THE ENGLISH FACTORY NOVEL

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The English Factory Novel

Introduction

The eighteenth century prepared the novel for taking its important place in the nineteenth. Each author had contributed something, Richardson the substitution of interest in human nature for that in adventure, Fielding virility, Smollett and Sterne caricature and sentimentalism. Goldsmith purified the novel and dignified the subject of domestic life. The school of terror widened the range of subject to include mystery and supernaturalism, and among them Mrs. Radcliffe first used nature as a background which influenced the story. William Godwin, Maria Edgeworth, and others instituted the novel of purpose. Scott was revealing the romance of the past at the same time that Jane Austen was revealing the fascination of commonplace life around her tea-table. Altogether, at the beginning of the Victorian period the novel had been experimented with in every phase in which it was to be developed in that period. Although there were great poems and great essays produced during the reign of the gracious queen, yet it was essentially a period of the novel. An enormous number of novels were produced and they had an enormous influence on contemporary life.

The Victorian age was a period of high seriousness, of noble purpose, of far-reaching reform. New scientific principles were being applied to life as well as to science. Wonderful inventions had revolutionized the life of the people, the whole social order was being overturned. The franchise was being thrown open to lower and lower classes, and in the minds of
thoughtful people many dangers lurked in the near future. The poets wrote some stirring poems, but still more the essayists, particularly Carlyle, Ruskin, and Arnold, preached plainly and forcefully from their very hearts. But most of all, in the novel was there an earnest endeavor to review the situation, discuss problems, and suggest solutions. Purpose novels to which type the factory novel belongs, were written on every subject thinkable—divorce, atheism, socialism, woman suffrage, prisons, slums, schools, insane asylums, law courts, and what not. Dickens was the first author of ability to undertake the purpose novel on a large scale. Closely allied with the factory novel are those on the conditions of the agricultural laborer and miner, most of the factory novels dealing with the wrongs of one or the other class, or of both classes. Although a few writers still remained who followed Scott and found their material in the past yet most of the novelists felt themselves too much alive, too keenly aware of and trobbing with the wrongs of their own times to look elsewhere for subjects.
Chapter I  A Resume of the English Factory Novel

Sybil, published in 1845, was the bugle call sounded in the world of fiction to awaken the people to the evils of the factory system. Disraeli was the first to point out the evils of the new system which had arisen so rapidly, arisen without governmental supervision for the laissez-faire theory had kept the government fingers off. He realized that it was time for this gigantic organization to be under governmental regulation. He had already aired his political ideas in The Vindication of the British Constitution but they had attracted so little attention in pamphlet form that he turned to fiction, with more success.

In the Advertisement he states that to people unacquainted with real conditions, his picture will appear exaggerated. However, he insists that he writes from his own observation, and has suppressed much in order to secure the appearance of probability. Through one of his characters, he expresses his belief that the condition of the people is worse than it has ever been. He lays down two general principles, that the condition of one class in a given period is relative to the condition of other classes of the same period, and that the degradation of a people is worse when they are conscious of that degradation. He recommends Sybil "as an accurate and never exaggerated picture of a remarkable period in our domestic history." The sub-title, The Two Nations, summarizes the material of the book; he deals with the two nations which are separated from each other by a wide social gulf - the Rich and the Poor. The book deals not only with the manufacturer and his factory hand but with the general prob-
lem of the rich and poor throughout England. Much attention is given to the agricultural laborer but the emphasis is placed upon the manufacturing class because it was the class of initiative and hence the leader of revolt.

The book, in its breadth, reminds one of Scott's novels. Each problem is viewed from every possible angle of human observation. Every shade of aristocracy from its deepest dye of conservatism to the fairest of liberalism; the most conservative aristocrats are contrasted with Egremont, the rising M.P., who, through his love for a factory foreman's daughter, becomes the people's advocate. Every kind of factory is shown from that of Screw and Schuffle whose Dickensian name suggests its character to Trafford's, the ideal one. No less range is noticeable in the factory people themselves. Walter Gerard, now a factory foreman and ardent advocate of the people's rights, comes of an old family which has been dispossessed of its land. His journalist friend Stephen Morley, is as deeply interested in the cause but has deeper insight into the basic principles of the problem. The factory workers themselves are represented chiefly by Deviladust, a self-educated street waif, and Dandy Mick, who has gained a few ideas from the Institute and its magazines. Warner, the hand weaver, represents a large number of steady workmen whom the introduction of machinery deprived of the means of earning a livelihood. The Hell-cats of Hell-house Yard who recognize naught but brute force represent the lowest class.

