ELIZABETH CLEGHORN GASKELL AND HER TIMES.

by

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THE WORKS OF MRS. GASKELL

The Knutsford Edition on Thin Paper - In eight (8) volumes. Each volume containing an Introduction by Sir. A. W. Ward, formerly Master of Peter House, Cambridge.

John Murray, London 1925.

have been used in the preparation of this thesis.

I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of great reconstruction. "England had emerged from a great war the most powerful nation in the world after fighting for a quarter of a century almost without pause. Again and again she had been deserted by her allies, again and again they had been encouraged, partly by her liberal subsidies, partly by her dogged resolution, partly by her unbroken supremacy at sea, to recombine to resist the domination of the new Charlemagne. Her steadfastness, courage and endurance at last reaped the appropriate reward. Impotent to assail English power at sea, foiled in his attempt to ruin her commerce, baffled by the national spirit which he had himself aroused in Germany and Spain, overwhelmed under Russian snows and finally conquered by the genius of Wellington, Napoleon was at last driven into exile and Europe was at peace."(1)

Marriott says further "If England reached in 1815 the zenith of political and military prestige, she touched the nadir of industrial dislocation and social discontent."(2) The inevitable recoil and depression followed after the war, but that recoil of 1815, "was unprecedently severe and unusually prolonged,"(3) due to many causes. Here it is sufficient to note that the period

(1) Marriott - "England Since Waterloo" - page 1.
(2) " " " " " 3
(3) " " " " " 3

of the great war was coincident with that of the Industrial Revolution. He continues, "Thanks to a series of remarkable mechanical inventions, England which had for centuries been a granary and a sheepfold was suddenly transformed into the workshop of the world. Parallel to the manufacturing revolution and practically coincident with it, there had taken place in agricultural methods changes which revolutionized the rural economy of England."(1)

During the reign of George III no less than three thousand two hundred Enclosure Acts were passed, and more than six million acres were enclosed. There was also great development in the means of communication, "while "Turnip" Townshend and Coke of Holkham, Ellman of Glynde, Bakewell and Arthur Young multiplied a hundredfold the production of the soil; while Kay and Hargreave, Arkwright and Compton, Cartwright and Watt, revolutionized the textile industry; Brindley and the Duke of Bridgewater, Telford and Macadam, gave to labour a new mobility and facilitated enormously the exchange of commodities."(2) Down to the accession of George III, England, in regard to means of transport, was the most backward country in Western Europe. The first Canal Act was not passed until 1755 and roads were very bad."(3)

(1) Marriott - "England Since Waterloo." - page 3
(2) " " " " " 4
(3) " " " " " 4

It is said that the nineteenth century witnessed a fourfold revolution (1) Political.(2) Social.(3) Economic.(4)Intellectual.

(1) Political.

In the way of reform all had promised well till the French Revolution, which cut down across all attempts at reform. Thus we find that the period of 1815 -1830 is one of extremely hard times, plus dead conservatism, which resulted in violent political radicalism. The cry for Free Trade and Parliamentary Reform is heard. The ministry takes the line of preventing public meetings and censuring the Press, resulting in the "March of the Blanketiers","Peter Loo" and the passing of the Six Acts forbidding any measures to intimidate the Government. Revolution within England herself seemed imminent until 1830, when the forces of reform began to be felt so that we find 1815 - 1830 marking the close of the rule of the aristocratic oligarchy, which had governed England for a century and a half. The Reform Act of 1832 gives supreme power to a new class - the commercial. This change was not felt at first but gradually it began to assert itself.

From 1832 - 1867 we see many results of the reformed Parliament. Abolition of Corn laws (thanks to Sir Robert Peel) came into effect in 1849, and the whole system of protective tariffs disappeared. We have the beginning of Chartism, a movement"made up of old Radicals in Parliament and outside and some of the trade union leaders in a lately formed workingmen's association, i.e. skilled artisans of London. They met in 1837 and drew up

a petition to Parliament in the form of a bill, which they called -the People's Charter- a Charter, in allusion to the Great Charter. From their advocacy of this project they became known as Chartists. It was a well written document calling attention to the greatness and general wealth of England, but pointing out that this was accompanied by widespread poverty, depression, and misfortune of the most active class." They met with little success. In 1848, a time of commercial depression, the Chartists came to life again only to die once more; 1867 saw the passing of the Second Reform Bill, which gave votes to more than a million men who had not had them before. "It may be fairly said that after the passage of the Reform Bill of 1867 the mass of the people of England for the first time in history were directly represented in its Government."(1)

(2) Social.

The same change as was seen in the political sphere may be noted in the social realms. "We find the ascendancy has passed from the owners of land to the owners of Capital as it is now in turn passing from the owners of Capital to the owners of business brains."(2)

These changes are reflected in the history of legislation. "The owners of Capital asked nothing from the State but non - interference - a fair field and freedom from restraint. The introduction of machinery; the supersession of the handworker;

(1) Cheyney - "An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England." Page 254.
(2) Marriott - "England Since Waterloo." Page 6.

the development of the factory system; the concentration of population in unregulated towns; in a word the industrial revolution raised problems that were both new and puzzling. To solve them the interference of the State was invoked and the result is seen in a long series of parliamentary statutes Acts."(1) Factory legislation received early attention. Children of six years, it is said, were forced to work thirteen and fourteen hours a day, and sold into slavery by greedy parents. By 1833 no child under thirteen years might be employed for more than eight hours a day nor those between thirteen and eighteen years more than twelve hours. Lord Ashley continued his agitation till 1847, when a Factory Bill prohibited the employment of women and of children under eighteen years in factories more than ten hours a day.

Next the Reformed Parliament turned from the case of the Factories to that of the poor. The evil here was one of over-indulgence resulting in reckless poverty. In 1834, there were over six thousand paupers in Sussex alone. The Poor Law Amendment of 1834 was sweeping in character. It allowed aid only to the really destitute, and obliged these to go into workhouses. Outdoor relief was abolished. The change was drastic and sudden, causing distress to many whom the old system had rendered helpless. In the end, aid in money was allowed to the aged and infirm people. Severe though the terms of the act were it checked a great evil and encouraged a new self-reliance in English villages.

(1) Marriott -"England Since Waterloo." Page 6.

The enclosure movement and downfall of the domestic system resulted in large congregations in the manufacturing centres. The problems of living conditions of the poor and the education of their children became most pressing. Up to 1833 education was the concern of the Church. The British and Foreign School Society 1807 and The National Society 1809 attempted to cope with the increasingly difficult educational problem. In 1839 a Committee of the Privy Council was appointed to supervise the work of these societies.

(3) Economic.

The industrial revolution brought about new economic problems. It is said that the Revolution had solved problems of distribution, but it must be held responsible for accentuating, if not creating the problem of distribution. The domestic system must have, of necessity, held the problem of distribution in abeyance. "For when the landowner was parted from the capitalist, the manufacturer from the farmer, and both from the handworker, disputes naturally arose as to the share of the total product which each could equitably claim. In such a contest the individual workman had little chance against the capitalist employer. Hence the necessity for the organization of labour and the initiation of collective bargaining."(1) Until 1824, and in a modified degree until 1871, the law was steadily opposed to 'combination,' but economic pressure gradually wore down the resistance of legislative restraint and trade unions were legalized.

(1) Marriott - "England Since Waterloo." - page 6.

But trade unions were not able to solve the problem of distribution and industrial peace,nor was co-operation nor socialism. "The nineteenth century will stand out not merely as the age of Industry, but as the age of Science, for science had not only permeated thought, it had influenced legislation and had revolutionized the arts of production. The whole mental outlook of the world had been profoundly modified by scientific generalizations. The results of laboratory research are applied in the workshop and the steed of science is harnessed to the car of Industry." (1)

(4) Intellectual (as expressed in Religion.)

"The ecclesiastical movement seems to have followed three distinct but ultimately convergent directions." (2) It is expressed first, in the successful agitation for the abolition of religious"tests." These tests had been the work of Elizabethan and Caroline statesmen, i.e. a state church. One of the most characteristic features of the legislation of the century has been the removal of the limitations thus imposed. Note the repeal of the "Test and Corporation Acts" 1828; the "Catholic Relief Act" 1829; the admission of Jews to Parliament 1858; the Education Act of 1870 with its conscience clause, and the Act for the Abolition of University Tests 1871.

There was a remarkable activity within the borders of the Church itself. In the earlier part of the century there was a

(1) Marriott - "England Since Waterloo." page 6,
(2) " " " " " 8

great Evangelical revival deriving its chief inspiration from Cambridge; the middle period is marked with the Tractarian movement in Oxford and later the liberal view with which we connect such men as F.D. Maurice, Arnold of Rugby and Dean Stanley.

Thus we can see that the first half of the nineteenth century is a most interesting period from an economical, political, social and intellectual standpoint. The natural tendency after such an upheaval as the French Revolution caused, was to question with suspicion any movement that savored in the least of the new liberty. Yet we find in no period of history up to that time had such sweeping changes been made in all the realms of a nation's humanity.

II

THE LIFE OF ELIZABETH CLEGHORN GASKELL.

Elizabeth Cleghorn Stevenson was born on Michaelmas Day, September 29, 1810, in a house in Lindsay Row, now a part of Cheyne Walk, No. 93, on the banks of the Thames, opposite Battersea Bridge. (1) She was the second child of William Stevenson by his first marriage. At the time of her birth, her father was Keeper of the Records at Treasury Office, and later, a Unitarian minister and scientific farmer. He acquired considerable literary reputation, having contributed articles and papers to the Edinburgh Review and other publications of a high class, especially on agricultural subjects. Her mother, Elizabeth Holland, was a daughter of Samuel Holland, a farmer and land agent of Sandbridge, Cheshire. "There is a tradition that the Stevensons came originally from Norway and there are old family papers in which the name is spelled Stevensen." (2)

(1) Mrs. E. Chadwick - "Haunts, Homes and Stories," page 198. "Mrs. Gaskell was born September 29, 1810, at a home in old Lindsay Row: which from the Chelsea rate books and the title deeds of the house, I proved in September 1909 to be the present No.93 Cheyne Walk - 1 Bellevue, No. 12 Lindsay Row- for I have handled the actual faded bits of paper on which the birth certificate was written in 1810 which was deposited in Dr. William's Library - to be afterwards transferred to Somerset House."

(2) Anne Thackeray Ritchie - Her Introduction to a volume of Cranford.

There is much controversy as to the date of Mrs. Gaskell's mother's death. Mrs. Chadwick gives it as the end of October 1811, and quotes a letter from Mrs. Gaskell to Mary Howitt, May 1838, "I was early motherless and taken when only a year old to my dear adopted native town Knutsford." (1)

Thus it would appear, that Elizabeth must have been about a year old when her mother died, and by the time the father could make arrangements to have her taken to his wife's sister, Mrs. Lumb, she would probably be about thirteen months old.(2)

Elizabeth's aunt, Mrs. Lumb, became a second mother to her, "and the modest house on the heath, with its old fashioned garden, a second home. Here, in the midst of a small society of relations and friends, she spent her childhood, taking part in Sunday worship at the old ivy grown Unitarian Chapel on the hillside which was to be her last resting place; paying many a visit to her uncle and his daughter at Church House and to her grandfather at Sandbridge, which was about three miles from Knutsford". (3)

(1) Mrs. E. Chadwick - "The Mother of the "Author of Cranford," The Bookman, January 1912. Vol. 41.
"According to Chelsea rate books for the June quarter of 1811, William Stevenson removed with his family to 3 Beaufort Row, and there his wife died October 1811."

(2) A.W. Ward - See an account of the probable journey in Mary Barton - pages 118 - 124.

(3) A.W. Ward - Introduction to Vol.1 page 19.
"Sandbridge is said to masquerade under the name of "Hope Farm" in "Cousin Phillis" and "Woodley", the home of Mr. Holbrook in "Cranford."

In "My French Master," she tells something of the even flow of her early life with her aunt in the home, which was really a small farm, for her aunt kept pigs and poultry, ducks and geese and "set up her cow," a mark of respectability in Cranford. Again from "My French Master" we learn of her education. " My mother undertook the greater part of our education. We helped her in household cares during a part of the morning; then there came an old-fashioned routine of lessons, "History of England," "Rollin's "Ancient History", Lindley Murray's Grammar, plenty of sewing and stitching." (1)

It is interesting to know that her aunt, Mrs. Lumb, was noted for her "elegant economies," and like Miss Matty Jenkyns, "was chary of candles." When alone on winter evenings she would sit knitting by the firelight, but immediately she heard her niece's footstep coming along the path, she would take up her paper-spill and light a candle, "to make it more cheerful like." If, however, company arrived, a second candle was lighted, for by carefully relighting each candle in turn, she had been able to keep both about the same height. (2)

Elizabeth spent the first fifteen years of her life at Knutsford broken only by journeys to London to visit her father.

(1) "My French Master" - Vol. II, page 507.

(2) "Cranford" ; Vol.II. page 50.

At the age of fifteen years she was sent to a school, kept at Stratford-on-Avon by Miss Byerleys, daughters of Josiah Wedgewood's principal assistant and friend. At this school she is said to have learnt "some Latin" as well as French, a language and literature for which she always had a special affection - and Italian. In "My Lady Ludlow," she gives an account of her school days, "Hanbury Court", being the school. Mrs. Chadwick suggests that Lady Ludlow is a mixture of the eccentric Lady Jane Stanley of Knutsford and Miss Byerley, the principal of the school."

The journey from Knutsford to Stratford-on-Avon must have been an eventful one, for beyond a few visits to her father, Elizabeth had not been far from Knutsford before she was fifteen years of age. Mrs. Chadwick says she evidently travelled alone stopping with friends for the night at Birmingham. "I was to be put in charge of the guard of the coach as far as Birmingham where a friend of my father was to meet me, and take me to sleep at his house."(1) Again there is an account of her journey and the night among strangers related, in one of her ghost stories where she tells of her trip to school at Dunchurch by stage coach (2) and of her staying the night with a Quaker couple. The latter part

(1) Mrs. Chadwick - "Haunts, Homes and Stories," page 93.

(2) "Ghost Stories" - Page 721 - Vol. VII

of her journey may be read in "Lady Ludlow," pages 13-14 Mrs. Chadwick says[1] that she gives a detailed description of Hanbury Court, which is evidently based on the old house of St. Mary's on the bank of Avon - her home for two years (2). This was a most interesting house, the home of Shakespeare once. Mrs. Gaskell knew this. (3) She also mentions in her story names and places in the Shakespeare country, Hathaway Common, Bafford Corner, Henley, which must have been familiar to her when she was a girl.

(1) Mrs. Chadwick - Haunts, Homes and Stories, page 96.

(2) Lady Ludlow, page 15 - "Hanbury Court is a vast red brick house ----in the twilight glowing with the bloom of flowers."

(3) Mrs. E. Chadwick, "Haunts, Homes and Stories," page 97. This old house of Avonbank was once the home of Shakespeare for a short time about 1602, and previous to that was known as "House of St. Mary." As far back as the beginning of the fifteenth century this house had been used as a school, and previous to that, it had been the residence of some of the monks of Worchester, as the manor belonged to the Benedictine monastery of that place. In the "Guild Account" at Stratford-on -Avon, this ancient building is referred to as, "The house of St. Mary's in Le Oldtown, A.D. 1412-1413." The master of the Guild was allowed four shillings annual rent to the School-master as long as he kept a school in the House of St. Mary.
In the year 1602 the residence was owned by Thomas Greene, Shakespeare's cousin, who was Town Clerk of Stratford-on-Avon.

Her first evening at school, when as a shy country girl she had to face the members of this large household, is described very minutely in Lady Ludlow (1) As a schoolgirl, it is said, that she used to amuse the other girls by telling them ghost stories. "It is interesting that her imagination was much attracted by what - ever partook of the supernatural, across the boundaries of which she ventured in more than one of her minor writings, i.e. "The Poor Clare," "The Old Nurse's Story". (2)

Some time during her school year she must have paid a visit to Clopton House about a mile away. Later ~~in~~ in 1838 when William Howitt announced his "Visits to Remarkable Places" etc - as forthcoming, she offered him an account. She left the school in the summer of 1827 and her feeling at the break seem to be expressed in Lady Ludlow, page 210, "And as when one period of life is about to be shut up forever, we are sure to look back upon it with fond regret --------remember." She hated to be uprooted.

The years 1827 - 1829 were sad years for Elizabeth. She nursed her father through his illness till death. She says, "My hopes, my fears were centred in one frail human body, my dearly beloved, my most loving father." (3) He left his second

(1)"Lady Ludlow" - Chapter XIII, page 17.

(2) Prof. Minto - Fortnightly Review, Vol. XXIV, July to December 1878.
The Christian Science Monitor, October 20/27 in an article, "Cranford's Author" says that her recollections of Warwickshire were woven into "Lois the Witch."

