted as given.

In Period III, although the authors initially press for individuals and organizations to assist in improving slum life at the start, they finally give up and project an image of an autonomous sphere of life where physical force and opportunism in the present prevail over all comers.

The heyday of the novelists was the middle period when they were central to social life and celebrities in their own right. The novels, even though no longer the dominant reading matter as the publishing world proliferated at the end of the century, were still read by more and more people in cheap reprints, et al.. The expensive three-volume novel disappeared by the end of the century.

The view of the social world of these nineteenth century novels begins with a social system in flux as the aristocratic life of the landed is taken over by men with commercial and professional fortunes. In the middle period there is concern over power and authority and moral rights and obligations. Each author attempts to project to the reader a single desired center for power and authority and a single hierarchy of rights and obligations. By Period III, the failure of this attempt is evident as the authors describe the huge urban settlements of the working class where missionaries fail and the struggle for survival shapes the lives of the inhabitants.

Industrial workers, barely seen in Period I, are a problem of concern in terms of the workplace in Period II and become objects of middle-class uplifting zeal in their urban slums in Period III. Upper class paternalism and local ties give way over the century to legislative protection and equality as well as a national identity. The slums become so large that the slum world develops its own way of life and its own status hierarchy, with the High Mobsmen at the top. Material gain and opportunism are the ruling values.

The English society shown in the novels at the end of the century is integrated as to national identity under the Queen, but the values of the various classes and statuses differ and social mobility is not

stressed. There is little concern in the novels of Period III by the rich for the poor or vice versa; there is little contact between them.

Three ideas of Period III novels indicate a marked change in the thinking of these middle-class authors from those of earlier periods. The most strongly emphasized is that the slum environment cannot be overcome by gentlemen of classical learning and talent, or by ladies educated to be genteel and humane, or by workmen who inherit money, and least of all by children born with sensitive hearts and intelligence.

The second idea is Besant's recognition that not all people choose money and status when they are available to them. It is the quality of the craftsman's life and his right to choose his own wife and friends according to their worth to him rather than their status to the world that moves the baronet to become a craftsman in addition to the pleasure of becoming a competent workman (The Master Craftsman).

The third idea is the recognition by the working class of its own place and acceptance of or resignation to it. Kipling's soldiers do not yearn to move up socially. Gissing's John Hewitt, Jane Snow, and Sydney Kirkwood all become resigned to their slum world.

The reader is left with a picture of the mass of workers who live for the present, never seem to make ends meet, drink too much, are aggressive and violent, value material gain over human life, speak in dialect, wear characteristic dress, and live in urban slums. At the top of the working class are artisans and mechanics who are unable to move up as gentlemen, although they are literate and educated to some degree, and who lack the support of the body of workers. At the bottom are the thieves and beggars who participate in the industrial work world now and again.

His picture of the industrial working class that emerges out of the nineteenth century novels is important in understanding the development of the social knowledge of the industrial worker and his place in society. In the nineteenth century novels, middle-class authors define the industrial worker and his social position in relation to the rest of society for the reading public and set the foundation for future understanding and definition of the industrial working class and its members.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the novelists described a world where the fixed social hierarchy was already in deep decay. The old aristocracy was losing its personal hold on society, over other classes, and itself. The disturbing elements were the rise of commercial interests and later of industry, the growth of a national rather than local economy, and the decline of personal loyalties and traditional codes of behavior.

By the middle of the nineteenth century a vast debate ensued, in and out of the novels, to define a new hierarchy and new class relations, especially for the middle and working classes. These included Parliamentary intervention to protect the new working classes in and out of their place of work, enfranchisement, and recognition of their right to organize. The authors in general were sympathetic to working class rights, but less to their aspirations for political, social, and organizational (trade union) equality.

By the end of the century, these issues were no longer problematic. The working class was assigned a place in a new social hierarchy which included the middle class. They were accepted as belonging to the nation and worthy of the nation. What Bendix calls the civic integration of the industrial work force had come about.[2]

But this acceptance did not include acceptance as social equals.

Rather, they were left alone in the urban slums. The middle-class novelists, after making considerable efforts to uplift the working class, abandoned this hope as fruitless. But in so doing they granted the autonomy of working class culture, even when they did not approve of it. Further they learned to treat members of the working class as individuals. Some individual members were portrayed as having deep resources of vitality, energy, and humor. Moreover individuals of that class could, on the basis of talent, work, and education, rise to productive, cultured, middle-class status. But they would have to do so by abandoning working-class culture and social bonds.

Yet in granting so little, they reconstructed, at least temporarily, an image of an integrated hierarchical social order that included the working, as well as the middle, class.