Only one factory in operation is presented— the ideal one. Perhaps Disraeli was wise in recognizing his limitations. His m-
terial for the book was gained a year before its composition in a tour through the north of England, and the perusal of Bluebooks and the Chartist correspondence. He doubtless felt his inability to give the factory atmosphere although he has certainly caught the attitude of mind of many different types of factory hands. However, we do not see them at work. We hear of their grievances through their conversations at the fruit stall, the Temple, their homes and meetings on Mowbray Moor. These grievances were numerous, chief among them were "bate tickets", and "tommy shops".

The family life of the factory is presented fully and convincingly. Devilsdust stands for a large number of children who were fed treacle and laudanum, left to a nurse at three pence a week during the mother's working hours, soon deserted and sent into the streets in the hope of a fatal accident, but, finally surviving innumerable disasters, became factory hands at a very early age. Disraeli asks if any one can wonder at the terrible infant death rate, half dying before five years of age, and the average term of life but seventeen years. The introduction of women and girls into the factory was attended with many ills. Wages were lowered, and men were replaced by women and children. Domestic life became impossible and women's lives were "leases of woe"; they were "slaves of slaves". The effect upon the girls was the worst; since they received wages, the older folk starved. Many of them left parents and the younger children of the family to destitution, "set up house" for themselves, serving tea to their friends, wearing coral necklaces, and going to the Temple with fines which reduced their wages. 2. Shops where the laborers were compelled to receive their wages in groceries and clothing.
the young fellows. The Temple was the centre of the social life. It was verily a temple of art and literature, being decorated with scenes from the great authors Shakespeare, Byron, and Scott. There the people ate sausage, drank and smoked, being entertained at intervals with vaudeville stunts, with somewhat of the present Orpheum flavor. Nor was the educational element lacking in their varied life. Fifty members spoke proudly of "our Shoddy-Court Literary and Scientific Institute" which took three London papers, among them two copies of the Moral World, which, by the way, were sent gratis.

Compare this picture of social life with that of the ideal factory. The factory, with no stairs to climb, is a single room, perfectly ventilated and even in temperature. Most important of all is the moral effect, the children being under the eye of the parent, all under the eye of the foreman. Wages are paid in the factory, not the public house; in coin, not tommy—a great advantage. Nor do the employer's good works stop there. The factory, located in a beautiful rural spot, is surrounded by a village of comfortable houses which the hands may rent but are encouraged to buy. A horticultural society offers annual prizes to stimulate home gardens. In every street is a well and behind the factory, public baths. Good schools for the children are in the hands of the curate. Nor does the employer withdraw from his employees in private life but his home stands among theirs. The result is cleanliness and order. Crimes are unknown, offences are slight, drunkenness is elsewhere, the morals of the women are improved. Moreover, Mr. Trafford declares his system pays finan-
cially. A beautiful picture! However, Disraeli sees the objections; such factory owners are rare, few are so unselfish and far-sighted. Nor does the quiet life appeal to all classes of factory girls; some of them prefer the gaiety of the Temple to the curate's singing classes.