(3) "My French Master." - Page 520.

wife and two children, Catherine and William. Unfortunately the stepmother and Elizabeth were almost strangers to each other previous to the father's illness, and she must have had a trying time during the two years she lived at Chelsea. (1) After her father's death she is said to have stayed with her Uncle, Mr. Swinton Holland in Park Lane, London. The next two winters she spent in Newcastle-on-Tyne not far from "the haunts of her ancestor, north of the Humber in the family of the Rev. William Turner, a learned and public spirited Unitarian Minister."(2)

In "Ruth" she probably describes her first night there. "Many times did she rise and go to the long casement window and look abroad over the still and quiet town - over the grey stone walls, chimneys and old high pointed roofs - on to the far away hilly line of the horizon, lying calm under the bright moonshine."(3)

(1) Mrs. E. Chadwick -(Bookman January 1912 (197-199) "The Mother of the Author of Cranford") suggests that it is probably the reason she did not visit more frequently in later life the haunts of her birthplace, for in one of her letters written to Mary Howitt in 1838 she says - "Long ago I lived in Chelsea occasionally with my father and stepmother, and very, very unhappy I used to be; and if it had not been for the beautiful grand river, which was an inexplicable comfort to me, and a family of the name of Kennet, I think my child heart would have broken."

(2) A.W. Ward -"Introduction to Mary Barton" page 20. "He is said to have been a very remarkable man, from whom some features in the sympathetic character of Thurston Benson in "Ruth" are supposed to be derived."

(3) "Ruth" page 139.

And again perhaps her first day there. "All day long she had that feeling common to those who go to stay at a fresh house among comparative strangers: a feeling of the necessity that she should become accustomed to the new atmosphere in which she was placed, before she could move and act quickly."(1)

The winter of 1831 she spent in Edinburgh. It is just possible she went there because of the cholera scare in London. She tells of her first impressions of her lodgings at Edinburgh where evidently there was little pretence of comfort," a hard slippery black horeshair sofa which was no place to rest; an old piano serving as a sideboard." (2) "Her youthful beauty was greatly admired at Edinburgh and several painters and sculptors asked permission to take her portrait. Fortunately it was granted in the case of Mr. D. Dunbar, whose lovely bust of her, reproduced in marble, is one of the chief ornaments of the Christie Library in Victoria University, Manchester." (3)

On August 30, 1832, Elizabeth Cleghorn Stevenson married the Rev. William Gaskell in the Parish Church at Knutsford. In those days, it is said, marriages were only solemnized in Parish Churches. "The young couple settled in their new home. Mrs. Gaskell co-operated with her husband in his work, we are

(1) "Ruth" - page 140.
(2) " Round The Sofa" - Vol. 2, pages 1 to 3.
(3) A. W. Ward -"Introduction to Mary Barton," page 20.

told, and was always ready for any useful work of charity and helpfulness." Mr. Gaskell was one of those ministers whose congregations are outside as well as inside the chapel walls, for I have heard his name mentioned again and again by dif - ferent people and always with affection and respect." (1)

" Mr. Gaskell not only held the most important administrative offices in his own denomination, and in connection with its Home Missionary Board and its chief college for the training of ministers, but he also taught in the latter for several years as a Professor of English History and literature. He acted as lecturer on English literature in the evening classes' department of the Owens College, Manchester; and as it so happened, that I took over those classes on my appointment to a professorship in that vigorous young institution, I can testify as to his popularity with the students, and to the enthusiasm which he inspired in them. He was a remarkably handsome man even in his later years, and the refinement and charm of his manner were well set off by a dignified reserve. A trained English scholar and accomplished writer, he also possessed a marked poetical gift which he chiefly expressed in the composition and translation from the German, of hymns and sacred verse..... It is not, however, generally known that it was the nearer acquaintance which she thus gained with the homes and ways of the poor, and the circumstance that Mr. Gaskell was specially

(1) Anne Thackeray Ritchie - "Introduction to Cranford."page 16.

attracted by poets and poetry that treated such subjects, and frequently lectured about it to popular audiences, which sug - gested an extremely interesting collaboration between husband and wife." (1)

They did write one - the only one - and published it in "Blackwood," January 1837. "Sketches Among the Poor." A. W. Ward reprints the whole poem of about one hundred and fifty lines (2) and says, "it furnishes the earliest proof of an insight and a sympathy which, to my mind, are the essence of Mrs. Gaskell's genius as a writer." (3)

"For some years after her marriage Mrs. Gaskell lived a domestic life, busy with her children, and ordering her house-hold and training her maids, for which she had a special gift."(4)

The death of her only son brought forth "Mary Barton" 1847, a tale of Manchester life - the book with a"sob in it", as a French critic said. The publication of it in 1848 estab-lished Mrs. Gaskell's reputation at once and its literary merits are recognized without stint, even by those who took objection to the conclusions which they supposed it to advocate on the burning question of the times. "Among men of letters none more warmly welcomed the accession of a novice, who had incontestably taken her place at once among the foremost writers of English than Charles Dickens, whose popularity surpassed that of any of

(1) A. W. Ward - "Introduction to Mary Barton" Vol. I page 21
(2) " " " " " " " pages 23 - 25
(3) " " " " " " " Vol. page 22.
(4) Anne Thackeray Ritchie " Introduction to Cranford" page 17.

his fellows." (1) On May 1 1849, Mrs. Gaskell was one of the guests along with Carlyle and Thackeray at dinner to commemorate the publication of the first number of "David Copperfield". That Dickens admired her work is amply shown, not only by the fact that he was anxious to secure her aid in the first publication of "Household Words." but by the flattering terms with which he invited her co-operation in 1850. "I do honestly know that there is no living English writer whose aid I would desire to enlist in preference to the Authoress of "Mary Barton" (a book that most profoundly affected me)------my unaffected and great admiration of your book would make me very earnest in all relating to you."(2) Her contribution to "Household Words" was the first chapters of "Cranford" which ran serially from 1851 - 1853. "North and South" ran from September 1854 to January 1855. "Lizzie Leigh," a pathetic tale, "The Heart of John Middleton" (a character study) "Morton Hall", "My French Master," and "The Moorland Cottage," appeared in "Household Words" in 1850. Previous to this Mrs. Gaskell had written "Clopton House," for William Howitt's book, "Visits to Remarkable Places," 1838. "Libbie Marsh's Three Eras," "The Sexton's Hero," "Christmas Storms and Sunshine" had appeared in Howitt's Journal in 1847.

On a visit into Westmoreland in August 1850, where Mr. and Mrs. Gaskell had met Wordsworth, they stopped at Sir James Kay Shuttleworth's. Here took place a most momentous meeting. Mrs.

(1) A. W. Ward - "Introduction to Mary Barton" Vol.7,page 28.

(2) Letters of Charles Dickens, Vol. 1, page 250.

Gaskell met Charlotte Bronte. 'The two women were immediately attached to one another. Mrs. Gaskell's sweet shy sympathy penetrated into the proud timid heart of Charlotte Bronte.' Miss Bronte visited Mrs. Gaskell at Manchester in 1851, and again in 1853, and as A.W. Ward says, "The hostess became truly fond of, and extremely sorry for her guest." On her side the visitor is said to have been charmed by the brightness of a home where daughters were growing up in whom, especially in the youngest, she recognized a resemblance to their mother in something more than outward appearance. In the autumn of 1853 Mrs. Gaskell returned Miss Bronte's visit at Haworth; and she was present with her husband at the wedding of Mr. and Mrs. Nicholls in June 1854 - to be followed by the death of the latter nine months later.

"The marked contrast of temperament and mental idiosyncrasy between these two gifted women had only strengthened a friendship as sincere, and as free from the faintest shade of jealousy, as any that is recorded in literary biography.---Yet I have sometimes thought that a certain increase of freedom in the handling both of characters and situations becomes observable in Mrs. Gaskell's "North and South," onwards, and that for the gain in strength which this brought with it she was unconsciously in some measure indebted to the author of "Shirley," as she afterwards was, to the authoress of "The Mill on the Floss." Curiously enough - and

no incident could have more pleasantly attested the warmth of their friendship - at the beginning of 1853 Miss Brontë agreed to defer for a few weeks the publication of,"Villette" in order to avoid comparisons with Mrs. Gaskell's second important novel, "Ruth," which made its appearance at this time."(1)

After Charlotte Bronte's death her father wrote to Mrs. Gaskell asking if she would,"write a brief account of her life, and to make some remarks on her works."(2) Mrs. Gaskell is said to have accepted with zest, and immediately set to work. Clement Shorter says, "Never surely was a more conscientious effort to produce a biography in which thoroughness and accuracy should have a part with good writing, and sympathetic interpretation."(3) The finished work was published in the spring of 1857, in two volumes under the title of "The Life of Charlotte Bronte." Mrs. Gaskell left the same spring for Rome. The book went into two editions, everyone seemed satisfied. A French scholar, Ampire, said it impressed him like "A Greek tragedy." The father wrote thanking Mrs. Gaskell for her work.(4) The storm of criticism broke,statements in the book were doubted, and a retraction in "The Times". All unsold copies of the first edition of the biography were withdrawn from circulation.

(1) Ward (A.W.) "Introduction to Volume I." page 31.

(2) The letter is reproduced in the Introduction by Clement Shorter to the Life of Charlotte Bronte, page 23.

(3) Clement Shorter - Introduction to the Life of Charlotte Bronte, page 27

(4) This letter may be found in the Introduction to Charlotte-Bronte's Life. Clement Shorter, page 28

A. W. Ward says, "That there seems no doubt that the strictures rightly or wrongly passed upon passages of her "Life of Charlotte Bronté" gave rise in Mrs. Gaskell to a temporary distaste for more continuous writing." (1)

The next five or six years are years of the ordinary course of life. Mrs. Gaskell published"Lady Ludlow" in 1859, - serially in "Household Words, "The Doom of the Griffiths," in Harper's Magazine, and "Half Brothers in Dublin University Magazine. "Manchester Marriage," a story something after Tennyson's "Enoch Arden" type was published. This story, Mrs. Chadwick says, was founded on actual facts connected with a Manchester family (2)

It might be well to speak at this time of Mrs. Gaskell and her friends. She was said to be a most beautiful young woman. Looking at George Richmond's portrait of her, one is struck by her head - a remarkable kindness in her face. There is a suggestion of wit, a gleam of humour in her eyes. She was said to be a most charming hostess. At her home literary lions of the day met and discussed life in general. She herself was said to possess a great conversational gift. The easy flow of "The Life of Charlotte Bronte" proves that. Of her friends we have mentioned Dickens. It is said she never felt at ease in Thackeray's presence. Madame Mohl, whom she met in Paris in the autumn of 1854, became a very close friend - it is to her that "Company Manners," seems to allude. Mrs. Beecher Stowe,

(1) A. W. Ward -"Introduction to Mary Barton", Vol.I, page 35.
(2) Mrs. E. Chadwick - "Haunts, Homes and Stories," page 356.

Dean Stanley, Janet Southey, Carlyle, Ruskin, Kingsley, Froude, Brownings, Douglas Jerrold, Arnold of Rugby, and many others make up her list of friends.

The years 1862-3 were troublous times in Manchester.- The Lancashire Cotton Famine was at its height. Mrs. Gaskell did much to relieve the sufferings of the starving. In the same year "Sylvia's Lovers" was published. This was the result of some time spent in Whitby, which appears as Monkshaven in the story. "Cousin Phillis"also began serially in Cornhill Magazine. In 1864 "Wives and Daughters" was begun serially in the Cornhill Magazine; this she did not finish, Mr. Frederick Greenwood wrote the last chapter. In March 1865 she paid a visit to Madame Mohl; when she returned in April she was too ill to see anyone. She had always longed for a house in the country. By June she had purchased a place called "The Lawn", Holybourne, near Alton in Hampshire, which she intended to present to her husband as a surprise. On Sunday November 12, 1865 she died very suddenly. She was buried in the little sloping graveyard of Brook Street Chapel,at Knutsford.

Of the Gaskell Memorials there are many:

1. A Memorial Tablet in Cross Street Chapel.
2. A Marble bust in the Christie Library of Manchester University.
3. Mossidie Collection of her works.
4. Scholarship at Manchester University.
5. Recreation Ground.
6. Memorial Hall.
7. Nursing Institute.
8. The Gaskell Shrine at 84 Plymouth Grove (where she lived so many years)

At Knutsford we find a memorial stone in the Unitarian Grave - yard. There is also the Gaskell Tower designed by Mr. Watt, fitted with three bells, which were cast at Annecy in Savoy. Each bell is inscribed with one of three mottoes," Fight the good fight," "Come unto me," and "Till He come," And of course there are the several streets named in honour of her.

Thomas Seccombe writing in the English Bookman, September 1910 says, "Mrs. Gaskell's novels are perennially fresh. They do not fatigue, or sear, or narcotise. We return to them with an unfading and constant delight. Her books engender a feeling of gratitude towards the writer along with a strong sentimental regret - regret that a life so happy, so sympathetic, so well balanced, and in short so beautiful, could not have been prolonged, that her vivid mind and pen should not have irradiated our particular generation."

III

MRS. GASKELL'S PLACE IN THE ENGLISH NOVEL.

"The typical English novel must be the work of a writer who possesses talent enough to furnish the very best example of a widely existing class; and we should have no hesitation in naming as the two writers best fitted to illustrate the English novel at its full development, a man and a woman - Anthony Trollope and Mrs. Gaskell."(1)

If the above be true, it is strange that writers on the English novel scarcely mention Elizabeth Gaskell. One says he "finds her not his easiest subject, and that she seems to him to be one of the chief illustrations of the extreme difficulty of the domestic novel - of the necessity of exactly proportioning the means at command to the end to be achieved."(2) He evidently overlooks "Wives and Daughters," "Ruth" and "North and South."

Yet another places her "among the foremost novelists of her time," and ranks her with Goldsmith and Jane Austen as writers who possess "that incommunicable literary flavour which is the surest passport to immortality."(3) He feels that she is one

(1) Edinburgh Review 1907, July-October. "The English Novel as an Institution."
(2) Saintsbury (G) "The English Novel." page 254.
(3) Walker (H) "Literature of the Victorian Era". page 724.

of those who felt the charm of provincial England and who have given a literary immortality to English village life."(1) Had she written several stories of the quality of "Cranford" Mrs.Gaskell must have ranked among the greatest of English novelists. As it is, a writer who is always good but only once indubitably great seems to be most fairly classed,high in the second rank."(2)

Edmund Gosse disagrees with Hugh Walker in part and suggests that the "under-estimation of her work may be partly due to the unduly varying nature of her several books." He speaks of her "delicate and many sided genius," and he thinks she may even have suffered from 'having done well too many things..... Having in "Mary Barton" treated social problems admirably, she threw off a masterpiece of humorous observation in "Cranford", returned in a different mood to manufacturing life in "North and South," conquered the pastoral episode in "Cousin Phillis" and more than rivalled Anthony Trollope in the social provincial novel of "Wives and Daughters." These books Mr. Gosse claims have more or less stood in one another's way and may account for the persistent undervaluation of the writer's gift.

Mr. Cross finds her a place in the social novel-in the humanitarianism movement with Dickens. He also places her between Charlotte Brontë and George Eliot and says that "Ruth" occupies a very important position in the history of English fiction,"for it

(1) Walker (H) "Literature of the Victorian Era." page 728

(2) " " " " " " " " "

follows certain ethical lines more ostensibly than any previous novel - what may be called the doctrine of the act and its train of good or evil."(1)

Ruth announces the approach of the psychological novel in the restrictive sense.

Ruth is an attractive little sewing girl, who is betrayed by a young gentleman and left. She is rescued by a Dissenting minister, when about to commit suicide, who takes her and the child into his home. Here at the suggestion of his sister she passes as a distant widowed cousin. "In the course of time Ruth's offence and the parson's deceit are suddenly and unexpectedly revealed and then follows retribution." The parson's congregation desert him, and Ruth, shunned by the village folk, becomes a practical nurse in the typhus fever epidemic. One of her patients turns out to be her betrayer, she catches the dread disease and dies. "Mrs. Gaskell works her scenes up to a crisis, where someone must make a decision as to his course of action to what she once called, 'the pivot on which the fate of years moved'; and then she studies the influence of the act on a small group of characters. The motive and the constraining circumstances that lead to the decision are analysed in detail."(2)

Thus Philip Hepburn fails to give Kinraid's message to Sylvia. George Eliot afterwards elaborated this idea of decision in crisis

(1) Cross - "Development of the English Novel." - page 235.
(2) " " " " " " - " 236.

as a consequence of all previous decision and action, but she did so without any acknowledgment of what Swinburne claims was a, "palpable and weighty direct obligation to Mrs. Gaskell."

Mragaret Sansom thinks that Mrs. Gaskell's writings are directly opposed to the tragic philosophy of George Eliot - the tragedy of the first small beginning of"evil" - of vanity, selfishness, the first half conscious prevarications - all ominous, portentous, a spot of blackness in us, slowly widening. To be sure, in Mrs. Gaskell's work we get some impressions of the faults and weaknesses, the hundred "evils," that be somewhere close to the surface, while the thing may be sound at the core, and see that it is the spot of soundness and not one of blackness that widens. And indeed is not this nearer to the idea of the great many male novelists ? Is it not of this that they have convinced us at times even against our wills?

Sylvia suffers and mourns Kinraid as dead. She marries Philip much against her will. Philip suffers in his mind and the knowledge of his lie makes him cross and unreasonable. Kinraid returns and finds Sylvia married to Philip, who is forced to confess his omission and to suffer his wife's refusal of forgiveness. There is no way out for Philip but to disappear. This he does, causing much sorrow to his friends. In the East as a soldier, he endures great hardships and returns a broken man to receive his wife's love on his death-bed.