Notes to Chapter XV

[1]Mark Twain, Life on the Mississippi, orig. pub. 1874, Riverdale edition (Hartford: Hartford Press, American Publishing Co., 1901), p. 347.

[2]Reinhard Bendix, Work and Authority in Industry (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1956), p. 434.

Coda

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the concept of the working class was not present in the English novel, by the end of the century, it was accepted within the novel and in society at large. This transition can be documented from the novels, and certain processes in the development of the twentieth century concept of the working class suggested. These processes include:

1. Recognition
2. Evaluation
3. Acceptance and integration

Each of these processes entails more detailed processes that are subsumed under the larger headings.

Recognition

Recognition involves the ability to select from all of the available population of characters in a novel those characters which are clearly definable, both to the author and the reader, as working class and, especially, industrial workingmen. Prior to the nineteenth century and well into the nineteenth century the concept of lower orders covered a wide range of occupations and types that included agricultural workers, domestic servants, miners, navvies, the older handicraft and artisan groups, gypsies, and thieves. All of these tended to be only partially differentiated and the industrial workingman was not specified.

Looking at this phenomenon from the standpoint of the twentieth century one can see the difficulties in separating out the industrial

workingman and discerning the development and recognition of a working class. The earlier authors failed to distinguish differences and lumped industrial and preindustrial workers together. The initial recognition process is that of making finer distinctions as Pierce Egan did in placing his mechanical person above the ragtag and bobtail and specifying characteristics of hard work, honesty, and independence.

In addition some authors, like Scott and Austen, tended to avoid the entire phenomenon of the urban areas with their lower classes and to avoid discussion of the new industrial towns in which the industrial workingman was most likely to be present. Thus a second process of recognition is avoidance.

A third significant phenomenon, most significant in the first period, was the great socio-economic change of the later part of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries associated with the rise of the middle class and the decline of the power, wealth, and social predominance of the older land-owning aristocratic class. The authors tended to concentrate on either the decline of the older classes as Scott did, or on the rise of the middle class and their failure to develop codes of behavior as socially responsible as those being lost by the aristocrats as Opie did. The predominance of this focus of attention may have obscured attention given to the development of the industrial working class. Thus three processes related to recognition are:

1. Making distinctions or lumping
2. Avoidance and overcoming avoidance
3. Deflection and overcoming deflection

Evaluation

Once the presence of the working class was established the authors could no longer avoid its recognition. The process of urbanization and industrialization had proceeded too fast and too far to prevent recognition. This inevitability of recognition was not necessarily a product of autonomous literary and intellectual development: strikes, violence, smoke, crowd behavior, Parliamentary agitation, and demand for reform all became part of the total intellectual and political climate of English society which novelists had to face. Again not all faced these problems with equal attention or gave them equal salience in their novels. Trollope, for instance, was the only author in Period II who failed to show concern for union organization. Differences in recognition were products of the social and cultural isolation of the novelists in their own local and regional settings as related to the sweep of industrialism in England and its impact. But sooner or later, almost all novelists had to face the existence of an increasingly predominant working class and the problems it brought to English society and its cultural and intellectual traditions that the novelists shared in. They were forced to deal with it and to evaluate the working class with respect to an ongoing English society and its intellectual and cultural traditions. This process is one of evaluation.

A large part of it tended to include the extension of older cultural ideas and traditions to cover the new working class. Thus almost all novelists tended to advocate and accept humane social legislation and reform of what were regarded as the worst abuses of industrialists. Ideas of trusteeship and stewardship originating in Elizabethan England could be extended into these new areas, and the

novelists tended to adopt this position. The most radical ideas of political economy, by which the workers would have to accept the freedom of the market or adjust their ways of life to that freedom by becoming more frugal, having smaller families, controlling the number entering the trades, were not accepted by the vast majority of novelists. Harriet Martineau is important, in this regard, as the major exception, and she is the only novelist whose father was a manufacturer. Novelists, like Dickens, suggested the development of institutions promoting self-development, however they were not very sympathetic to established institutions or to political and trade union organization which they feared would lead to militant trade unionism, strikes, and the autonomous organization of working-class power. Some, like Reade, pointed out that the working class was developing new leaders and new institutions which resulted in new forms of exploitation of the working class by their leaders and new threats to the ongoing social and cultural traditions of their society. Some, like Kingsley, suggested that the middle class had the obligation to help the working class develop educational and cultural institutions under middle-class leadership which would make the working class responsible to the ongoing cultural traditions and make them responsible in themselves. Many, like Eliot, felt that this should be a voluntaristic effort on the part of the middle class without recourse to Parliament, while others, like Reade, felt that Parliament should be the agency for the integration of the working class into a newly emerging social order. Others, like Gaskell, felt that the problem was one of establishing communication and understanding between the upper-middle and the working class. For some, like Eliot, this would be primarily a process of cultural and intellectual communication among