_Sybil_ gives a vivid account of the Chartist Movement. Since Gerard is chairman of the National Convention which supports the petition of five points with its million and half signatures, we get a first hand impression. In the replies of the M.P.s to the Chartist deputies, Disraeli is doubtless satirizing the eternal M.P. types. Even some of the friends of the Charter see its weaknesses. Egremont and Morley anticipate the factions and intrigues which later arise in the Convention itself. A strain of Carlyle is to be recognized in Morley's far-sighted remark, "Their Charter is a coarse specific for our social evils. The spirit that would cure our ills must be of a deeper and finer mood." Sybil, in her innocent faith, sees none of the dangers and believes that "those whom the people trust are the rightful leaders." Egremont evidently expresses the author's sentiments throughout the book. His speech urging the consideration of the Petition was Disraeli's own on an identical occasion. He frankly told the aristocrats that, if they wished to retain political power, they must secure the people greater social felicity; that the rights of labor are as sacred as those of property; should any difference be made, the interests of living wealth should be preferred; that social happiness of the millions should be the first object of the statesman; and if not achieved, pomp and dominions are worthless. Emboldened by the weakening of the government through the Bedcham-
ber Plot, the Chartists presented their Petition, with what results we know too well. The people saw that more attention had been given the Jamaica question, and consequently the small minority for violence ruled. In an outbreak at Birmingham, police were massacred and buildings burnt. The government increased the army and resolved to strike at the Convention. It had dispersed temporarily, but just after the committee of five had signed proclamations urging the people of Birmingham to arm for protection against troops and police, and declaring the National Holiday, a strike of six weeks, they were arrested. They served a sentence for several years. In early August, 1842, fear of a general outbreak was renewed, as the people in the meantime had been working but halftime. The mob was triumphant in Lancaster and marched ten thousand strong to Manchester. Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, even Scotland were in a menacing condition. Gerard, a former Chartist, felt that three years before the movement had been premature. A National Holiday was declared; burial societies and benefit clubs were to help the people in the meantime. Gerard's statement that "When Toil plays, Wealth ceases" and his daughter's rejoinder that "When Toil ceases, the people suffer" are the principles underlying all strikes. The motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work" to which Carlyle refers constantly was the basis of the people's demands. The concrete riot which Disraeli presents at Mowbray weaves together the various groups of laborers throughout the book. The Hell-cats, fired by a former member of the Chartist committee of five, demand four shillings, eight hours, and two pots of ale a day,
march through the country enforcing their dictum that all labor shall cease until the Charter becomes a law. They destroy the tommy shop—Trafford's is saved only because of Mowbray sentiment—and at last they attack and destroy the castle where they meet death. That is the climax of the book. Perhaps the fruitlessness of the movement expresses Disraeli's attitude toward Chartism in general. However, he indicates that such outbreaks are the work of the most violent element and are bitterly deplored by the real friends of the people.

The orderly and concentrated element is shown in the torch light meetings on Mowbray Moor where the laborers sing their Hymn of Labor and listen attentively to eloquent speakers from their own order. The trade union is presented through Dandy Mick's initiation. His oath represents their aims:—the chastisement of Nobs, assassination of tyrannic masters, demolition of works deemed incorrigible.

Altogether, Disraeli has presented a detailed, complete, graphic, and convincing picture of the factory situation.

What reforms are advocated? Dandy Mick requires only the the ten-hour bill, no fines, the lower age limit fixed at sixteen for a perfect system; he relies chiefly on strikes to achieve such perfection. His friend Devilsdust opposes the consumption of exciseable articles for as he characteristically puts it, "When they have no tin to pay bayonets and police, they are dished." Harriet whose father was a hand weaver concludes that the introduction of machinery was responsible for all their ills. The manager of the Temple knows that all the hardships are traceable to
the Corn-laws. The radical journalist, a communist, suggests that fifty families live under one roof, rent the factory from the owners, and manage it for their own profit. According to him, the crying need of the age is an appreciation of the principle of association. Nixon gives the best answer to such Utopianism, "You speak like a book." The vicar believes the church responsible through its desertion of the people, and yearns for the good old days when the church provided a Sunday service for all and festivals as recreation. The heroine, with her mingled sympathy for the people and devotion to the church, believes that "when the people support the people, the Divine blessing will not be lacking." Undoubtedly all these diagnoses of the social disease were suggested in Disraeli's age. The true one probably would have been, "complications set in", a situation requiring a combination of remedies. Egremont, evidently expressing the author's sentiments, states that "an enlightened and sympathetic aristocracy can best solve the problems of Labor". That was one of the planks in the platform of Disraeli's Young England party. Disraeli is aware that the present aristocracy is not awakened as yet, and he hopes that Sybil will accomplish much in that respect.

But does Disraeli go deep enough?

Sybil is a masterly study of contemporary life—the idle aristocracy, the inefficient church, the ignorant and abused laboring class, and through all classes a restless and struggling germ of futurity panting to become conscious. It is the work of a thinker who is deeply interested in his country and its future, one who recognizes that the crisis is at hand. Here at least Dis-
Disraeli is not "playing with literature". It is essentially life from the standpoint of the statesman, the patriot who banks all on Parliamentary reform. If Disraeli failed to penetrate deep into life as Mrs. Gaskell, for instance, it was because he sought to sweep the horizon with his eyes, and see society in all its ramifications. The very breadth of his vision impaired the depth of his insight. That is the chief criticism of his work. He is a Scott, not a George Eliot, but there is room for both in the literary field.