"Against this more general opinion, George Eliot's favourite study of a downfall traced from some minute beginning would seem to be only a brilliant history of the exceptional case - the one in ten thousand."(1)

Thus we can say that to Mrs. Gaskell we owe the beginning of the psychological novel.

As to her work in the humanitarian movement in "Mary Barton" and "North and South" Mrs. Gaskell did much to relieve the sufferings of the downtrodden and oppressed. She was able to give a true picture of conditions as they really were. She knew the people she was dealing with, and knew them not as subjects of research but as friends. The portrayal she gives of manufacturing life was not in the least overdrawn for effect. She knew what it meant when the men spoke of their families as "clemming." She received severe criticism when "Mary Barton" was published, but in the following chapters I will point out that some conditions were in no way exaggerated. "North and South" was written some time later, and is considerably softened in tone, but much had happened in the time between the two books.

Mrs. Gaskell will always be remembered for her "Cranford." Her portrayal of village life would be hard to equal. Jane Austen wrote along the same line but with what a different result! There is none of the biting sarcasm in Mrs. Gaskell's writings. They

(1) Margaret B. Sansom. - "Queen's Quarterly," July 1919, April 1920. Vol.XXVII - "Mrs. Gaskell's place as a Novelist."

each wrote differently of the same thing. Jane Austen would never see Martha, Miss Matty's maid and her unselfishness. Mrs.Gaskell may have refused to see what Jane Austen saw. Who can forget the way in which the Cranford ladies chased sunbeams away from their prized new carpet? As far as the village was concerned, Mrs.Gaskell gave a faithful picture of country town in Duncombe. "Duncombe calls itself a town, but I should call it a village..... The houses are anything but regular, they may be mean in their details; but altogether they look well; they have not that flat unrelieved front, which many towns of far more pretensions present. Here and there a bow window - every now and then a gable, cutting up against the sky - occasionally a projecting upper storey - throws good effect of light and shadow along the street, and they have a queer fashion of their own, of colouring the whitewash of some of the houses with a sort of pink blotting-paper tinge, more like the stone of which Mayence is built than anything else. It may be very bad taste, but to my mind it gives a rich warmth to the colouring. Then, here and there a dwelling house has a court in front, with a grass plot on each side of the flagged walk,and a large tree or two - limes or horse chestnuts - which send their great projecting upper branches over into the street, making round dry places of shelter on the pavement in the times of summer showers."(1)

(1) "Mr. Harrison's Confessions." - page 407
Lady Ludlow Volume.

There is a wealth of good humour in "Cranford." Miss Betsy Barker's cow is almost "worn to death" and the episode of the cat and Mrs. Forrester's lace. The very characters themselves draw chuckles from the most serious reader. "Mr. Harrison's Confessions" is full of humour.

"One feels safe to say that Jane Austen could not have "achieved the spirit - the inimitable tone of "Cranford"; could not have laid bare all the foibles and prejudices and pretensions - with never a breath of ridicule, with a humour so exquisite, and yet so kindly. It is more nearly the humour of Goldsmith and Charles Lamb."(1)

"Wives and Daughters" is regarded by many as the most artistically perfect of all her productions. Cynthia is said to be more subtly conceived than George Eliot's Tito in "Romola." The novel is a social provincial one. Molly, the heroine, may truly represent a healthy English girl - who rejoiced to sit beside her father's side, "The back seat shut up (of the dog-cart) and the light weight going swiftly and merrily bumping over the stone paved lanes.

"Oh, this is charming! " said Molly, after a toss-up on her seat from a tremendous bump."

Some find Molly to be the loveliest conception in all Mrs.Gaskell's writings and claim that her character is drawn without a(2)

(1) Margaret Sansam - Queen's Quarterly, Vol.27, July 1919 - April 1920. "Mrs. Gaskell's Place as a Novelist." page 99

(2) A.W.Ward. "Introduction Vol.VIII - page 19.

She is a most natural girl, living the life of a country doctor's daughter - perhaps somewhat of a "tom-boy", if the word may be permitted. The greatest event in her early life was Lady Cumnor's garden party which turned out contrary to her expectations. There she meets the woman who is later to become her step-mother. Her first exile from home is at her father's wishing, because Young Cox, the assistant professed a great passion for Molly. While she is gone her father marries again. Molly is heartbroken when she receives the news - and "casts herself on the ground-that natural throne for violent sorrow - and leant up against the old moss-grown seat, sometimes burying her face in her hands, sometimes clasping them together, as if by the tight painful grasp of her fingers she could deaden the mental suffering."

Molly is sharp enough to see the shallowness of her step-mother's character, but since it was her father's choice she submits to the course of being guided by her. She is helped and consoled by the friendly counsel of Roger Hamley with whom she falls in love. He unfortunately falls desperately in love with Cynthia, and she is forced to see Roger depart into remote regions and perils incalculable as the accepted lover of Cynthia. "And I do not think that a picture more cruelly devised à serrer le cœur of all the beholders was ever painted than that of Roger, after his last farewells had been spoken, running back to catch the London coach, and turning round and shading his eyes from the western sun, as he looked back to the Gibson's house, in hope of catching

one more glimpse of Cynthia."[1] "But apparently he saw no one, not even Molly at the attic casement; for she had drawn back when he turned, and kept herself in the shadow; for she had no right to put herself forward as the one to watch and yearn for farewell signs. None came - another moment - he was out of sight for years."

Molly was to make great sacrifices for Cynthia's sake before the end of her own troubles was reached. But it was without her telling herself why, that her woman's courage quailed at parting with one who "had been to her as a brother," and that her "weary aching head in that supreme moment sought a loving pillow," on the shoulder of her whom the "prince among men," had honoured with his love."

Cynthia - "the fascinating, the irresistible Cynthia" - in everything except charm, Molly's opposite, is the other "daughter" of the story. Mrs. Gaskell has succeeded very well in drawing Cynthia, the twin heroine. Cynthia seemed to possess that irresistible charm that drew men to her - and when questioned by Mr. Gibson as to poor Cox, she replies, "I did think once or twice that he was becoming a little more complimentary than the occasion required; but I hate throwing cold water on people, and I never thought he could take it into his silly head to fancy himself seriously in love with me, and to make such a fuss at the last after only a fortnight's acquaintance." Cynthia was selfish at

(1) Ward (A.W.) "Introduction to Wives and Daughters." page 21.

she
times, especially when allows Molly to be blamed for an escapade of her own.

As to the "wives," Mrs. Hamley is a very sweet person much beloved by the husband, the rough Yorkshire squire. Mrs. Gibson, first known as Mrs. Kirkpatrick, or as "Clare" of the Towers, is a type which most people see through, most accommodating so far as it suits herself and willing to do anything to get her own way. She is a trifle like Jane Austen's Mrs. Bennet, though much cleverer.

The characters of the Hamley brothers, Roger and Osborne, are well drawn. They are as much unlike as possible.-"The different experiences of the two brothers, after all, only very happily illustrates a truth well known to all who have watched, and rejoiced or grieved over the careers of men, as compared with the "promise of this youth." It is a truth as old as the parable of the ten talents hid in the napkin of important self-sufficiency - an envelope often much admired for the way it is folded. Roger Hamley in particular is a very admirable specimen of what.....used to be regarded as the typical Cambridge man of the best sort."(1)

'Every turn in the stage or turn in the development of the plot is carefully prepared- from Clare's half-kindly, half obvious interest in her future step-daughter, in the opening, to Roger's generous protection of her in her lonely hour of suffering -;and so with the squire's fond hopes and delusions about his heir, and

(1) Ward (A.W) "Introduction to Wives and Daughters." page 26.

Mrs. Preston's devices, and Cynthia's cornucopia of offers. As the action of the story progresses, we feel more than once as if the curtain of the "entr'acte" were about to drop on the central scene of the piece - the "scene a faire", as it used to be called in French scientific dramaturgy. But after Molly's meeting with Cynthia and Mr. Preston on the side of Croston Heath, a new phase in the story seems to begin; and Cynthia in the toils has only proved a prelude to Cynthia at bay. The solution which the narrative approaches, as the threads finally drop out of our grasp, is one which we know to be neither forced nor harsh; it is, moreover a real solution which will leave those who bear a share in it wiser, perhaps even happier men and women, but such as have the past as well as the future to reckon with."(1)

Mrs. Gaskell died before "Wives and Daughters," was completed. Mr. Frederick Greenwood, editor of the Cornhill Magazine supplemented the story with concluding remarks mainly conjectural.

Mrs. Gaskell would rank high as a writer of short stories in her day. In "Cousin Phillis" she has approached nearly to literary perfection in this field. "In a diamond such as "Cousin Phillis," of purest ray serene, there is no flaw; and I do not know how better to describe what seems to me the rare felicitousness of this exquisite production. It is at the same time an admissible example of a species of fiction in which Mrs. Gaskell was one of the

(1) Ward (A.W.) "Introduction to Wives and Daughters." page 29

first among English writers to excel, nor has the "short story," in which, though the canvas is comparatively small in extent, room is left for a delineation and working-out of character to which the "Christmas story," of the Dickensian type made no pretence, reached quite the same height of success in many other English hands."(1)

Out of very simple material Mrs. Gaskell composed one of the loveliest prose idylls in our literature. Cousin Phillis is a creature of indescribable charm, lovely. But we are aware all the time that her vision of love will "prove delusive."

"I never saw her so lovely, or so happy. I think she hardly knew why she was so happy all the time. I can see her now standing under the budding branches of the grey trees, over which a tinge of green seemed to be deepening day after day, her sun-bonnet fallen back on her neck, her hands full of delicate wood-flowers, quite unconscious of my gaze, but intent on sweet mockery of some bird in a neighboring tree or bush. She had the art of warbling, and replying to the notes of the different birds, and knew their song, their habits and ways more accurately than anyone else I knew. She had often done it at my request, the spring before; but this year she really gurgled, and whistled and warbled, just as they did, out of the very fulness and joy of her heart."(2)

(1) Ward (A.W.) "Cousin Phillis"-Introduction, pages 12-13.

(2) "Cousin Phillis". page 77.

There are beautiful pictures in the story such as the evening psalm in the fields at the close of day.

"The Moorland Cottage" is a most pathetic tale. The heroine Maggie Brown seems to appear again in George Eliot's "Mill on the Floss". In her short stories Mrs. Gaskell had great range from simple pastoral tales to those of horror romance.

Mrs. Gaskell could portray sea characters very well, too. "Sylvia's Lovers" has been called a sea-scape, so faithfully does she paint the sea in all its moods. Charlie Kinraid and Daniel Robson are typical sailors - Will Wilson, the sailor in "Mary Barton" is well drawn as are old Ben Sturgiss and his wife.

Mrs. Gaskell will always be remembered as the biographer of Charlotte Brontë.- Clement Shorter places her work on a level with Boswell's "Life of Johnson," and Lockhart's "Life of Scott". Another has said that the "Life of Charlotte Brontë" is like a Greek tragedy.

Mrs. Gaskell works very naturally. There is no labouring over her characters as George Eliot does, say, in the character of Silas Marner. The Cranford group are like old friends, yet the novelist gives scarcely a line of description or analysis. Old Squire Hamley, Daniel Robson and Cynthia are given to us as a whole, and there is no taking apart before our eyes to show us what an achievement it was.

It would seem then that Mrs. Gaskell needs someone to bring her to the public eyes as Tennyson did for Jane Austen. We do read of a growing appreciation for her in England. Last spring a course of public lectures were to be delivered on her "Social Novels," but I have been unable to find any further note of the lectures.

IV

MRS. GASKELL'S PORTRAYAL OF ENGLISH INDUSTRIAL LIFE.

(1)Living Conditions:

The living conditions of the Industrial people of this time are beyond comprehension. Houses were built back to back, with no possibility of ventilation, often half underground. (Here it is probable, we have the beginning of the huge slum areas of the industrial towns.) The following is a description of Manchester which was a typical industrial town and the background of Mrs. Gaskell's industrial novels; this was presented by a doctor before a Committee on the Health of Towns in 1840.

"Until twelve years ago there was no paving or sewering Act in any of the townships: even in the township of Manchester, containing in the year 1831 upwards of one hundred and forty-two inhabitants, this was the case;.....at the present time the paving of streets proceeds rapidly in every direction and great attention is given to the drains..... Manchester has no building Act, and hence, with the exception of certain central streets over which the Police Act gives the Commissioners powers, each proprietor builds as he pleases. New cottages, with or without cellars, huddled together row behind row, may be seen springing up in many parts, but especially in the township of Manchester where the land is higher in price than the land for cottage sites in other townships is. With such proceedings as these the authorities cannot interfere. A cottage now may be badly drained, the streets may

be full of pits, brimful of stagnant water, the receptacle of dead cats and dogs, yet no one may find fault. The number of cellar residences.....is very great in all quarters of the town. That it is an evil must be obvious on the slightest consideration, for how can a hole underground of from twelve to fifteen feet square admit of ventilation so as to fit it for human habitation?..... Manchester has no public parks or other grounds where the population can walk and breathe the fresh air. New streets are rapidly extending in every direction, and so great already is the expansion of the town, that those who live in the most populous quarters can seldom hope to see the green face of nature.....In this respect Manchester is disgracefully defective; more so perhaps than any other town in the empire. Every advantage of nature has been sacrificed to the getting of money in the shape of ground rents."(1) "The poor in the town lived amongst the most filthy surroundings and under the most demoralizing influences. Their standard of comfort was very low and overcrowding was the rule rather than the exception.... The sanitary appliances were of the rudest descriptions, cesspools were frequent and were usually placed in the basement of the houses. The water supply was abominable; the streets were badly paved, badly lighted and badly guarded."(2)

(1) C. M. Waters - "Economic History of England." Vol.II pages 524-526
(2) Traill - "Social England" - Vol VI, page 193

"This poverty-stricken, sordid life was not that of the poorest, most improvident, and most unfortunate of the community, but was characteristic of the great body of substantial hard-working laboring population, only a fortunate few rising above it. It was the life of a large proportion of the fifteen million people who in 1841 made up the population of England."(1)

Mrs. Gaskell was then not exaggerating when she had Barton and Wilson go down a street that was paved but down the middle of which "a gutter forced its way, every now and then forming pools in the holes, with which the street abounded."(2) She was merely recounting one of the many trips she had made to help the suffering poor.

There seems to have been little brightness about the home of the industrial worker. "Houses, sky, people, and everything looked as if a gigantic brush had washed them all over with a dark shade of Indian ink. There was some reason for this grimy appearance on human beings, whatever there might be for the dun looks of the landscape; for soft water had become an article not even to be purchased; and the poor washerwomen might be seen vainly trying to procure a little breaking the thick ice that coated the ditches and ponds in the neighborhood."(3)

(1) E. P. Cheyney - "Industrial and Social History of England." Page 225

(2) "Mary Barton" - page 65

(3) " " pages 47 - 48.

Margaret Hale and her father notice this greyness - "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. Nearer the town the air had a faint taste and smell of smoke" (1)

In the home of John Barton there is some brightness before the death of his wife. After her death when he is without a job there is an indescribable desolation. Alice Wilson's home in the cellar had, "a brick floor which was scrupulously clean but so damp that it seemed as if the last washing would never dry up".(2) Libbie Marsh felt that the dwellings were of the same monotonous pattern and that one side of the court looked at its exact likeness opposite as if it were seeing itself in a looking glass."(3) Even in "North and South" there is that dull note of drabness about the dwellings, though it must be admitted that "Mary Barton" was depressing because Mrs. Gaskell wrote in it just what she saw.

The homes of millowners of Carson and Thorton were of course much better.

(2) Public Health:

If the state of the worker's home be such, it is not surprising that emerywhere outbreaks of typhus and Asiatic cholera

(1) "North and South" - page 66
(2) "Mary Barton" - page 15.
(3) "Libbie Marsh's Three Eras." "Mary Barton" Volume, page 460.

were to be found brought on by this miserable living, filthy neighborhood and great depression of mind and body. John Barton goes to help a friend dying of the dread fever, and finds him lying on a "straw so damp and mouldy, no dog would have chosen it in preference to flags."(1) Of course, Public Health was unheard of. The whole condition was but a product of the times. The rapid growth of the manufacturing towns especially in the north, drawing the scattered population of other parts of the country into their narrow limits, caused a general breakdown in the old arrangements for providing water, drainage, and fresh air, made rents high and consequently living in crowded rooms necessary. Cheyney says the factory towns in the early part of the century were filthy, crowded and demoralizing compared with their earlier and their present condition.(2) Traill finds that the unhealthy decade was not without its uses, for it brought home to the Government the shameful manner in which the State had hitherto neglected an important part of its duty.(3) Mrs. Gaskell seems to have given a fair estimate of Public Health.