individuals and leaders of classes while others, like Disraeli, had an image of a fully articulated, integrated, and unified social order that would solve the problems created by the class conflicts of the nineteenth century. It is characteristic of the middle period that the range of solutions was wide and no consensus emerged. The only consensus that one can discern was that trade unions and working-class power were considered a threat to English social and cultural traditions and perhaps to the middle classes. The evaluation was negative in the areas of power and positive in the areas of social welfare, philanthropy, education and recognition of the moral possibilities of the working class. Thus the process of evaluation takes place within a framework of divergent social and political institutions of the ongoing society.

Acceptance

By the Second Reform Bill the political and legal position of the working class was legitimated in English political institutions. Acceptance, no matter how begrudging, was achieved. Evaluation in terms of the position of the working class was also no longer a question, but the moral evaluation of the working class was, at the beginning of the period, open to question. The novelists were now concerned with the evaluation of the working class as individuals in moral and cultural terms, but the macroscopic evaluation of working-class organizations and mass movements was no longer salient. The central problem was how could the individual worker be brought into the newly emerging social order, but even here there was some disagreement. The disagreement was not, however, always manifest. Some novelists, like Trollope and Meredith, abandoned the attempt to construct an image of an integrated English society and began to describe narrow segments of the society as if those

segments were the boundaries of the cultural and intellectual life within which they addressed themselves. For others, like Besant, the central problem was the interface between the working class and the middle class and the attempt at moral uplift was central to at least one strand of novelists. This may well have been a continuation of the oldest tradition of middle-class cultural stewardship but now at the level of individual efforts and, of course, such efforts assumed a moral superiority of the upper-middle class, it also assumed that substantial segments of the working class were educable even though that process might take generations at times. Some, like Barrie, felt that the process of social mobility by the self-selection of talented and industrious members of the working class would result in the automatic rise of superior members of the working class into a newly emerging talented middle class. Thus for some authors the response to nineteenth century developments was to suggest a class system less based on birth and more on talent in which individuals of working-class origins could participate. Authors like Gissing and Morrison faced and accepted the autonomous existence of an urban-industrial working class. A new type of evaluation emerged. This included the acceptance of working-class culture, minimally at least, because no other possibilities were available. Acceptance became a necessity arising from the numerical predominance of the working class, but such acceptance rarely stopped at the minimal level. Novelists began to discover qualities of strength, humor, vitality in the working class which were present regardless of other less desirable qualities in those classes. The working class was contributing to a new image of English national character and culture which could be inferred and integrated as noted in Kipling. In some

cases these valuable social characteristics contributed to the maintenance of an emerging but ongoing tradition where the working-class ingenuity, strength, power, sustained the imperialism of the English army in India and at home.

This acceptance in part was a reluctant recognition of necessity and in part a desire to achieve a unity in English society that had become reft in the early years of the nineteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century it appeared that some reintegration was achieved yet we must hasten to note that these attempts to reconstruct images of social reality take place within the framework of a continuously developing social, political, and economic structure. The process of change is endless and any "equilibrium" is temporary. The process of the social construction of reality at any moment is not final, yet, the temporary solutions or constructions that emerge at any historical moment become part of the platform from which further changes take place.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Guide for Novel Data Selection

Social Background

1. Importance of various institutions.
2. Roles and statuses of characters, interaction patterns, including characters' successes or failures.
3. Recurrent themes, for example: fate, divine guidance, etc.
4. Extent of literacy and how it is evaluated in the novel.
5. Marriages of characters and how they are viewed in the novel.
6. Accepted mobility routes: occupational change, economic rise, religious change, marriage.
7. Legitimations of power and authority.
8. Stress on individual or group identities.

Workingmen

1. How introduced.
2. What distinguishes from others?
3. What role and status does the workingman have in relation to the other characters?
4. What patterns of interaction and association characterize the workingman?
5. How the workingman's chances of attaining his goals differ (if they do) from those of others in the novel.
6. How his values differ.
7. Marriage to whom? Successful?
8. Are his conditions noted as bad in the novel and if so what forces are brought into play (if any) to correct these conditions? By whom? With what result?

Social Themes

1. Must society protect the workingman?
2. Must the workingman adopt the middle-class way of life and values to be accepted in the novel?
3. Does the workingman turn to the aristocracy rather than the law for justice in the novel?
4. Must the workingman be self-sufficient to succeed in the novel?
5. Must the workingman be controlled for social reasons in the novel?

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