As a novelist, Disraeli has some skill. His plot is woven together smoothly. At times there is admirable use of suspense, rapidity of action, and forceful narrative. His work is always graphic and vivid. His style is brilliant and on occasion oratorical. But his purpose mars it as a work of art. Too often he throws off the magic robe of the story-teller and assumes that of the schoolmaster. In the midst of an interesting conversation or episode, he digresses for several pages to trace the pedigree of a new character from the Norman Conquest. Soliloquies for several pages recount a character's whole history. The author obtrudes himself upon the reader, asking him to contrast factories and compare conditions. We feel that we are constantly being informed and rebel like schoolboys.

The novel accomplished its purpose. It was the first of its kind; it opened people's eyes and aroused consciences. It gave a powerful impetus to the factory reform initiated by Sadler, and carried forward by Lord Ashley. Of course, the reform would have come in time but Sybil precipitated the movement. Disraeli in his
second term as prime minister had opportunity to embody many of his ideas in laws. His administration is responsible for such important legislation as the Factory Acts of 1874 and 1878, Employers and Workmen Act, Artisan's Dwelling Act, Factories and Workshops Acts. The democratic Reform Bill of 1867 justified Disraeli's belief in the conservative spirit of the working classes which he, alone of his contemporaries, had firmly held.

I agree with Leslie Stephen, "I wish Disraeli could have stuck to his novels instead of rising to be Prime Minister of England. The social speculations of Sybil savor too much of the politician getting up a telling case. -- Disraeli shows himself capable of rivalling in force and vivacity the best of those novelists who have tried to turn blue-books upon the condition of the people into sparkling fiction. If he is distinctly below the few novelists of truer purpose who have put into an artistic shape a profound and firsthand impression of those social conditions which statisticians try to tabulate in blue-books - if he does not know Yorkshiremen in the sense in which Miss Brontë knew them he can write a disguised pamphlet upon the effect of the trades' union in Sheffield with a brilliancy which might excite the envy of Mr. Charles Reade."

Mrs. Gaskell's Mary Barton was published three years after Sybil. However she had begun its composition several years before Disraeli's work appeared, and even in 1848 there is no indication that she had heard of it. Between the two novels there are many points of resemblance but more radical ones of difference. Both deal with much the same period and historical events. The fath-

ers of both the heroines are Chartist delegates. Sybil's father is intellectually superior and is chairman of the National Convention in 1839. Mary's father is only one of many delegates to present the Petition in 1842. Disraeli passes lightly over the presentation itself, narrating it through out in the third person. John Barton himself describes the slowly moving procession through the streets, blocked by the carriages of the aristocrats on their way to a gorgeous ball. However, when he tells of the ceremony itself his voice fails, and his inability to continue bespeaks his disappointment most effectively. Here Mrs. Gaskell's method is undoubtedly better. Neither Walter Gerard nor John Barton represents the average workman; both are thinkers and speakers. Gerard is of noble blood and has had more social advantages, while the tragedy of John Barton's life is due to his ignorance and cramped opportunities which he himself recognizes.

The contrast between the heroines is interesting. In both novels, the contact between the two classes comes through the attraction of the heroine for a young man in the upper class. However, Sybil proves to be of noble blood and the passion there is that of true love consummated in marriage. Mary Barton remains in the lower class. The passion which her beauty has aroused in the pampered son of a mill-owner is of the lowest sort. After allowing herself for a time to revel in flattering dreams, she turns away in disgust and marries a true man in her own station. In neither case is the gulf between the two nations bridged. Sybil is intensely interested in the people's problem since she is aware of its sordidness through her elevated position. Mary loves her fa-
ther and sympathizes with him but there is no indication that she cares about the people's cause or even recognizes it; that is perfectly natural since she knows no other condition of life. Neither girl has worked in a factory as both fathers considered factory work degrading to women.