(3) Factory Conditions:

The early history of factories is one to be passed over very quickly - it is most revolting. During the first half of the nineteenth century improvements were being made. The condition

(1) "Mary Barton" - page 69
(2) E. P. Cheyney -"Industrial and Social History of England".
(3) Traill - "Social England",page 193 (page 203

of the factory depended on the owner; were he a hard grasping man he would be loath to spend money for the health of his employees. Life was not valued very highly - for quantity was to be had. Mrs. Gaskell does not portray the conditions in the factories as black as they were. By 1819 laws had been passed forbidding children under nine being employed and those under sixteen years were limited to twelve hours a day exclusive of meal times. By 1825 we find a movement for a ten hour day for an adult worker. Miss Waters gives a most graphic account of factory horrors - such as men being fined because they were dirty, from work done, and yet not allowed to wash - day and night shifts - babies of two year's old being used to gather bits of cotton which had fallen down under the machinery. She also quotes statistics to show that the laborer hardly broke even in his earnings and expenses.(1)

We find Mrs. Davenport after the death of her husband sitting thinking, "how she might best cheat the factory inspector and persuade him that her strong, big, silent, hungry Ben was above thirteen."(2) Again she tells John Barton to tell the, "Parliamentary folk that this law of theirs, keeping children fra' factory work whether they be weak or strong is a sore trial".....and speaks of a lad that works till he cries for his legs aching so, though they say he is the right age."(3)

(1) Waters - "Economic History of England" - Vol.II, page 360.
(2) "Mary Barton" - page 82.
(3) " " - " 98

Miss Waters points out that a doctor's certificate as to the child's age and health was necessary for factory work in 1833 but that a certificate of an older child could be presented for a younger child.(1)

In 1844 we find that the helplessness and need of protection of women workers was recognized. Fencing of machinery where women worked was urged. Bessie Higgins says: "I think I was well when Mother died, but I have never been rightly strong since I began to work in a carding room soon after, and the fluff got into my lungs and poisoned me."Fluff" being little bits, as fly off fro' the cotton when they're carding it, and fills the air till it looks all fine white dust. They say it winds around the lungs and tightens them up. Anyhow, there's many a one as works in a carding room that falls into a waste, coughing and spitting blood, because they're poisoned by the fluff."

"But can't it be helped?" asked Margaret. "I dunno. Some folks have a great wheel at one end o' their carding rooms to make a draught, and carry off the dust; but that wheel costs a deal of money - five or six hundred pounds, maybe, and brings in no profit; so it's but a few of the masters as will put 'em up; and I have heard tell o' men who didn't like working in places where there was a wheel, because they said as how it made 'em hungry, at after they'd been long used to swallowing fluff, to go without it, and that their wages ought to be

(1) C.M.Waters - "Economic History of England." Vol.II, page 373.

raised if they were to work in such places. So between master and men th' wheels fall through. I know I wish there'd been a wheel in our place though."(1)

(4) Women:

There seem to have been three fields open to women in Industrial Life:

(a) Factories.

(b) Dressmaking.

(c) Service - domestic.

(a) Factories:

Of this field I have mentioned in the above section. It must of necessity have been a most unhealthy one for women. They ap - pear to have been a rough,unlettered lot. "Their faces were not remarkable for beauty, indeed they were below the average, with one or two exceptions; they had dark hair neatly and classically arranged, dark eyes but sallow complexions and irregular features. The only thing to strike a passerby was an acuteness of intelligence and countenance, which has often been noticed in a manufacturing population".(2)

Bessy Higgins in "North and South" was a victim of the factories. George Wilson's wife was never a strong woman, since "she cotched her side agin a wheel. It was before wheels were boxed up."(3)

(1) "North and South" pages 118 - 119.
(2) "Mary Barton" page 3.
(3) "North and South - 100

The fact that women worked in factories before marriage and often, after marriage, made the home and its influence almost negligible. Added to that many of them were physical wrecks and their children would enter the world physically handicapped.

(b) Dressmaking:

The next thing open to women was dressmaking. Mary Barton, Ruth and Margaret Jennings were apprentices. The long hours at work were appalling. Mary Barton had to be at work at six o' clock in the morning in the summer, bringing her three meals with her. In the winter she was permitted to have her breakfast before leaving home. She stopped work when the task was finished which might be very late. Ruth worked till two in the morning sometimes and was expected to be ready to begin a new day six hours later. Ruth lived at her place of work. Delicate girls could not stand this strain of long hours and Jenny died in her work.

The women who kept these establishments must have been callous and hard. Mrs. Mason worked the girls hard all week. On Sunday they received two scanty meals and no fires in the living quarters. Ruth found employment on her Sundays with the result she was shunned by conventional society. Young Carson attempts to seduce Mary Barton but fails.

Sally, the hard scheming apprentice is said by some to be Mrs. Gaskell's best character work.

Margaret Jenning goes blind at her work. Yet, not being in the least sure of payment, she seems quite content to sew away at the mourning for the Ogdens.

(c) Service-domestic:

The last thing open to women was domestic service. Lizzie Leigh longed for the sights of the city, went to Manchester, and received a position. The parents heard she had been dismissed and had gone to a workhouse to be nursed, only to be turned away when strong enough with her baby.

Alice Wilson was in service too. Her life was one round of sacrifices for all those with whom she came in contact. Leaving home at an early age she was never able to return to her birthplace or see any of her family again.

The wives and daughters of the millowners Mrs. Gaskell represents as vain and silly.- the Carson girls and Fanny Thornton. Mrs. Thornton was a "firm, severe and dignified woman who never paused in her straight onward course to the clearly defined end which she proposed herself."(1) The Thornton home is one of little culture, the only books being Matthew Henry's Bible Commentaries in six volumes (with leaves uncut probably).

"In her attempt to make her readers realize the life of factory workers under the conditions which she saw prevailing,

(1) "North and South, page 87.

she did not shrink from handling subjects not commonly submitted to the carefully nurtured girl of that period. She desired to show how at the meeting point of two great interests - capital and labor - human lives are frayed and ground, and the mischief which she illustrates is not mere hunger. The temptation which a prospect of leisure and command of money offers to a pretty girl like Mary Barton when the alternative must be long drudgery, is made no less plain because the temptation is resisted." (1)

Mrs. Gaskell was very modern in her attitude to girls who were victims of circumstance. She had a very sympathetic attitude towards girls in general. She is said to have helped her servants to improve themselves and to have given her Sunday School class instruction in various subjects including geography and history. Lizzie Leigh and Ruth were girls for whom she had deepest sym - pathy - Lizzie Leigh who had committed herself for sheer honest love, who had at last been driven into the streets to obtain food for her child, and who even in her degradation retained the instincts of devotion and self sacrifice, is still irreclaimable, only to be delivered by death from the slough into which she had fallen. "All this is told by the novelist without disguise, but it is told as a wise mother might tell it to her daughters - told as a part of a purpose. For the purpose of this story is to make happy and prosperous people realize the impact of temptation from which they are themselves exempt." (2)

(1) "Edinburgh Review" Vol. 206 July October 1907.pages 113-114.
(2) " " " " " " " 115.

Of Ruth - she was said to be"innocent and snow-pure."(1) Mrs. Mason was said to be careless about the circumstances of temptation into which girls entrusted to her as apprentices were thrown, but severely intolerant if their conduct was in any degree influenced by the force of these temptations. She called this intolerance "keeping up the character off her establishment."(2) Mrs. Gaskell adds, "it would have been a better and more Christian thing if she had kept up the character of her girls by tender vigilance and maternal care."(3) Billingham, her seducer, presents his case thus, "Ruth, would you go to London with me? I cannot leave you here without a home; the thought of leaving you at all is pain enough, but in these circumstances - so friendless, so homeless-it is impossible. You must come with me, love and trust me."(4) Ruth goes - Throughout the book you have the feeling that Mrs. Gaskell is angry with the people who assume the attitude of smug piety - for instance - "I think it is a shame such people should be allowed to come here, to think such wickedness under the same roof."(5) Then on the other hand we see Mr. Benson's kindly attitude. Ruth redeems her soul in the eyes of the world and dies in service to

(1) "Ruth" - page 43
(2) " " 53
(3) " " 53
(4) " " 55
(5) " " 91 Margaret Bellingham's letter to Ruth.
333-334 Mr. Bradshaw's attack on Ruth.

humanity."[1] Mrs Gaskell as a minister's wife must have seen a great deal of this side of life and perhaps understood very well the lesson she tried to give.

At that time there seemed to be no hope for a girl who had sinned against society - there was a tendency to push her down rather than to help her. In this way Mrs. Gaskell was ahead of her age.

(e) Superstition and Ignorance:

The women appeared to have had little or no education. Education was in the hands of the churches and they feared that an educated working class would refuse to be properly subordinate. It is said that over one half of the population of Lancashire could not sign their own names. Margaret Hall could neither read nor write. Libbie comes upon her after the death of her little son, sitting with the Bible open on the table before her. For she had puzzled out the place where Libbie was reading, and with her finger under the line, was spelling out the words of consolation piecing the syllables together aloud, with the earnest anxiety of comprehension with which a child first learns to read."[2] Fanny Thornton was superficially educated. "Even those domestic interests which have at times been credited with educational powers were now neglected and it was considered discreditable that a lady should subject herself to what little of mental discipline may be derived from cooking or making caps. She was at

(1) "Ruth - pages 333-334.
(2) Libbie Marsh -"Three Eras," Mary Barton edition,page 486.

as much pains to conceal household occupations as she was to avoid all signs of blue stockingism."[1] She of course was not a working girl, but Mary Barton had no idea what a subpoena was and no conception of law - as shown in the conversations before the trial of Jem.

Being ignorant they were very superstitious, and speak of, "no end of evil as long as the bleak east wind continued."[2] When the Wilson twins die the old women say "We must get him away from his mother. He cannot die while she's wishing him." "Wishing him"? said Mary in a tone of enquiry.

"Ay; donno' ye know what 'wishing' means? There's no one can die in the arms of those who are wishing them sore to stay on the earth. The soul of them as holds them won't let the dying soul go free; so it has a hard struggle for the quiet of death. We mun get him away fra' his mother, or he'll have a hard death,poor lile' fellow."[3] The "poor lile fellow" would be saved the burial of pauperism, where pauper bodies were piled until within a foot or two of the surface; when the soil was shovelled over, and stamped down, and the wooden cover went to do temporary duty over another hole."[4]

(1) Traill - "Social England" page 628.

(2) "Mary Barton", - page 48.

(3) " " - pages 84 - 85

(4) " " - " 81

(5) Men:

The men in the industrial town were a queer mixture - " In the neighborhood of Oldham there are weavers, common hand loom weavers, who throw the shuttle with unceasing sound, though Newton's "Principia" lies open on the loom, to be snatched at in work hours, but revelled over in meal times, or at night. Mathematical problems are received with interest, and studied with absorbing attention by many a broad-spoken, common-looking factory hand. It is perhaps less astonishing that the more popular, interesting branches of natural history have their warm and devoted followers among this class. There are botanists among them, equally familiar with either the Linaean or the Natural system, who know the name and habitat of every plant within a day's walk from their dwellings; who steal the holiday of a day or two when any particular plant should be in flower, and tying up their simple food in their pocket handkerchiefs, set off with single purpose to fetch home the humble looking weed." (1) One would also find entomologists among them, practical, shrewd, hard-working men, who pore over every new experience with real scientific delight.

Job Leigh was one of these, though now grown old, he spends his days poring over his beloved specimens.

John Middleton went to school to learn his A.B.C. in the midst of a crowd of little ones and later when he could read he

(1) "Mary Barton" - page 41.

bought "Seven Champions," "Pilgrim's Progress," Byron's "Narrative" and Milton's "Paradise Lost," from a pedlar.

Bessy says her father, Nicholas Higgins, "was always liking to buy books, and go to lectures o' one kind or another"- all of which took money -

The factory owners we find are shrewd men who have been able to accumulate enough wealth to be masters over other men. Thornton begins to study the classics with Mr. Hale who finds him a very apt pupil. Carson and son are not nearly so strong in characterization as Thornton.

The Chartist movement was made up of men who had discussed their problems together, (1) The eternal subject for agitation in the manufacturing districts was the differences between employed and employer. It might lull for a time, but was sure to break forth again with fresh violence at any depression of trade showing that in its apparent quiet, the ashes had still smouldered in the breasts of a few. John Barton was among these few. He could not understand the problem of just distribution - why an employer is apparently able to carry on his life just the same in depressions of trade while, he, the poor weaver sees his family "clemming"; "why his father and mother died in need of absolute necessities. There must have been most unjust incidents happening often, for Miss Waters has illustrations taken from pamphlets and papers, " I am very sorry Your Highness, we dare

(1) "Mary Barton" - pages 196-198 - Manchester Strike.

not cut off the man's head although he did bring you the wrong turban !!

Reply; "Not cut off a slave's head-!!! I'll go to England, there I shall find freedom." (1)

Miss Waters points out that the great burst of Trade Unionism about the time of Mary Barton was largely due to Owen's inspiration, but his aims were not really those of the Trade Union leaders, for he believed the solution was by co-operation of capital and labour, while the labour leaders were moving steadily towards the belief that the capitalist and labourer were fundamentally opposed. (2) The views of the labour leaders appear to be those that are throughout Mary Barton -almost to the last, until Carson becomes more human and his heart is softened. The gloom that seems to be cast over this book may be explained by the circumstances under which Mrs. Gaskell wrote - just after the death of her son. - In "North and South" she takes a more natural view of the situation and the relations between Thornton and Nicholas Higgins become the aims of Robert Owen. Boucher and John Barton are carried away in their opinions by their emotions, and influenced by their own unhappy experiences in life.

We turn now to a more happy theme - the workman on his holiday. Just outside of Manchester there was a place called "Green Hey - Field," where on a holiday the families used to enjoy the country.

(1) A carton by William Heath 1831, entitled "English Liberty."
(2) C.M.Waters - "Economic History of England" page 445 456

In "Libbie Marsh's Three Eras" the Field is called "Dunham Park". Mrs. Hall and Libbie take the cripple, Frankie, there to "show him Manchester, far away in the blue plain, against which the woodland foreground cut with a soft clear line. Far, far away in the distance, on that flat plain, you might see the motionless cloud of smoke hanging over a great town, and that was Manchester, ugly, smoky Manchester; dear busy, earnest, noble-working Manchester; where their children had been born, and where, perhaps, some lay buried; where their homes were, and where God had cast their lives, and told them to work out their destiny."(1) John Barton and George Wilson take their wives and families to this same park to enjoy the quietness.

Mrs. Gaskell is criticised by some as depicting in her industrial novels too dark a picture. She said herself she was not an economist, but that she wrote only what she saw. Disraeli in his novels, "Coningsby" and "Sybil", gives just as dark a picture. Early Victorian industrialism was not a period to be forgotten quickly. It is one of the periods in English social history that seems to have lost for a time its kinship with humanity.

Taking everything into consideration Mrs. Gaskell has given us a fair picture of industrial life in the first half of the nineteenth century.

(1) Libbie Marsh -"Three Eras" - Vol. 1, page 477.

V

MRS. GASKELL'S PORTRAYAL OF ENGLISH MIDDLE-CLASS LIFE.

(1) In the Town:

In portraying English Middle-class life Mrs. Gaskell no doubt was recounting her own life spent at Knutsford in the home of her aunt, Mrs. Lumb. Knutsford was a quiet little town far removed, by perhaps twenty miles, from the noisy industrial town, Drumble - really Manchester. In this little place the event of anyone receiving a letter was the cause of much "buzzing" and railroads were regarded as something akin to an evil spirit.

(a) The Life of the Women.

In "Cranford", really Knutsford, we meet such delightful characters as Miss Jenkyns and her sister Miss Matty, famed for her "elegant economies," Miss Betsy Barker whose cow went to pasture clothed in grey flannel, Mrs. Forrester who owned the famous cat that swallowed the equally famous lace, Mrs. Jamieson who could always doze on occasion, and Captain Brown, the Pickwickian lover, and his daughters, Miss Brown and Miss Jessie Brown.

The women lived in a delightfully small sphere where the strictest of conventions were observed. The calling rules, for

instance, were: the return call was made after three days between hours of twelve and three. One would never dare to appear before twelve or you were apt to embarrass your hostess. One never stayed any longer than fifteen minutes, and the time must be kept continually in mind and never allowed to be forgotten in conversation. This was accomplished by keeping oneself to short sentences of small talk and punctual to time.(1)

Money was never mentioned as it savoured too much of commerce and trade, and though some might be poor they were all aristocratic.(2) Captain Brown falls into disfavour when he mentions casually not being able to afford a certain thing. Man was another impersonal subject spoken of in this town of "Amazons." "We had often rejoiced in former days that there was no gentleman to be attended to, and to find conversation for at the card parties. We had congratulated ourselves upon the snugness of the evenings; and in our love of gentility and distaste of mankind we had almost persuaded ourselves that to be a man was to be 'vulgar'."(3)

(1) One is reminded here of Mrs. Gaskell's article on "French Life"-Vol.VII - A. W. Ward Series - page 614. "In England a quarter of an hour beyond the time is considered as nothing,and a half an hour's grace is generally acceded. But it is not so in France; and it is considered very ill-bred to be behind time.. Indeed the Franch have an idea that punctuality is a virtue unknown among the English."

(2) "Cranford" page 3

(3) "Cranford" page 8.