To illustrate the different handling of the two authors, take an identical situation in the two books, the relief of a destitute factory family. In Disraeli's, the abbess and an old friend send provisions and promise of work without sacrifice on their part, mere thoughtfulness—Disraeli's patriarchal care of the poor by the rich. In Mrs. Gaskell's novel, two factory men care for the family themselves through a long bitter night and obtain the mere necessities by pawnning some of their own scanty possessions—a great sacrifice. This is the new spirit just then dawning, of the poor helping themselves and each other. Disraeli writes with cleverness, with interest, and some sympathy but we feel that Mrs. Gaskell was there, as undoubtedly she had been frequently in her capacity as a minister's wife in that manufacturing town.

Disraeli informs with the hope of instituting reform; Mrs. Gaskell tells of life as she knows it. Disraeli's picture is true to a certain class of people in a certain period in their external life; Mrs. Gaskell's characters are first of all people, after that factory people, hence her novel will live while Disraeli's is forgotten. His are stationary types, hers developing and growing human beings. In his books, a character's actions are logical intellectually; in hers, the characters know not what they may do. In life God alone knows what we may do next. On his way to commit
murder, John Barton restores a lost child to its mother. In Mrs. Gaskell's work, the factory element provides interesting local color, sharp contrasts, and plot-interest, the book can be read apart from that element and retain its highest qualities. The subtitle is true of its real nature, "A Tale of Manchester Life," with the stress on the last word. Even the language of the factory people in the two novels reveals their difference. Disraeli's working classes indulge in coarse and vulgar speech, the to-be-expected bookish dialect. Mrs. Gaskell's speak a provincial dialect which is really beautiful. Even John Barton's most fervent and hence ungrammatical speeches are appropriate to his character and his dignity as a human being.

The occasion of her writing the book is interesting. After the death of her young son from scarlet fever, her husband suggested that she take up writing to occupy her mind. Her personal sorrow, as in the case of any great woman, broadened into sympathy with the sorrows of others.

Mrs. Gaskell in a letter to Mrs. Greg said that the idea in her mind while writing Mary Barton was the "seeming injustice of the inequalities of fortune." She could see how such a problem would bewilder a man full of rude illogical thought and sympathy, and how it would lead to a course of action which would seem right at the time but would bring retribution in the end. At the beginning of the novel, John Barton is a good husband, kind father, and sympathetic neighbor. Once before, during hard times, the death of his little son from starvation, while he saw the master's wife buying delicacies, had awakened his interest in the problem, but
as yet his speculation is dormant. Then his wife dies. In order to forget, he engages in trade union meetings. Later half-time gives him leisure for meditation. He tries to square the masters' actions with the Scriptures and fails. He becomes maddened and embittered. Over the dying factory friend, he asks his comrade, "Don ye think He's the masters' father too? I'd be loth to have 'em for brothers." After the Charter fails, he is dismissed because he had been a delegate. Only through the landlord's kindness in reducing the rent is his remaining in the old house which has been losing its furniture to the pawnshop made possible. Food is scarce; Mary's work is the sole income for the household. He refuses to apply for charity. "I don't want money, child' D---n their charity and their money' I want work and it is my right". That idea is as firmly rooted in his mind as it was in Carlyle's. Then his crime! Bitter retribution follows, and at last in the master's grief for his son, for the first time he realizes that he too is a man, "no longer the employer, a being of another race". His development, aside from the events of the book, is traced in his own confession, and in Job's story to the master. Mrs. Gaskell does not represent him as typical; she does not want him to stand for the ordinary factory hand. In fact, has Mrs. Gaskell not learned from her life among factory people that there is no typical factory hand as there is no typical man in any walk of life? Jem Wilson is a young man of inventive genius; old Job Leigh is a naturalist outside of factory hours. None of her factory characters are typical and for that reason are truer to life.

Mrs. Gaskell does not consider trade unions altogether an
unqualified blessing. The immediate motive of John Barton's crime comes from the trade union. The representative at the meeting is a blatant orator whom we are led to dislike. Job Leigh says, "I think half a loaf is better than no bread," but he is compelled to join the union because it worries him to death and he prefers "clemming" to death from starvation and worry combined.