Their pleasures were, card parties, picnics and a yearly Charity Ball. Who can forget Miss Jenkyns' card party where the famous discussion of the merits of Doctor Johnson and the Pickwick Papers were discussed, or Miss Betty Barker's party where Mrs. Jamieson ate seed cakes though she said they reminded her of scented soap? But she was indulgent to Miss Barker's want of knowledge of the customs of high life and to spare her feelings, ate three large pieces of seed-cake, with a placid ruminating expression of countenance not unlike a cow.(1)

Imagine the consternation when a soldier cousin of Miss Jenkyn's was to pay them a visit! Did one put razors in his dressing room and slippers and coat brushes?(2) When Mrs. Jamieson announced that her sister-in-law, Lady Glenmire, was to visit her, how the Cranford ladies puzzled their brains as to how one would address her. Mrs. Jamieson settled this question for them by calling on Miss Matty and insinuating she did not wish them to pay their respects to her sister-in-law. The Cranford ladies turned their backs on Mrs. Jamieson's party in church, for if they might not call they would not even look at her though they should die of curiosity. But they did not forbid Martha, the maid, to look, for after church they "quizzed" her. She horrified them by saying that Lady Glenmire looked like the inn-keeper's wife. However, Mrs. Jamieson and the sister-in-law must have become bored with

(1) "Cranford" - page 78
(2) "Cranford" - - 32-33

each other's company, for Mr. Mullins, the man of all work brought invitations for a small party. The invitations were carried in a huge basket, though they could easily have gone in his waistcoat pocket. How were these invitations received? Miss Matty remembered it was the night she made candle-lighters of all the notes of the week so she must decline. But Miss Pole comes in and they make themselves believe that Mrs. Jamieson was more phlegmatic than most people and not so delicate in feeling, so they accepted. The next problem was -what to wear? "If heads were buried in smart new caps, the ladies were like ostriches, and cared not what became of their bodies. Old gowns, white and venerable collars, any number of brooches, up and down everywhere."(1) When they arrived at Mrs. Jamieson's they were perturbed as to what they should talk about. Would the rise in the price of sugar do? They, themselves were interested because of preserves. But did the peerage eat preserves or know how they were made? Perhaps she had been to Court, that was the right thing surely? No! came the answer in the broadest Scotch, from Lady Glenmire. Finally Mrs. Forrester's delicate lace collar broke the ice and her story of the famous cat who had swallowed it, with the lucky recovery of the said lace put the whole party at their ease. The tea was brought in at a quarter to nine. "Very delicate was the china, very old the plate, very thin the bread and butter and very small the lumps of sugar." Sugar it seemed was Mrs. Jamieson's favourite

(1) "Cranford," pages 88-89. Seven brooches were counted on Miss Pole.

economy and her dog Carlo was so clever he knew cream from milk and since he was so clever the guests had milk in their tea.

How did the ladies of Cranford travel at night to their parties? Mrs. Jamieson hired a sedan chair carried by two men in faded livery who were shoemakers by day.(1) The others went home accompanied by their servant. The stars were so beautiful and the night air so refreshing - Another piece of elegant economy! - Yet they did pick their way home with extra care that night, so refined and delicate were their perceptions after drinking tea with "my lady."

The next excitement was Signor Brunoni, who was to exhibit his wonderful magic in the Cranford Assembly Rooms. And would you believe it Miss Matty primed herself with scientific information for the tricks of the following evening? She actually wrote out the "receipts" for the tricks and took them to the performance much to the annoyance of Signor Brunoni. Following close on this excitement a report of robbers is heard. Their bravery under this terrible stress is delightfully portrayed. Signor Brunoni is suspected and their chagrin when the whole affair is proven to have been false is most amusing.

(1) Mrs. Chadwick - "Haunts, Homes and Stories" page 100. "Knutsford still keeps its sedan chair as a memento of bygone days, and it is used once a year at the May Day Celebrations. This is probably the only town in England which now annually finds a use for this ancient conveyance."

These women might show qualities of the "feline" family yet they were equally as kind and lovable as shown in their kindness to Jessie Brown at the death of her father and sister, and in the illness of Signor Brunoni.

When Miss Matty loses all her money (1) the "dear old things" each give as much as they can of their allowance to Miss Matty. Miss Matty starts up in a little tea shop, but not before she has asked Mr. Johnson, the grocer, if it would affect his trade in tea; after his assurance she opens up the shop.

The long lost Peter, brother of Miss Matty's, turns up safe and sound and Miss Matty is very happy. But of course the consternation at the news of someone whom they know actually going to be married is not to be forgotten. Lady Glenmire is to marry Mr. Hoggins. Fancy her doing such a thing! Mrs. Jamieson does not speak to sister-in-law till Peter patches up the quarrel.

In "Wives and Daughters" we have such women as Mrs. Gibson and Lady Connor, who remind one very much of Jane Austin's Mrs. Bennet and Lady De Bourgh; Mrs. Gibson is the matchmaking mother for Cynthia and her step-daughter Mollie. In a different group are the Miss Brownings who are very "Cranfordish". The life of these women is made up of teas and gossips. Mrs. Hamley is a very sweet woman - a chronic invalid who is unable to join the life of the district. The Charity Ball is the one big event. People of all

(1) The bank failing may be the Bank of Manchester 1842 - a crash which inflicted terrible suffering on the shareholders, or the failure of the Royal Dantery Bank at Macclesfield in 1823.

ages and classes go to dance. Lady Connor gives a Garden party every summer in honour of the select ladies of the town, to give them a chance to inspect her industrial school which she sponsors.(1)

(b) The Life of the Men.

Strange to say there were men in these towns, but one reading "Cranford" would hardly believe it. In "Mr. Harrison's Confessions," "Wives and Daughters," and "Ruth", we catch a glimpse of the lives of the men. In Mrs. Gaskell's early life, the men she associated with were doctors, parsons and squires and these are the people she writes of.

We have Mr. Harrison, a young doctor apprenticed to a Mr. Morgan in Duncombe.(2) The old doctor tells the young man how he must dress and conduct himself, and says, "You will find it a curious statistical fact, but five-sixths of our householders of a certain rank in Duncombe are women. We have widows and old maids in abundance. In fact, my dear sir, I believe that you and I are almost the only gentlemen in the place - Mr. Bullock of course, excepted. By gentlemen, I mean professional men. It behooves us to remember, sir, that so many of the female sex rely upon us for the kindness and protection which every man who is worthy of the name is always so happy to render."(3)

(1) There is also a profound contrast made in "North and South" between agricultural easy-going south and the feverish energy and severe austerity of the North. A.W.Ward says this contrast has become an essential part of English life and a theme fertile in developments -morals, artistic and economic. Mrs. Gaskell does justice to both and shows weak spots in both north and south.
(2) "Duncombe" first name that Knutsford appeared in fiction.
(3) "Cranford" pages 413-414.

Poor Mr. Harrison is besieged on all sides by the widows, old maids, and mothers with marriageable daughters. He is first invited to a picnic that Mrs. Bullock is giving in his honour. She has a marriageable daughter. The picnic is to be held at some old hall in the neighborhood.(1) There were about twenty in the party, ranging from a child of five to ladies of no questionable age. Miss Caroline who was thirty, but considered by her sister as a mere baby, who would call London, "the great metropolis". Sophie and her little brothers and sisters of the Vicarage were among them. Two chaises and a spring cart carried the party to the picnic. They seemed to have amused themselves boating. The old maids continually called on Mr. Harrison to attend to their health. There were no end of entertainments and five o' clock teas for the poor young doctor, but he survived them all and married Sophie of the Vicarage, but not before there was evidence enough for five breach of promise suits, the evidence all unfamiliar to the young man.

Mr. Gibson in "Wives and Daughters" is an admirable type of a medical man. He is willing to answer to the appeal of the sick, be they rich or poor. He is able to cope with almost every situation, be it settling Mr. Coxe, his apprentice, in his regard for his daughter, Molly, or sympathising with Mr. Hamley in his unfortunate marriage. He seemed to be able to attend the five o' clock teas and still retain his masculine characteristics.

(1) That old hall being Tabely Hall.

The Squire Hamley is a gruff man who had married a delicately nurtured young woman of London - He seems to have been "nature's gentleman in the rough." Young men of the day are seen in Roger and Osborne Hamley.[1] Roger was fond of natural history, and scientific books. Osborne was a dreamer and writer of poetry. Both were sent to a preparatory school, and were to go to Rugby and Cambridge. Oxford it seems was distasteful to the Hamleys, because Stephen Hamley, the grandfather, had been plucked there. Roger does very well at Cambridge and becomes senior wrangler. His brother, Osborne, being the older and heir to the Hamley estate, was expected to do great things. Unfortunately he barely makes a pass and fails to win a fellowship. His father is heart-broken. Osborne comes home badly in debt. He can do nothing to help himself out of the debt as his education had fitted him to take over the duties of the heir of the Hamley estate. Education for young men of that time fitted them very well socially, but not as well practically. Roger receives a Research Fellowship and goes off to explore Africa and becomes a famous scientist. Mr. Preston, the overseer of the Cumnor estate is regarded as the "beau ideal" till the truth is known about him. Miss Phoebe says, 'Besides he plays at billiards and he bets at races and some people do say he keeps race horses."[2] Mr. Harrison had had hopes of keeping a sporting horse, but these were frowned upon by Mr. Morgan.- It would seem

(1) Roger is said to be Darwin.
(2) "Wives and Daughters, page 516.

then that these forms of amusement were not well received in the society of the towns.

Mr. Holbrook and Squire Hamley are similar characters. Mr. Holbrook refused a letter addressed, "Thomas Holbrook, esquire". He sent it back and said he was "Thomas Holbrook, yeoman."

The home life in "Wives and Daughters," of the three house - holds - The Gibsons, The Hamleys, The Cumnors- is quiet, well balanced. They all three, lead normal lives in their places in society. In "Cranford" and "Mr. Harrison's Confessions" we have too many homes that are, as it were, "Adamless Edens" and hence have to be judged in one, from the woman's standpoint, and in the other, from the man's.

Mr. Hutton, Sophie's father, was "quiet and reserved, almost absent at times; his personal appearance was not striking; but he was altogether a man you would talk to, with your hat off whenever you met him. It was his character that produced this effect, character that he never thought about, but that appeared in every word, and look and motion."(1)

Mr. Ashton, the vicar in "Wives and Daughters" was said to be a "thoroughly good and kind-hearted man, but one without an original thought in him; whose habitual courtesy and indolent mind led him to agree to every opinion not palpably heterodox and to utter platitudes in the most gentlemanly manner. Mr. Gibson had once or

(1) "Mr. Harrison's Confessions" - pages 418-419.

twice amused himself by leading the vicar on in his agreeable admissions of arguments as "perfectly convincing" and of statements as "curious but undoubted," till he planted the poor clergyman in a bog of heretical bewilderment."(1) Mr. Ashton had some private fortune and lived the life of an indolent and refined bachelor and was always willing to be liberal. "Use my purse for those in want as if it were yours, Gibson" he used to say.

Rev. Mr. Mountford in "Lady Ludlow," the old hunting parson who obtained his preferment through his excellent horsemanship, is true to the times. "He was not a bad clergyman, as clergymen went in those days. He did not drink, though he liked good eating as much as anyone. And if any poor person was ill, and he heard of it, he would send them plates from his own dinner, of what he himself liked best; sometimes of dishes which were almost as bad as poison to sick people. He meant kindly to everyone except dissenters, whom Lady Ludlow and he united in trying to drive out of the parish; and among dissenters he particularly abhorred Methodists- someone said, because John Wesley had objected to his hunting. But that must have been long ago for when I knew him he was too stout and too heavy to hunt; besides, the Bishop of the diocese disapproved of hunting, and had intimated his disapprobation to the clergy.... He ate so much and took so little exercise that it was said he flew into terrible passions with his servants, and the sexton and the

(1) "Wives and Daughters" - pages 41-42.

clerk. But they none of them minded him much, for he soon came to himself, and was sure to make them some present or other - some said in proportion to his anger; so that the sexton who was a bit of a wag (as all sextons are, I think) said that the vicar's saying, "The Devil take you," was worth a shilling any day, whereas, "The Deuce," was a shabby sixpenny speech, only fit for a curate-" (1)

"There was a good deal of good in Mr. Mountford, too. He could not bear to see pain, or sorrow, or misery of any kind, and if it came under his notice, he was never easy till he had relieved it, for the time at any rate. But he was afraid of being made uncomfortable; so, if he possibly could, he would avoid seeing anyone who was ill or unhappy; and he did not thank anyone for telling him about them." (2)

But the Mr. Gray who followed Mr. Mountford was of a different stamp. He was zealous in all his parish work and would walk miles in the heat to see a poor bedridden woman. He was anxious to help his parishioners in every way, and wished to start a Sabbath School which annoyed Lady Ludlow very much, for she did not believe in education of the masses. Mr. Gray is said to be the Rev. William Turner of New-Castle-on-Tyne who was Mrs. Gaskell's guardian for two years after the death of her father. In 1784 he established the first Sunday School in Newcastle.

(1) Lady Ludlow - pages 22-23.

(2) C. M. Waters - pages 22-23
As spiritual guides there is not much to choose between Henry Tilney, a Mr. Collins, and Blifil."

Mr. Benson[1] the kind-hearted minister who rescued Ruth, and made of her a fine Christian woman, may be also a second Reverend William Turner. A. W. Ward[2] says that in Mr. Benson's talk it is not impossible to trace a far-off echo of the great hearted divine - Frederick D. Maurice.

Mrs. Gaskell at times seems rather hard on the representatives of the Church, but it must be owned that the condition of the Church in the last half of the eighteenth century, and the first half of the nineteenth, was rather bad, one has only to look at the movements within the Church itself to know that there were abuses, But she always gives us a Mr. Gray and Mr. Benson to offset a Mr. Mountford.[3] In "North and South", Mr. Hale, a high-minded clergyman, irresolute in small things, relinquishes his living and his clerical work for conscience's sake. There is none of the Mr. Mountford in such a type, though it must be admitted, Mr. Hale was an extremely selfish man in his demands on his wife, and daughter, Margaret.

(1) His Christian name was "Thurston," which was said to be an old family name of the Hollands.

(2) A.W. Ward - "Introduction to Ruth." - page 23.

(3) "Lady Ludlow" - page 25.
Mr. Mountford left some of his property to the poor of the parish to furnish them with an annual Christmas dinner of roast beef and plum pudding, for which he wrote out a very good receipt in the codicil of his will.

(2) In the Country:

"Cousin Phillis" bears the same relation to country life as Cranford does to town life. Mrs. Gaskell gives us an idyllic picture of rural England in "Cousin Phyllis" The scene is laid at Hope Farm, Heathbridge.(1) The daily routine of indoor domesticity and a series of outdoor pictures of corn-harvest following on hay-making, and apple gathering on corn-harvest, make up the background of our little drama.

Paul Mannering, an engineer, engaged in the construction of a railroad near Eltham is the narrator. He goes to visit his mother's cousin who has married a man by the name of Holman. Farmer Holman is a farmer-minister who works five days on the farm with his men, and on the sixth visits among his flock and preaches to them on the seventh.(2) On farm days he rises at

(1) A.W. Ward - Introduction to "Cousin Phillis" - page 14.
"The Heatherbridge of "Cousin Phillis," is Sandlebridge in Cheshire, within easy reach of Knutsford, for which Eltham may be here supposed to do duty; and the "Hope Farm" is, with differences, the house owned by Mrs. Gaskell's grandfather, Mr. Samuel Holland, the home of her mother, familiar to herself for many years."

(2) Mrs. E. Chadwick - "Haunts Homes and Stories" - page 75.
"The originals of the farmer-minister are undoubtedly the novelist's grandfather and her own father. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century dissenting ministers often combined preaching with some other occupation or profession. Many were school-masters or private tutors or chemists."

three o'clock - "He has his private exercises in his own room; he always rings the great bell which calls the men to milking; he rouses up Betty, the maid; as often as not he gives the horses their feed before the man is up - for Jem, who takes care of the horses, is an old man and Holman is loath to disturb him; he looks at the calves, and the shoulders, heels, traces, chaff, and corn before the horses go afield; he has often to whip-cord the plough-whips.....And if he has a bit of time to spare he comes in and reads with his daughter, but only English; they keep Latin for the evenings that they may have time to enjoy it; and them he calls in the man to breakfast.....and by that time it is half past six, and they have their own breakfast."(1)

The day's work in the field is closed by singing a psalm. "Holman lifted his spade in his hand, and began to beat time with it; the two labourers seemed to know both words and music, and also did Phillis."(2)

On his way to the house he quotes Latin to his guest, Paul, and remarks how wonderful it is, that Virgil has hit exactly the enduring epithets nearly two hundred years ago in Italy, that describe what is now lying before them in the parish of Heather-bridge.

When Holman reaches the house the first thing he says, "Whe'se the missus"? Mrs. Holman appears and he proceeds to tell

(1) "Cousin Phillis" page 14

(2) " " " 15.

her the day's happenings. He leaves to make himself "reverend" and returns to the tea with a "voluminous white muslin neckcloth" and one or two unimportant changes in his dress. Paul and he go to the library where are books on old divinity, farriery, farming, manures, Virgil, Caesar, Greek Grammar.(1) Around the walls were papers on which were special prayers and intercessions-"Monday for his family, Tuesday for enemies.....Sunday for all wanderers and sinners that they might be brought home to the fold."(2) The evening meal makes a delightful picture. The family eat in one room served by the faithful Betty. The door adjoining the servant's quarters is left open that there may be talk back and forth. After the supper comes that delightful description of family worship. Not only does Farmer Holman pray for the cattle and live creatures at evening "exercise", but while still on his knees, he orders John to see that the sick cow has her warm mash.

The kindliness of Holman is shown at times when he suddenly changes the subject of some Latin topic that he and his daughter Phillis, are discussing to one which his wife would be able to understand. Mrs. Holman is a kind, sweet, domesticated soul, who mothers Phillis, their only child. Phillis is a most amazing character. At one time we see her paring apples and poring over Dante's "Inferno" in the original. At another time she takes Paul out with her to feed the fluffy little chicks. Again we see

(1) Mrs. E. Chadwick - "Haunts Homes and Stories" page 75. The books mentioned are to be found at Sandbridge.
(2) "Cousin Phillis." page 22.

her helping her father in the hay-field getting the hay under cover before rain. She can pore over surveying instruments with her father and yet play with Rolls her dog. She has a marvellous physique, tall straight with very white skin.

The whole charm of the story is a homely one with the single exception of Holdsworth who is the head engineer in the railroad construction, which Paul is connected with. Holdsworth is brought by Paul to Hope Farm to convalesce after low fever. He falls in love with Phillis, but is called away to make a railroad in Canada,(1) before he has time to tell Phillis of his love or even to bid them all goodbye. Phillis pines and Paul hears at church of her decline in health which her mother attributes to a cold.(2) Paul hoping to cheer Phillis up tells her that Holdsworth had hoped to tell her of his love. This restores her to health. Paul is worried at the disclosure of Holdsworth's secret. The blow falls when they receive news of Holdsworth's marriage to a French Canadian girl in Canada. Farmer Holman has all along suspected what is worrying Phillis, and taxes Paul on the question. Paul denies that Holdsworth has ever told Phillis of his love. Phillis comes in and upholds Paul, and then falls down in a faint. She has brain fever.(3) Phillis is very ill for a long time. The homely sympathy of Betty and the neighbors is well portrayed.

(1) This railroad is evidently the Canadian Pacific railroad.
(2) This scene at the church, the groups of people talking is very natural.
(3) Mrs. Gaskell seems to be very fond of 'brain-fever - Bellingham' in "Ruth" suddenly falls down with it too, though having no medical cause for it.

"Cousin Phillis" and "Cranford" have to be read in the full to appreciate clearly the genius behind them.

(3) Servants;

Mrs. Gaskell is famous for her portrayal of servants. She herself was invaluable for training young girls into really good domestics, and her pupils in this line were much sought after by anxious housewives. Mrs. Gaskell knew how to portray the faithfulness of Martha, Miss Matty's maid, who declared when she learned that Miss Matty's money was lost - "Iam not going to leave Miss Matty, No, not if she gives me warning every hour in the day."(1) And who can forget the "lion couchant" pudding with the black currant eyes, provided by Martha, when Miss Matty felt she could not afford "a sweet."? How when the pudding was placed before her, she could not find words for thanks but could only press the hand of her maid-and at last she said,"Iwould like to keep this pudding under a glass shade my dear! and how her guests laughed to keep from weeping.

Dixon in "North and South" is also another Martha-"There are three people(2) I love,it's Missus,Master Frederick, and her(Margaret) Just them three. That's all. The rest he hanged, for I don't know what they're in the world for. Master was born, I suppose, to marry Missus. If I thought he loved her properly, I might get to love him in time. But he should ha' made a deal more on her,

(1) "Cranford" - page 154.
(2) "North and South" - page 154.

and not been always reading, thinking and thinking. See what it has brought him to. Many a one who never reads nor thinks either, gets to be Rector and Dean, and what not; and I daresay master might, if he'd just minded Missus, and let the weary reading and thinking alone. "There she goes" (looking out the window and seeing Margaret Hale going down the street) her clothes look shabby to what they did when she came to Helstone a year ago. Then she hadn't so much as a darned stocking or a cleaned pair of gloves in all her wardrobe. And now .....!(1)

Betty of "Cousin Phillis" is a strong sonsie maid of all work. She is able to help Farmer Holman in the field, and Mrs. Holman in the household tasks. She alone was able to bring Phillis to the true state off her selfishness in trying to die of a broken heart -"Now, Phillis" said she, coming up to the sofa; "we ha' done a' we can for you, and the doctors have done a' they can for you, and I think the Lord has done 'a' He can for you, and more than you deserve, too, if you don't do something for yourself. If I were you, I'd rise up and snuff the moon, sooner than break your father's and your mother's heart with watching and waiting till it pleases you to fight your own way back to cheerfulness. There, I never favoured long preaching, and I have said my say."(2)

(1) "North and South" - page 154
(2) "Cousin Phillis" - page 108

We must not forget Sally in "Ruth," who, excepting John Rawson who was shut up in the mad-house for the next week, never had what you may call a downright offer of marriage but once. Sally tells the story. "Master Dixon offered to marry me and said he had a "pig as would be ready for killing soon" and I might have married him. The pig was a temptation; I'd a receipt for curing hams, as Miss Faith would never let me try, saying the old way were good enough. However I resisted, I were very stern, because I felt myself wavering. "Master Dixon once for all, pig or no pig I'll not marry you."

Sally was greatly attached to the Benson family. When they wished to raise her wages she refused at first to allow it. She took the increase, put it in the bank and willed it to the Bensons. She has the largest heart of any of Mrs. Gaskell's maids of all work.

(4) Education of Middle Class Girls;

Girls seem to have been educated in their homes by means of a governess. Molly had her Miss Eyre and the Cumnors had their Clare. In "Lady Ludlow" we have a boarding school portrayed which was similar to the one Elizabeth Gaskell attended at Avon-Bank.

The idea of education for girls seems to have been very superficial. Girls were given lists of Greek gods and English kings to memorize. There was no attempt to train the mind. The education was well enough for the times, for woman was not expected ever to earn her living with her brains, not even in case of the governesses. The education of the middle class girl was much more practical than that of the society girl.

The Ladies' Seminary in Cranford was said to have given "a solid English education in fancy work and the use of the globes."(1

Mr. Gibson was probably a very sane and sensible man of his times, yet note his conversation with Miss Eyre, the new governess for Molly -

"Don't teach Molly too much; she must sew, and read and write and do her sums; but I want to keep her a child; and if I find more learning desirable for her, I'll see about giving it to her myself. After all, I'm not sure that reading or writing is necessary. Many a good woman gets married with only a cross instead of a name; it's rather a diluting of mother-wit, to my fancy; but, however, we must yield to the prejudices of society, Miss Eyre, and so you may teach the child to read."(2)

Miss Eyre taught Molly to read and write but tried honestly to keep her back in every other branch of education. "It was

(1) "Cranford"- page 157 -"As to the branches.....to teach.
(2) "Wives and Daughters" - page 35.

only by fighting and struggling hard, that Molly persuaded her father to let her have French and drawing-lessons.(1)

The Avon-Bank School which is said to be that in "Lady Ludlow" was conducted on advanced methods and included deportment and correct etiquette in accordance with views on education of that period.

Mrs. Medlicott taught sewing. She, it was who they said, could take a piece of French cambric, and by drawing out some threads and working in others, it became a delicate lace in a very few hours.(2)

Here was their library for week-day reading:(3)

Mr. Addison's "Spectator."

"Sturm's Reflections" - in translation.

Mrs. Chapone's Letters.

Dr. Gregory's "Advice to Young Ladies."

They also seemed to have been given a course in pharmacy. "There was no doctor for many miles round, and with Mrs. Medlicott to direct us, and Dr. Buchanan to go by for recipes, we sent out many a bottle of physic---which I dare say was as good as what comes out of the druggist's shop.(4) They labelled their

(1) "Wives and Daughters." - page 35. "The Masters who visited such a town as Hollinford forty years ago were no such great proficients in their arts."
(2) "Lady Ludlow" - page 26
(3) "Lady Ludlow" - page 27.
(4) " " - " 27.

bottles which helped to make them look very mysterious. They also made bread pills which were wonderful in their cure for insomnia. "I think ours was what we call homeopathic practice now-a-days."(1) Domestic science was also one of their studies.

"Then we learned to make all the cakes and dishes of the season in the still-room. We had plum-porridge and mince pies at Christmas, fritters and pancakes on Shrove Tuesday, furmenty on Mothering Sunday, violet cakes in Passion Week, three cornered cakes on Trinity Sunday and so on through the year; all made from good old Church receipts, handed down from one of my lady's earliest Protestant ancestresses."(2)

In "My French Master" - Goldsmith's "History of England," Rollins' "Ancient History", Lindley Murray's Latin Grammar and plenty of sewing and stitching were taught. They had a French Master, M.de Chalabre, who taught them French. Girls also were taught dancing - "Once a week Molly joined a dancing class in the Assembly-room at the principal inn in the town, the "Cumnor Arms".(3)

(1)"Lady Ludlow" - page 28
(2) " " - " 28
(3)"Wives and Daughters" - page 35.

(5) Reading of the Day;

"The annual cost of a daily paper to a subscriber was in 1818 ten pounds, and even the well-to-do combined to reduce the expense. Agents circulated them at one penny an hour, and when they were a "few days old " they were sent to provincial towns and through the country at reduced prices.....In 1835 the chief London dailies were the "Times," "Morning Chronicle," the "Standard",(an evening paper till 1857) "Globe," "John Bull," "Morning Post." "The Courier" no longer held the position as an evening paper, which it had kept during the war with a daily circulation of ten thousand." (1)

There had been a tax put on newspapers partly to raise money, but also to keep periodical literature "for the moneyed classes, and out of the hands of those who, writing for the poor,it might pander to the democratic and revolutionary fancies of the populace." (2)

It is no wonder then that we find Mrs. Jamieson, Miss Pole and Miss Jenkyns being equal subscribers to the "St. James' Chronicle" - Mrs. Jamieson in right of her honourableness always had the reading of it first.

Squire Hamley reads "an old-established Tory journal, with all the local and country news which was most interesting to him; the other the "Morning Chronicle" which he called his dose of bitters." (3)

(1) Traill - "Social England" Vol.VI pages 440-441
(2) " " " " " " 440
(3) "Wives and Daughters" - page 77.

Mrs. Hemans and Tennyson were the favourite poets. We find Molly reading Scott's "Bride of Lammermoor" and Lady Harriet offers to lend her some of Edgeworth's stories. Captain Brown was very fond of reading "Pickwick Papers" which disgusted Miss Jenkyns because they came out in instalments not to be compared with Dr. Johnson.

Games:

In Cranford at an evening party we find them playing "Preference" and "Cribbage". At Mrs. Jamieson's party they played "Ombre" and "Quadrille".

In "Ruth"- Mr. Bellingham asks Ruth if she can play "ecarte" or "picquet" or whist, but all Ruth can play is "beggar my neighbor."

At Miss Tompkin's party the guests were asked to play a silly game called "questions."

VI

MRS. GASKELL'S PORTRAYAL OF ENGLISH FIRELIGHT.

(a) Short Stories:

This phase of her work is best illustrated from the numerous short stories and articles which she wrote. It is said that Mrs. Gaskell as a school girl at Avon-Bank used to entertain her girls friends with stories, especially ghost stories. The centre of the home life of the time was the hearth. The whole family gathered around, the daughters and mothers doing their fancy work while the father or son read from periodicals, probably "Household Words" or "All the Year Round."

Mrs. Gaskell must have read her stories to her family before she sent them away to her publisher. Most of her stories of this type are very gloomy and sad. One volume of stories which she called "Round the Sofa" includes six tales, all of which except the first, "Lady Ludlow", are anything but cheerful.

"Lady Ludlow" reminds one of such an entreaty as,"Mother, tell us about when you were a little girl." The request is granted and we have an account of Mrs. Gaskell's school days at Stratford-on-Avon, an account which cannot be said to have a real beginning, a middle or ending. In the middle of this comes the story of Clement de Crequy - one of the many victims

of the French Revolution.

The next story was one of intolerance which was Mrs. Gaskell's great aversion. She was broadminded and charitable to others and could always place herself in the position of others holding different views. Bigotry she abhorred and as a Unitarian she knew something of narrow-minded people's intolerance towards those who were not orthodox.(1)

In "An Accursed Race" Mrs. Gaskell is in her element when trying to show that there was no case against this so called leprous race of Cagots, and she begins by driving home the intolerance amongst all races.(2) The story probably goes back to the fifteenth century and is likely founded on the account given in "Histoire des Races Mandates de la France d'Espagne."

(1) Mrs. E. Chadwick -"Haunts Homes and Stories" - page 310.
"In one of her letters she refers to the kindness of a family of the name of Kennet, who were neighbors of the Stevensons in Beaufort Row, Chelsea, and she mentions the sole remaining member of this family, Fanny Kennet, who had been dreadfully shocked to hear that Elizabeth Stevenson had married a Unitarian minister.
When Charlotte Bronte was staying with the Gaskells, she refused to accompany them to their own place of worship at Cross Street on the Sunday, preferring to go alone to the nearest parish church,"All Saints."
Ellen Nussey when a visitor at Plymouth Grove had the same prejudice,and acted in the same manner."

(2) "Lady Ludlow" volume." page 218. "We have our prejudices in England.....experience towards them."

The next story, "Poor Clare", is supposed to be read by Signor Sperano. The scene is laid in North -eastern Lancashire, a wild district and said to be the least known in all England, and the most Catholic. "It was the home proper, of the Lancashire witches of Elizabeth's days and in the days to which the historiographer of the "Poor Clare" looks back. Jacobitism largely prevailed here, as it did in so many parts of Lancashire."(1) No locality could therefore have been more appropriately chosen for a story in which "faith, superstition, bitter hatred and passionate devotion are antithetically mixed ingredients."(2) Bridget Fitzgerald, the unhappy mother whose mysterious sin with its wonderful expiation is the real theme of this tragic tale, is Irish born and dies as Sister Magdalen in the Antwerp convent of the Poor Clares.(3) The idea of a double self, dual personality is in this story. "In the great mirror opposite I saw myself, and right behind, another wicked, fearful self, so like me that my soul seemed to quiver within me, as though, not knowing to which similitude of body it belonged. My father saw my

(1) Mrs. E. Chadwick - "Haunts, Homes and Stories, page 316.

(2) A. W. Ward - "Introduction to "Lady Ludlow" Volume page 20.

(3) A.W. Ward - " " " " " " " "
"The Poor Clares, second Order of St. Francis, called the Povere Doune.....much of the severity of the rule is maintained. There is a community at Levenshulme, not far from Plymouth Grove, Manchester, which may have suggested to Mrs. Gaskell the form given by her to the final episode of her story."

Double. "I saw behind her another figure - a ghastly resemblance complete in likeness so far as form and feature and minutest touch of dress could go, but with a loathsome demon soul looking out of the grey eyes that were in turns mocking and voluptuous... I put out my hand to clutch it. I grasped nothing but empty air, and my whole blood curdled to ice."(1)

"The Doom of the Griffiths" was a story which resulted from a Welsh holiday. "I have always been much interested in the traditions which are scattered up and down North Wales, relating to Owen Glendower.(2) One of the traditions is the old family prophecy which gives the title to this tale. The stpry centres around the fulfilment of a curse in the ninth generation. "It is a homely OEdipodean tragedy of half-conscious crime and woe unutterable.(3) There is a graphic description of the struggle in the water when Owen, the son of the ninth generation realizes that the awful doom was present and the curse was upon him.

"Half a Life Time" is a story of the Lake District.(4) Susan, the heroine, lived with her father, mother and a brother, ten years younger. The mother takes sick and Susan promises her dying mother she will take care of "Lile Will." Then follows

(1) "Poor Clare." page 362.
(2) "The "Doom of the Griffiths." Volume V. page 236.
(3) A. W. Ward - Introduction to Volume V. page 14.
(4) Here Mrs. Gaskell met Wordsworth, Ruskin, Arnold, Forster, Froude and Charlotte Bronte.

the giving up of her lover, the devotion to "Lile Will" and the lonely life after his death. She finds in the snow, the long lost lover, who is now the husband of another. All the listeners at the fireside will never forget the passage that begins, Oh, God! O' help, and how the brave woman struggled through the snow. "She lowered her lantern; there lay a man, prone on his face, nearly covered by the fast-falling flakes." She succeeds in carrying her burden to the farm kitchen where she recognizes him as Michael Hurst, her old lover. With infinite care she seeks to bring him back to consciousness. "From time to time she bent over the face afresh; sick, and fain to believe that the flicker of the firelight was some slight convulsive motion. But the dim,staring eyes struck chill to her heart".(1) The story has a characteristic and beautiful ending. Susan takes the wife and children of her lost lover and brings them to her farm to live, and there fill up "the haunted hearth with living forms that should banish the ghosts."(2) And so it fell out that the latter days of Susan Dixon's life were better than the former."(3)

The last of the "Round the Sofa tales" is another adventure in the Fells in which as in "The Nurse's Story," a snow storm plays this time a tragic part. "The Half Brothers", is the story of a lad,ill-used and not understood who comes into his own

(1) "Half a Lifetime" - Lady Ludlow Volume, pages322-323
(2) Mrs. E. Chadwick - "Haunts,Homes and Stories," - page 315.
(3) "Half a Lifetime"- Lady Ludlow Volume.- page 327.

at the expense of his life. The tale is sad; the father was reproached for his unkindness towards the boy by his dog,"Lassie" who would shrink away from him any time he tried to stroke her. This story is said to be endeared to those best acquainted with the heights and depths of Mrs. Gaskell's nature, because it seems to typify the spirit of self-sacrifice that pervaded her life. It illustrates a famous passage in Thomas a Kempis which she was accustomed to cite with peculiar solemnity - the passage beginning, "That which pleaseth others shall go well forward, that which pleaseth thee shall not speed." "Herself, a stranger to the passion of envy - like the sister of fury of jealousy, one of the chief enemies of human happiness, she knew what it meant to recognize its approach, and to set a firm foot on the monstrous neck."(1)

The theme of "The Manchester Marriage" is best known to us as the story of "Enoch Arden," yet Mrs. Gaskell's story was published in 1859 in the Christmas Number of "Household Words", and Tennyson's poem was published in 1864. This situation of the long lost husband returning to find his wife married to another man believing her first husband dead, must have happened a few times. In those days many a ship was lost to England for years, and an occasional one of its crew would return to tell of years spent perhaps among savages. This story is said to be founded on actual facts connected with a Manchester family. The names

(1) A.W. Ward - "Introduction to Volume V. - page 21.