The people's grievances and their suggested reforms are offered to John Barton at his "levee" before his journey to London. Some urge the removal of machinery, others shorter hours, still others free trade in order that the weavers may have shirts out of the calico which they have produced—Carlyle again. A widow desires the repeal of the child labor law in order that her hungry overgrown boy may support himself. Another, having heard that lords wear two shirts a day, wishes them made of calico for the stimulation of trade. John vows that he will report to Parliament the starvation, pestilence, death which he has seen with his own eyes. "If th' masters can't do us no good, and they say they can't, we mun try higher folk." The lower class of that period seemed to think all their suffering due to the government's ignorance; if the government only knew their suffering, all would be speedily righted. To inform Parliament of their real condition was the purpose of the Petition. Since it was their only resource there is little cause for wonder at their disappointment over its rejection.

The girls introduced into the books seem to shun factory work. Mrs. Wilson years before when the wheels were unboxed had suffered an injury which disfigured her for life and destroyed her health. Mary's pretty aunt had met her ruin because her earn-

1. Death by starvation.
ings in the factory provided her with too much money for clothes. Besides, the factory, the only fields open to self-supporting girls are domestic service and dressmaking. The factory girls whom we meet on the streets and in the fields on holidays are merry, somewhat loud in voice, not pretty but intelligent, and rather independent of the boys. Mrs. Wilson deplores the effect of factory work on married women and the loss of family life which drives husbands to gin-shops.

In the Preface, Mrs. Gaskell states that she knows nothing of political economy, that she has no system to espouse. Through one of her characters, she points out the fallacy in communism, that common property would not remain distributed for any length of time. She is an outsider and therefore can see both sides. The workman can not understand rise and fall in business; he does not see the master like himself during hard times; he believes that labor is his capital and rightly he should reap interest on that capital. On the other hand, here is a large order, if the masters can not fill it more cheaply than others, they will lose subsequent trade and their employees will suffer as much as themselves. They must get it done for less but the men refuse to work for lower wages. The capitalists proceed to import agricultural laborers out of work. A mob ensues. Mrs. Gaskell sees the point of view of both the manufacturer and the factory hand. Her heart throbs for both. But here is the crux of the whole matter - the employers refuse to explain the situation to the men; having the right to demand, they will not stoop to explain. The men declare that reform is not desired so much as some show of consideration; it is the masters' indifference and independence that are "the most unkind-
est cut of all." Such is the working man's protest against the cruel effect of the laissez-faire doctrine on his life. The author feels that the whole solution lies in the law of Christ, masters and men are brothers. At the present time, they meet with prejudice, and more harm than good results. Only after the master, softened by his son's death, meets the men, softened by their friend's death, is there an attempt at sympathy and understanding. The clouds are not cleared away at once but the light begins to break through. It is interesting to note that this scene, the only one in the book which points out the lesson, was added after many protests on the author's part at the publisher's demand for more pages. Without that scene, the pervading thought of the author would still be evident— that the Golden Rule is the only solution.

Mary Barton has been unjustly criticized. " Some of the chief employers of labor on the Manchester district complained that they were unjustly treated, and that she spoke rashly of some 'burning questions of social economy.' She was accused, in The Manchester Guardian (28 February and 7 March 1849) of 'maligning' the manufacturers. Much the same position was taken in W.R. Greg's Essay on Mary Barton which he thought worth reprinting many years afterward 1876 in his volume entitled Mistaken Aims and Attainable Ideas of the Artisan Class. " Still later Saintsbury in The English Novel calls it "a vivid but distinctly one-sided picture of factory life in Lancashire." However, a number of critics have expressed my feeling that both sides of the question are presented fairly; Mrs. Gaskell shows both good and bad workmen, both classes of employers. She knew both sides. Her husband's father was

1. A.W.Ward Dictionary of National Biography
2. p.253
a manufacturer, and she had seen the working man's life through her social service. Perhaps owing to the fact that she was not versed in political economy but wrote life as she knew it, was due the book's wide influence. Professor Ward says, "Few attracted a more general interest than this anonymous tale unpretentious in both tone and spirit." But even after the factory problem is settled, "the sincerity of its pathos and insight into the very hearts of the poor are of enduring value." 4