"Chadwick, Openshaw and Wilson are well known in Manchester."(1) Her paper also on "Disappearances" reminds us that Mrs. Gaskell's brother, John Stevenson, a lieutenant in the merchant service, disappeared mysteriously at sea in 1827. Unlike Peter of "Cranford" and Frederick of "North and South", John Stevenson never returned and the mystery of his death remained unsolved.

"The Well of Pen-Morfa" was suggested by what she had heard on a visit near Wales in the earlier course of her marriage and like all her other Welsh stories it is sad. It is a tale of Nest Gwynn, a beautiful Welsh girl, who falls and breaks her hip at the Well of Pen-Morfa. Forsaken by her lover, when he learns that she will be a cripple for life, and shocked by the death of her mother, she loses her faith in mankind. Through her care of Mary Williams, a half-witted woman, she is restored to her faith and dies at the Well of Pen-Morfa where she had lost love, hope, and her bright, glad youth.

The story of the "Crooked Branch" opens with the simple wooing of Hester Rose by Nathan Huntroyd. The couple are married and have one son who becomes their idol. They give him a good education and try to make him superior to the life of a farmer. He goes to London, squanders the old couple's money, comes back and is almost saved. He leaves them once more and returns with his accomplicesand tries to get them to murder his parents and

(1) Mrs. E. Chadwick - Haunts, Homes and Stories" - page 356

steal their last bit of money. The morning of the trial of the would-be murderers comes and the old farmer and his wife have to give evidence against their only child. The father when his wife has broken down under the lawyer's questions says to the judge, "My Lord Judge, a woman bare ye, I reckon; it's a cruel shame to serve a mother so. It wur' my son, my only child, as called out for us t' open the door and who shouted out for to hold th' owd woman's throat if she did na stop her noise, when hoo'd fain ha' cried for her niece to help. And now yo've the truth and a' the truth, and I'll leave you to th' judgment of God for th' way y' ore gettin at it."(1) And the story ends "before night the mother was stricken with paralysis and lay on her death bed."(2)

The readers of "All the Year Round" must have followed with interest the patts of "A Dark Night's Work." A story of a man named Wilkins, an attorney by profession, who after the death of his wife devotes his life to his daughter, Ellinor, and "aping the mode of life and amusements of the landed gentry" a man by the name of Dunster is engaged to look after his clients under his supervision which leaves Wilkins time to pursue his hunting. Dunster is a second "Uriah Heap", though much more suhtly drawn. Wilkins in a fit of passion knocks Dunster down and kills him. Ellinor, and the faithful manservant, Dixon, assist her father to bury the body in the shrubbery. A railroad comes through the

(1) "Crooked Branch" - Volume VII - page 258
(2) " " " " " "

estate many years after the father's death and the shrubbery has to be dug up. The remains of Dunster are revealed and Dixon is convicted on the evidence of a fleam, bearing his name, being found on the body. Ellinor reveals her father's part in the crime and Dixon is released.(1)

"Curious if True" is a little introduction into fairyland where you meet and talk with Bluebeard, Jack the Giant Killer and the Sleeping Beauty. The whole tale has an air of reality which just makes you feel it might be true.

We can now turn from the realm of fairies to real life in "Right at Last". Margaret Fraser had married a struggling young physician, Dr. Brown. All goes well till Crawford, the manservant, blackmails his master. It turns out that Dr. Brown's father had been a noted forger. The doctor and his loyal little wife refused to be blackmailed - Crawford told everyone that Doctor Brown, the rising young physician, was the son of the notorious Brown, the forger. Crawford had to suffer a severe sentence. The Browns had to move to poorer quarters and the physician had to work up a new practice. "People did say that Margaret had been seen, in those worst times, on her hands and her knees cleaning her own doorstep"(2) - yet they lived happily ever after.

(1) This story appeared as a serial in "All the Year Round" January 24, 1863 to March 21,1863, and was published in book form with four illustrations by Du Maurier in the following April.

(2) A.W. Ward - Volume VII,page 27. This cleaning of doorsteps appears to have been borrowed from the actual experience of a well-known Edinburgh lady. This high-minded wife had encouraged her husband as an advocate to plead the cause of one on whom the powers that were looked askance, and when he was hereupon suddenly involved in professional ruin, she, who had been an admired beauty of Edinburgh ball-rooms did not scruple to become her own housemaid."

"The Grey Woman" is a gruesome story of the time when the "Chauffeurs", a band of brigands and cut-throats, roamed in the Rhinelands. A young girl marries the leader of the "Chauffeurs" and when the secret of her husband's life is revealed to her she and her maid flee. Her husband pursues, bent on vengeance. Her escape from him and the terror she endured changed her appearance so much that she was known as the "grey woman."

We now turn to "Six Weeks at Heppenheim", which is a cheerful little story telling of the love of Thelka and her faithful master. The story is interspersed with the rules of the vineyard and marriage customs of the locality. The scene is laid in the very heart of the genial wine country of the Upper Rhine. "The Cumberland sheep-shearers" gives us an interesting and vivid description of sheep-shearing. Mrs. Gaskell had the happy knack of finding out the why and wherefore of every strange custom. She visited France and from her conversation with the people she gave us "The Traits and Stories of the French Hugenots."

"The Nurse's Story" would be read in the Christmas number, for in those days they thought a ghost story or two was necessary in front of a Yule log. It is a good ghost story with all the essentials of a horror tale - pictures turned towards the wall, a noise as if someone were playing on the great organ in the hall, booming and swelling away, a little girl mysteriously disappears on a clear cold moonlight night to be found under a holly tree

asleep. The very atmosphere of the story would make its hearers glad of the warmth and light of the hearth. Could the other two fragments of "Ghost Stories" have been printed they would have drawn closer to the fire when they were read.(1)

"Morton Hall" and "Crowley Castle" were stories connected with the traditions surrounding each of these two places. Morton Hall is an old Hall in the vicinity of Knutsford. It tells about the history of the Hall, how it had been confiscated under the Commonwealth and how at the Restoration, Sir John Morton, the owner returns to find it in the possession of Alice Carr, a niece of General Monk. Sir John marries Alice but her "psalm singing" annoys him and he leaves and returns to find her preparing a feast for her Puritan friends. He closes the Hall up and takes her to London, supposedly mad. She dies. The Hall is reopened by another squire Morton, whose son squanders his fortune and the Hall is left. The next occupants are the sisters of General Morton in India, who was a distant cousin of the original old Sir John. The sisters have in their care a niece who grows up and marries a man by the name of Carr who was related to Alice Carr, the wife of old Sir. John.

"The Moorland Cottage" was designed, I am sure, for family reading. It is the story of Maggie, (who is later to appear in George Eliott's "Mill on the Floss") who sacrifices herself at

(1) A. W. Ward includes in Volume VII the fragments of two Ghost Stories which were found in Mrs. Gaskell's papers, and were not known to have ever been printed.

every turn for her brother and Mother. Maggie however receives her reward on this earth and marries her lover, Edward Buxton.

"The Sexton's Hero" is an incident which happened in the treacherous sands along Morecambe Bay. "People who get their living by following the sands hardly ever die in their beds." Mrs. Gaskell makes the fearful dangers of that crossing real.

"The Squire's Story" is supposed to be a true story of Higgins, the noted highwayman of Knutsford. The story is founded on facts that were handed down from one generation to another. The boys of the fireside must have enjoyed this.

"Christmas Storm and Sunshine" is a story that Dickens himself might have written with Tiny Tim's ending "God bless everybody."

Two stories that the little children would enjoy before being"tucked in" are "Bessy's Troubles at Home" and "Hand and Heart". They both teach in a pleasant way a lesson on sacrifice and kindness. An article on "Company Manners" would fit in nicely as a chapter in a book "The Successful Hostess." This article is a review of society and ways of entertaining guests. It makes you feel that a Mid-Victorian evening could not have been as dull as we have been taught to believe.

"Modern Greek Songs" is an article on Fauriel's celebrated book "Chants Populaires de la Grece Moderne" which appeared in

two volumes in 1824. Mrs. Gaskell singles out the songs of the Easter celebration, of marriage, of death, that is "myreologia," of the Klephts, of "Paneghyres," which closely resemble wakes in England. The whole work makes interesting reading. Another article on "An Italian Institution" appeared in "All the Year Round" telling about the "Camorra" which was a system of blackmail, a system which seems to have protected brigands, and in turn protected those whose duty it was to suppress. It must have been a peculiar institution and one which Italians would be glad to see the last of.

"Lois the Witch" is another story of intolerance and ignorance. A beautiful English girl is burned as a witch in one of the New England States. Mrs. Gaskell makes use of the public recantation of Judge Sewall in the South Meeting House at Boston and also incorporates in her story the actual published statement made by the Salem jurors.(1)

"The Shah's English Gardener" is a bright little paper.

One can see that the stories mentioned above must have been thoroughly enjoyed within the bosom of the family. The range of their theme from "the cloud-laden spheres of tragedy and weird mystery to the gentle tranquillity of the domestic idyll," would suit everybody. Nor is one period adhered to for the characters

(1) "Cousin Phillis" Volume. "Lois the Witch", pages 206 -207. "We whose names are undersigned.....for the land."

are gathered in from the past and the present and the scenes are laid in the"remote mountain valleys of Wales and Lancashire, in the troubled streets of revolutionary Paris and in the green se - clusion of rural England.(1)

(b) Sylvia's Lovers:

We now turn to Sylvia's Lovers, a story which would delight old and young at the fireside. The early years of the French Revolution, were just far enough away in the minds of the reading public, to be fascinating. All the glamour and adventure that went with, "whaling," and the "pressgang," would interest the boys. The faithful portrayal of life in Whitby in the eighteenth century would delight the older folk. For Monkshaven, the scene of the story, was really Whitby, now one of the favorite sea-bathing places in England. The north-eastern coast of England is said to be the wildest around this point. Some have called this story a sea-scape. Mrs. Gaskell never allows us to forget that at Monkshaven the sea is ever with us.

The Yorkshire dialect would make delightful reading, soft and musical to the ear. Charlie Kinraid, "the specksioneer", a harpooner in a whaling ship, was a hero just to a boy's liking,- daring, brave and very adventurous.

(1) A.W. Ward - "Introduction to Volume V, page 11.

Mrs. Gaskell took great pains to have all the details correct. "A visit to the secluded resort of Ramsey, in the Isle of Man and the long "fo'c'sle" yarns of an old sailor who took her and her eldest daughter on a rowing expedition along the coast, caused Mrs. Gaskell's mind to revert to the long-cherished project of a story of the sea."(1)

The next summer at Whitby she made friends among the older generation. From them she obtained the fragments of a faithful drama which supplied the framework of "Sylvia's Lovers." She read all she could about "whale-fishing" and the "pressgang."

The history of the "Press" is most puzzling. It appears to be a method that the Royal Navy had used for obtaining recruits. The navy was supplied at that time, for the most part, by youths and men pressed into service, in the large majority of cases, against their will and at times by the use of utmost violence. All eligible men of seafaring habits between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five were liable to impressment except harpooners in whaling-ships and fishermen afloat, and "a proportion of seamen in each collier." "Sailors in merchantmen were in no wise exempt, nor sailors in privateers." This method of obtaining recruits could not be popular. "The mutiny of the fleet at the Nore in 1797, which startled England and which was a great national crisis,

(1) Thomas Seccombe, "The Bookman" September 1910. Vol.38,page 237. "Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell."

could not be a matter of great surprise to the thoughtful people who were acquainted with the treatment meted out to impressed sailors by the naval authorities."(1)

Mrs. Gaskell was most careful in her records. She consulted one of the oldest Whitby residents, Mr. George Corney, who ransacked records of trials at York and succeeded in obtaining a copy of the trial of William Atkinson (Daniel Robson of the story) Hannah Hobbs and John Harrison, who were charged with being active on the attack on Whitby "rendezvous."(2) She also consulted with General Thompson,(3) a member of parliament for Hull.

Now as to the story being but a "sea-scape". "From the moment when we first meet Sylvia and her companion on their accustomed way, with their baskets of eggs on their arms, from their country homes to the turn in the road on the grassy cliff, whence they can see the red-peaked roofs and the closely-packed houses of Monkshaven - the sea is around her and us. We first

(1) Mrs. E. Chadwick - "Haunts, Homes and Stories" - page 363.

(2) "rendezvous" - being the headquarters of the Government officials for supplying war vessels with recruits.

(3) He also sent her some suggestions as to the ~~Yorkshire~~ dialect which, as a good Yorkshireman, he was anxious to preserve as free as possible from Lancashire influence.
A.W. Ward - "Introduction to Sylvia's Lovers, pages 23 -25 cites letters and documents re the riot at Whitby.

glance across it, as a blue, sunny surface, on which float, apparently, motionless, scores of white-sailed fishing boats. But later, we are brought face to face with it in the hour of the highest tide, in the midst of the tempest and its dangers, the foaming waters coming up with a roar and a furious dash against the cliffs, and at the last it is present to us, lying dark in the silence of midnight, with its 'ceaseless waves lapping against the shelving shore'. The sea in its infinite variety and in its unfathomable depth, is the fitting background of this story of vain regrets and hopes that are vainer still, save those profoundly hidden in the soul and awaiting fulfilment beyond the dim horizon -----" behind the veil."[1]

The story opens with a minute description of Monkshaven(Whitby) "It is not surprising that the whole town had an amphibious appearance, to a degree unusual even in a seaport. Everyone depended on the whale-fishery and almost every male inhabitant had been, or hoped to be, a sailor. Down by the river Dee, the smell was almost intolerable to anyone but Monkshaven people during certain seasons of the year; but on these unsavoury "staithes," the old men and children lounged for hours, almost as if they revelled in the odours of train-oil."[2]

The period of the story is the time during the reign of George III when men for the navy were scarce and were forced, as we have seen, into the service of their country by methods which would not be tolerated today.

(1) A. W. Ward - "Introduction to Sylvia's Lovers." page 27.
(2) "Sylvia's Lovers." Page 3.

The heroine is Sylvia Robson, the only daughter of a small farmer who distinguished himself by encouraging the sailors to resist the press gang. A riot followed and the farmer was arrested, tried and hanged at York in 1793.

Sylvia had two lovers - one her cousin, the patient, faithful Philip Hepburn, the draper's assistant at a shop in the market place; the other Charlie Kinraid, the "speckionsioneer" on a whaling vessel, a brave debonair sailor who wins Sylvia's heart by his manly conduct during the attack by a press gang on the crew of his ship. He is wounded, but although weak and ill, attends the funeral of the sailor who had lost his life in the press gang fight. Sylvia sees him and falls in love with the hero. He leaves Monkshaven as the betrothed of the farmer's pretty daughter and is afterwards taken captive by the press gang. Sylvia mourns him as dead. Philip knows he is alive, but keeps his knowledge from Sylvia and finally wins his captivating cousin for his wife, but his peace of mind is disturbed by the concealment of the truth. Kinraid returns to find Philip the husband of his betrothed and Sylvia vows with an oath never to forgive her husband.

Philip, miserable and dejected, leaves his wife and little daughter and enlists as a soldier under the name of Freeman. During the war in the East he saves the life of Kinraid at the risk of his own and returns to Monkshaven. There he lives in disgrace as a poor broken-down soldier, saves his child's life

from drowning and Sylvia finds her long lost husband, a wreck of his former self. There is a reconciliation while "the waves kept lapping on the shelving shore." Philip says to his wife, "Child, I have made of thee my idol; and if I could live my life o'er again, I would love my God more and thee less, and then I shouldn't ha' sinned this sin against thee."(1)

Philip dies in the cottage on the quay "within the sound of the waves lapping on the shore," blessing Sylvia and asking for forgiveness of his one great sin of omission.

The characters in the story are delightful. Kester the faithful servant of the Robsons is a splendid character, loyal to the family to the end. The Quaker group, Hester and her mother, and the Foster brothers give an air of calm and peacefulness in this riot of press gangs and burning of "rendez-vous."

There are scenes in the book that would linger long in the minds of the listeners at the fireside, the return of the whaling-vessel, "The Resolution," the burning of the "Rendez-vous," the lessons of Sylvia's, the dramatic situation when Kinraid encounters Philip as the husband of Sylvia, and the cry of her child. The rollicking party of the Corney's would amuse everyone. Many of the listeners would exclaim when the market place at Monkshaven was described, "Why we saw that last time we were in Whitby - you remember that small square with a miniature town

(1) "Sylvia's Lovers." - page 523.

half supported on pillars, and women selling their produce on Saturday underneath and around it." The old Corney farm they would tell you is still to be seen. An almshouse erected for sailor's widows and old sailors and their wives was erected in 1673, but it has been torn down and rebuilt in 1909. At present they say there is no sign of the initial "P.H." There were also certain"free houses," in Whitby which have been left by certain ladies for the poor. One was "willed" by an old Whitby lady about the time that Mrs. Gaskell wrote.

Even today"Sylvia's Lovers" would be enjoyed,perhaps around an evil-smelling gas log !

NOTE :

ALLUSIONS TO CANADA.

Jem Wilson is offered a position in Canada.

"We have been written to by Government, as I think I told you before, to recommend an intelligent man, well acquainted with mechanics, as instrument maker to the Agriculture College they are establishing at Toronto, in Canada. It is a--- home."(1)

In Canada I see a long, low, wooden house, with room enough and to spare. The old primeval trees are felled and gone for many a mile around; one alone remains to overhsadow the gable end of the cottage. There is a garden around the dwelling, and far beyond that, stretches an orchard. The glory of an Indian summer is over all, making the heart leap at the sight of its gorgeous beauty."(2)

(1) "Mary Barton" - page 1

(2) "Mary Barton" - page 457.

NOTE:

In"Cousin Phillis" Holdsworth leaves England to go to Canada to superintend the making of a railroad which would in all probability be the Canadian Pacific Railroad which was much talked of after Confederation.

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Cranford. Preface by the Rev.Brooks Herford.Illus. Lond.: Walter Scott. 1898. 8vo.pp.xvi.319.

Cranford. With 16 illustrations by H.M.Brock. Lond.: Service and Paton. 1898. pp.313.

1851, 1853.

Cranford. With which is included "The moorland cottage. With an introduction by (Sir) Robertson Nicoll. Lond.: Ward, Lock & Co. 1898. 8vo.pp.xiv.407.

Cranford: With a memoir, introduction, and notes, by E.V.Lucas, Lond.: Methuen and Co. 1899. 8vo. pp.xliv.254. One of "The little library." With a frontispiece portrait of Mrs. Gaskell, from the bronze medallion by Achille D'Orsi.

Cranford. (With editorial note by Israel Gollancz and marginalia by Miss Emma Gollancz.) Lond; J.M. Dent & Co. 1900. pp.vi.271. Frontispiece por.after Richmond.

Cranford. (Cheap reprint.) Lond.: R.E.King.(1900) 8vo.pp.ii.289.

Cranford. 16 illus. by H.M.Brock. Lond.: 1900. 8vo.pp.313. A re-issue of 002 P.3.36 with a new title page.

Cranford. With preface by (Lady) Ritchie. illus. by H. Thomsen. Lond.: Macmillan. 1902. 8vo. pp.298. A reprint of No.002 P.3.21.

Cranford. With 16 illustrations. by T.H.Robinson. Lond.: Sands & Co. 1902. 8vo.pp.316.

Cranford. Lond.: Methuen & Co. 1902. 8vo.pp.ii.128. No.18 Methuen's Sixpenny library.

Cranford. With 25 coloured illustrations by C.E.Brock. (Forewords pp.xi-xv.) Lond.: J.M.Dent & Co. 1904. 8vo. pp.xv.255. One of the "Series of English idylls."

Cranford. Lond.: G. Routledge & Sons. 1905. 8vo.pp.vi.280. One of the "New universal library."

Cranford. New York: Grosset & Dunlap (1905)? 8vo.pp.279. Illustrations after H. Thomson.

Cranford. (With introduction by E.V.Lucas, pp.v-xxv.) Methuen and Co. 1906. 8vo. pp. xxviii. 138. One of Methuen's Standard library."

Cranford. Lond.: T. Nelson & Sons (1907) 8vo. pp.vi.246. One of Nelson's classics."

Cranford. With frontispiece by A.E. Jackson and embellishments by Edgar Wilson. Lond.: Sisley's Ltd. 1907. 8vo.pp.192. One of "The panel books."

Chronological List. (6)

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Cranford. Illustrated by A.A. Dixon. Lond.: Collins & Co. 1907. 8vo. pp.312.

Cranford. (With forewords). Lond.: J.M.Dent & Co. 1908. 8vo. pp. xiv. 225. No.83 "Everyman's library."

Cranford. New York. G.P. Putnam's Sons (1908). 32mo.pp.vi. 317. No.33. "Ariel booklets."

Cranford. Edited by. H.E.Coblentz. Bost.: Houghton & Co. 1910. 8vo.pp.xxvii. 279. One of the "Riverside literature series." double number 192.

Cranford. With 24 illustrations. in colour by Evelyn Paul. Burlington library. Lond.: Chapman & Hall. 1910. 8vo. pp. viii.247.

Note.- Other editions of Cranford appeared in 1905 (Nisbet): 1906 (Sisley); 1907, "King's classics" (Chatto & W.) 1907(Macmillan); 1908 (Sisley); 1908 "People's Library"(Cassell); "Sesame classics" (Siegle Hill & CO.); 1910, "World library" (Ward Lock).

CRANFORD PLAYS.

Hatch (Beatrice) Scenes from "Cranford." Arranged for dramatic performance. With a preface by Mr. Edward Compton. Lond.: Alex. Moring. Ltd. 1902.8vo.pp.132.

Reviewed in the "Daily News," Nov.26,1902, with reply signed Beatrice Hatch,Dec.2.1902.

Oldershaw (Lucian) ed. Cranford at home. A carpet for ladies. Adapted from Mrs. Gaskell's famous novel.Lond.: R.B.Johnson. 1902. 32mo. pp.68.

1852-3

Bessy's troubles at home. - Sund. School Penny Magazine. January. 1852.

The Schah's English gardener. Househ.W. June 19,1852.
The old nurse's story.- Househ. W. Christmas No.1852.

Cumberland sheep-shearers. Househ. W. Jan. 22, 1853.

Chronological List. (7)

1853.

Ruth: a novel. Lond.: Chapman and Hall. 1853. 3 vols.8vo. pp. I. ii.298; II.ii 328 III.,iii.311.

Reviewed in "The Athenaeum." 1853 (R.L.); Bentley's Miscellany, 1853. pp.237-40 (002 Y); "Eliza Cook's Journal," Mar., 1853 (002 G); The English Review." April 1853.; "North and South "British Review," May 1853 (R.L.) "Tait's Magazine," vol.20. 1853. and others not in the collection.

Ruth: a novel. By the author of "Mary Barton," Cheap edition. Lond.: Chapman and Hall. 1855. 8vo. pp.ii.318.

1853-4

Morton Hall: Household Words. Nov. 19, 1853.
Traits and stories of the Huguenots. Household Words.Dec.10,1853.

My French Master. Household Words. Dec.17, 24, 1853.

The Squire's story. " " Christmas No. 1853.

The Scholar's Story. Household Words. Christmas No.1853.

This story was translated by Mr. Gaskell from a Breton ballad by the Vicomte de la Villemarque and the introductory remarks were written by Mrs.Gaskell.

Modern Greek Songs. - Household Words. Feb. 25, 1854.

Company Manners. - Household Words. May 20, 1854.

North and South. 1854, 1855.

North and South. Household Words. Sept.2, 1854, to Jan.27,1855.
North and South. Lond.: Chapman & Hall. 1855. 2 vols.pp.I.vi. 320. II.iv.361.
North and South. Second edition. Lond. 1855. 2 vols.
North and South. Copyright edition. Leip. B. Tauchnitz. 1855. 8vo. pp.ii.428. vol.333. Collection of British authors.
North and South. Fourth edition. Lond.: Chapman & Hall. 1859. 8vo.pp.viii.406.
North and South. New York. Harper Brothers. 1864.8vo.pp.154. No. 196 "Library of select novels."
North and South. New edition. Lond.: Smith, Elder & Co. 1870. 8vo. pp.vi.432.
North and South. Lond.: W. Scott,Ltd. 1899. 8vo.pp.iv.344.
North and South. R.E. King. 1900. 8vo.pp.iv.344.
North and South. Lond.: Methuen & Co. 1902. 8vo. pp.172. One of Methuen's Sixpenny library."

Chronological List.(8)

North and South. Lond.: Smith Elder & Co. 1877. 8vo.pp.vi. 432.
(This follows North and South, New edition, on previous page)

1855-6

An Accursed Race. Household Words. Oct. 6, 1855.
The Poor Clare. " " Dec.13. 1856.

Life of Charlotte Bronte, 1857.

Life of Charlotte Bronte. Lond.: Smith, Elder & Co. 1857. 8vo. 2 vols.

Life of Charlotte Bronte. 2nd ed. Lond.: Smith, Elder & Co. 1857. 8vo. 2 vols.

The first and second editions are identical, and contain the passages afterwards suppressed. The illustrations are:Portrait of Charlotte Bronte (after G,Richmond), and facsimile of a page of Ms.in vol.i. View of Haworth Parsonage and Church in vol.2.

Life of Charlotte Bronte. 3rd edition, revised and corrected. Lond.: Smith, Elder & Co. 1857. 8vo. 2 vols.

Life of Charlotte Bronte. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1857. 8vo. 2 vols. Port. First American edition.

Reviews appeared in "The Athenaeum" April 4,1857 (R.L.); "Christian Remeembrance." July 1857. The Economist," April 18, 1857. (R.L.) and many other periodicals not at present in the collection.

Life of Charlotte Bronte. - New York; Appleton. 1838.8vo.2 vols. Port. Second American edition.

Life of Charlotte Bronte. Lond.: Smith,Elder & Co. 1860.8vo. pp.viii.441. Cheap edition.

Life of Charlotte Bronte. 1862.
(French translation) Vie de Charlotte Bronte (Currer Bell). Trad. par Mme Ambroise Tardieu. Paris: Grossart. 1877. 8vo. pp.vi. 351.

Life of Charlotte Bronte - Lond.: Smith, Elder & Co. 1895. 8vo. pp. viii.441.

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1857.

Life of Charlotte Bronte. - With an introduction and notes by Clement K. Shorter. Lond.: Smith, Elder & Co. 1900. 8vo. pp.xxxvii. 659. Haworth edition, based upon the third. edition.

Illustrations.- Portrait of Mrs. Gaskell (after George Richmond). Facsimile of the title page of the first edition. Haworth old church as the Bronte family knew it. Haworth parsonage. Facsimile MS. of "The Secret." The Heger Pensionnat," Rue d'Isabelle. Brussels; Central Avenue of the garden, and the Forbidden alley. Facsimile of a letter from Charlotte Bronte to Mrs. Smith. Portraits of the Rev. Patrick Bronte and the Rev. A.B. Nicolls. Distant view of Haworth. Haworth Village. Main Street. House where the Rev. Patrick Bronte resided at Hightown, when curate of Hartshead-cum-Clifton. Roe Head. Haworth Moor - the Bronte Bridge. Haworth Moor: showing Charlotte Bronte's chair. Haworth old hall.

Introduction, biographical and critical,pp.xvii-xxxiv. A Bronte chronology, pp. xxxv. xxxvi. Index by Mr. Roger Ingpen, pp.645-659.

Reviewed in "Nuova Antologia." Nov.16,1900. and many other periodicals.

Life of Charlotte Bronte. Reprinted from the first edition, and ed. with introduction and notes by Temple Scott and B.W. Willett. Downey & Co. 1901. 8vo.pp.xvi.526, Thornton edition.

Life of Charlotte Bronte. Lond.: G. Routledge & Sons. 1905. 8vo. pp.x 510. One of the "New universal library."

Life of Charlotte Bronte. New York: The Mershon Co.(1906). 8vo. pp.ii.399.

Life of Charlotte Bronte. With introduction by May Sinclair. Lond.: J.M.Dent & Co. 1908. No.318. "Everyman's library."

1857.

Mabel Vaughan. By Miss Cummins. Ed. by arrangement with the author, by Mrs. Gaskell. 1857.

1858.

The doom of the Griffiths. Harper's Magazine. Jan. 1858.

Chronological List (1)0)

My Lady Ludlow. 1858,1861.

My Lady Ludlow. Household Words. June 19 to Sept.~~25~~25,1858.

My Lady Ludlow, and other tales; included in "Round the Sofa." Lond.: Sampson Low. 1861, 8vo.pp.vi.318.

Round the sofa. My Lady Ludlow. An accursed race. The doom of the Griffiths. Half a lifetime ago. The poor Clare. The half-brothers.

1858.

The half-brothers. Dublin Univ. Mag. Nov.1858.

Right at Last. 1858,1860.

The sin of a father. Household Words. Nov. 27, 1858. Reprinted as "Right at Last."

Right at last, and other tales. Lond.: Sampson Low & Co. 1860. 8vo. pp. vi. 318.
Right at last. The Manchester marriage. Lois the Witch. The crooked branch.

Right at last, and other tales. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 8vo. pp.305.
Contents as in previous item.

1858-60.

The Manchester marriage. Household Words. Christmas No.1858.

Round the Sofa. 1859.

Round the sofa. Lond.: Sampson Low and Co. 1859. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. I. iv. 340. II.iv. 297.

1. Round the soa. My Lady Ludlow. II. The accursed race. The doom of the Griffiths. Half a life-time ago. The poor Clare. The hald-brothers.

(French translation). Auteur du sofa. Traduit par Mme H. Loreau. Paris: Hachette et Cie.1889.8vo.pp.iv.339.

Lois the Witch. 1859.

Lois the witch, All the Year Rounds. Oct. 8, 1859.
Loss the witch, and other tales. Leip. B. Tauchnitz. 1861. 8vo. pp. viii,338.Vol.541.Collection of British authors.
Lois the witch. The grey woman. The doom of the Griffiths

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Lois the witch. cont.

The half brothers. The crooked branch.

1859.

The ghost in the garden room. All the Year Round. Christmas No. 1859.
Reprinted under the title of "The crooked branch." in Right at Last, 1860.

1860.

Curious if true. Cornhill Magazine. Feb. 1860.

The Grey Woman, 1861,1865.

The grey woman. All the Year Round. Jan 5,12. 19.1861.

The grey woman, and other tales. Illus. ed. Lond.: Smith, Elder & Co. 1865. 8vo. pp. 280.

The grey woman. Curious if true. Six weeks at Heppenheim. Libbie Marsh's three eras. Christmas storms and sunshine. Hand and heart. Bessy's troubles at home. Disappearances.

1862

Six weeks at Heppenheim. Cornhill Magazine, May 1862.

Garibaldi at Caprera. By Col. Vecchj. Translated from the Italian. Preface by Mrs. Gaskell. 1862.

A Dark Night's Work. 1863.

A dark night's work. All the year round. Jan.24, 1863.

A dark night's work. Lond.: Smith,Elder & Co. 1863. 8vo. pp. iv. 299.

(German translation) Die That einer Nacht. Leip. : E.J.Gunther. 1865. 8vo. pp.iv. 232.

Sylvia's Lovers, 1863.

Sylvia's lovers. Lond.: Smith, Elder & Co. 1863. 8vo. 3 vols. (first edition)
Lent by Miss Gaskell.

(German translation) Sylvia's Freier. Leip. Boight & Gunther. 1864. 4 vols.

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1863

Sylvia's lovers. Lond.: Hutchinson & Co. 1905.8vo.pp.274.

Sylvia's lovers. With a preface by Thomas Seccombe and illustrations by M.V.Wheelhouse. Lond.: G.Bell and Sons. 1910. 8vo.pp.xlvii.542. One of the "Queen's treasure series."

Mr. Thomas Seccombe's introduction (pp.ix-xlvii) includes a life of Mrs. Gaskell and an attempt at identifying the local scenes and allusions in connection with Monkshaven (Whitby).

An Italian institution. All the Year Round. Mar. 21, 1865.

Cousin Phillis. 1863,1865.

Cousin Phillis. Cornhill Magazine. Nov.1863.to Feb.1864.

Cousin Phillis and other tales. Illustrated. Lond.: Smith Elder & Co. 1865. 8vo. pp. 282.

Cousin Phillis. Company mmanners. Mr. Harrison's Confessions. The sexton's hero.

Cousin Phillis. With a biographical preface by Thomas Seccombe and illustrations in colour by Miss M.V. Wheelhouse. Lond.: G.Bell and Sons.1909,8vo.pp. 1-xxxii 157. One of the "Queen's treasure series."

1863-4

Robert Gould Shaw. Macmillan's Magazine. Dec.1863.pp.113-117.

How the first floor went to Crowley Castle. All the Year Round. Xmas. No.1863.

French life. Fraser's Magazine. April,May,June,1864.

Wives and Daughters, 1864,1866.

Wives and daughters. Cornhill Magazine. Aug. 1864 to Jan.1866.

Wives and daughters: an every-day story. 18 illus.by George du Maurier. Lond.: Smith,Elder & Co. 1866. 2 vols.8vo. pp.I iv.336: II iv.332.

Wives and daughters. New York: Harper and Bros. 1866. 8vo. pp. 258. The first American edition.

Chronological List. (13)

Wives and daughters.
(German translation) Frauen und Tochter. Berlin: Otto Jante. 1867. 6 vols. 8vo.

(French translation) Nos Femmes at nos filles. Traduit par F.M. Paris: Grassart, 1868. 2 vols. 8vo

Ghost Stories. Two fragments printed for the first time in "Cousin Phillis."1906.

Popular tales. Glasg: Thomas D. Morison. (1898?) 8vo.pp.384.

The moorland cottage. Ruth. Lizzie Leigh.

(1) As listed in a Bibliographical Guide to the Gaskell Collection in the Moss Side Library, by J.A. Green.