In Shirley, Charlotte Brontë deals with the Orders in Council which were passed in 1807 and repealed in 1812, a much earlier period than the Chartist movement 1839-1842 presented in Sybil and Mary Barton. The problem is naturally a different one here—the Orders in Council, and the introduction of machinery. Charlotte Brontë's unhappy choice of character for the mill-owner makes the case more individual and not applicable to general problems. Robert Moore, a foreigner with little sympathy for the "English clowns", does not care whether his hands love him or not. He is of a good family but at present is in straitened circumstances. He has his fortune to make and make it he will; he cares not if the introduction of machinery throws people out of work. Furthermore, his nature is phlegmatic at times, the faults of his manner are negative, he cannot act. Mrs. Gaskell in her Life of Charlotte Brontë tells us that, at school, Mrs. Woolner had told the latter of Mr. Cartwright, a manufacturer at Rawfolds, whose experiences in the Luddite riots she remembered well. His character and experiences were used in Shirley with little change.

At the beginning of the book, the Orders in Council have blocked trade, machinery has been introduced, men are out of work, 3. Ward Introduction to Mary Barton p. liv 4. Ward Dict. of Nat.
and failure of the crops add to the general suffering. Moore's new machinery is destroyed and a deputation warns him that he must leave the country or promise to install no new machinery and take on more men. He argues that they can not stop the progress of weaving and science, and makes a grave mistake in insisting on his authority when a good workman makes a reasonable appeal. He tells his employees to worry Parliament as the mill-owners will not stand for their interference. In spite of all warnings, he introduces machinery the second time. The attack on the mill occurs, but he is prepared; on the other side one is killed and six wounded. He hunts down the leaders who are broken men of fortune and has them transported. After he is refused in love, he goes to Birmingham and London where, unknown, he mingle with the working men and sees the real destitution. Softened by his own disappointment, he realizes that rendering justice to his fellowmen is a worthier end in life than making a fortune. He returns home with a changed heart. Soon afterwards, on June 18, 1812, the Orders are repealed; at last there is a market opened for the cloth long heaped in his warehouse. "I can take more workmen; give better wages; lay wiser and more liberal plans; do some good; be less selfish." At the close of the book he reveals his extravagant dreams to his faithful sweetheart; he is to build a new mill, a much larger one; he is to bring workmen from far and near, and feed them until the first pay day. The author kindly assures us that he does do so.

Here the causes of the people's suffering are Moore's money-getting spirit, his unsympathetic character, and the Orders in Council. His change of heart through travel and disappointment in
love, and the repeal of the Orders offer the solutions. Since the problem from one standpoint is purely individual, and from the other limited to a short period of time, there is nothing for general application.

There is only a very slight picture of factory conditions. We are told that the children come to work at six, are fined if they are very late, have a half hour at eight for their breakfast of bread and coffee. We get a fleeting glimpse of a working man's family which does not have quite enough food but is not starving by any means, and which is immediately relieved by the rector and squire, the patriarchal system. Combats with rioters are the only incidents of factory life which Charlotte Bronte presents in detail. She emphasizes the military aspect of class strife. We do not feel the justification for the uprisings because we are not acquainted with the conditions which provoked them.

The point of view of the whole book is that of the upper class. The militant rector thinks the masters aggrieved, the workpeople unreasonable, the evils inevitable, and the solution vigorous government interference, military if necessary. His enemy, the Yorkshire gentleman, with his leanings to the poor, declares that coercion will not fill hungry mouths; he believes the evils not inevitable, that the masters are aggrieved solely through the failure of the "king-ridden, priest-ridden, peer-ridden government." The government considers the trouble in the north due to the cowardice and weakness of the mill-owners, and the solution their determined stand.

The author's justification of her treatment may explain her
Though I describe imperfect characters, I have not undertaken to handle degraded or utterly infamous ones. Child-torturers, slave masters and drivers, I consign to the hands of Jailers; the novelist may be excused from sullying his page with the record of their deeds. I am no teacher; to look on me in that light is to mistake me. To teach is not my vocation.

As a factory novel, Shirley is not so successful as those preceding it nor did it have their influence. It deals with too individual a case, too limited a period of time, and a problem which settled itself. It presents the problem from only one point of view. It fails to penetrate to a single delicate nerve of the situation. The factory gives body to the love story, just as political events do in Shakespeare's plays. Its value as a pure work of fiction must be considered elsewhere. Cherterton in Varied Types sums up Miss Brontë's contribution to the novel, "She showed that abysses may exist inside a governess and eternities inside a manufacturer."

Although Kingsley approaches the factory problem no nearer than the tailor shop and the sweating system, yet his works expound some important economical theory of the day which is applicable to every form of labor, whether in city or country. Alton Locke rises from the lowest class through his exceptional ability and steady application. In Kingsley's Preface "Addressed to the Working Men of Great Britain" in 1854, he says that he has been told by the working men themselves that the thoughts and feelings of Alton Locke were those "that a working man of genius would feel during his course of education." The three stages of Alton

Locke's development illustrate Kingsley's attitude toward the
Charter: (1) Alton feels that if only they had the Charter, it would lead to reform, (2) he comes to worship the Charter - "if only they had the Charter", (3) he finds that the Charter is but a Morrison's Pill. Kingsley believed that although the movement failed because the working men had selfish purposes and worshipped the Charter as an end in itself, yet the movement was tremendously important. "That Tenth of April which you fancied the death-day of liberty has awakened a spirit in high as well as in low life, which children yet unborn will bless." In Alton Locke as well as in Parson Lot's tracts, Politics for the People, Kingsley emphasized the fact that when the people were worthy, reform would come, in Christ's own time, that real betterment must come "not from without, from Charters and Republics, but from within, from the Spirit within," one of the ideas which he had learned from Carlyle.

Kingsley criticizes each social institution in its relation to the working class. The government is scored heavily because it was responsible for the institution of the sweat shop system through making low contracts. The system led to low wages, thence to the assistance of the whole family, and finally to vice, destitution of the worst sort, and death by starvation. If horror and vividness of the picture would give impetus to reform, this book should have accomplished much. According to Kingsley, the modern church fails to fulfill its mission. He compares it to the old monastic system which was democratic and socialistic. However he believes the fault not wholly that of the church; the people must change their attitude toward the church and allow it to
to come to their assistance. The press is also guilty. It suppresses all facts but those agreeable to the people or it deals out sentimental stuff and ignores vital problems. The working classes distrust the Oxford movement because they think it hypocritical in purpose and ambitious for position. There is no place for the working man of ability in the university. On the other hand, the working man of ability is treated as an equal by men of education and position, although the working class thinks otherwise. The working man candidly admits to himself that the educated men are his superiors, and, during his visit at the university, yields to his instinct of hero-worship. In his Preface “To the Undergraduates of Cambridge”, written after 1861, Kingsley expresses his appreciation of the free instruction by Cambridge professors and tutors in the Working Men’s College at Cambridge and suggests very earnestly that certain scholarships to Cambridge be offered exclusively to working men. In Alton Locke, Kingsley wishes to correct the tendency which compliments a working man who leaves his class and wins distinction for himself, while at the same time it brands as a demagogue, incendiary, fanatic, or dreamer the working man who devotes himself to his own class. On one hand Kingsley scores the government, the church, the press, and the university for failing the working man, and on the other scolds the working man for his besetting sins.

Kingsley feels strongly the wrong done to women by the industrial system. The girl, thankful for disfigurement which excludes her from the only means of supplementing starvation wages, and the married woman, starved and worked to death that her husband may buy drink, leave a painful memory. Lady Ellerton’s home for
prostitutes where they manage a co-operative dressmaking establishment and share her home life suggests a possibility but sounds rather Utopian as Kingsley describes it. Leslie Stephen complains, and with reason, of Lady Ellerton's sermon at the close of the book which none of the characters are allowed to dispute. "As they can't, we do it for ourselves."

Kingsley's importance lies in his emphasis on the spiritual regeneration necessary for reform which will come when the working classes are worthy, and then only through the application of Christianity to all industrial problems, in a word, Christian Socialism. That Kingsley, seven years after the publication of Alton Locke, felt that improvement had been made is evident from the introductory chapter in Two Years Ago. The best parts of Alton Locke are the character of Sandy Mackaye, modelled from Carlyle, and the passages dealing with Alton as a poet and his charming little lyrics. We agree with Burton that "Alton Locke is felt to be too much a tract to-day." Carlyle's criticism of the book was, "Your book is definable as crude; to make the malt sweet the fire should and must be slow; the impression is of a fervid creation, still left half chaotic. But Saunders Mackaye is nearly perfect, I greatly wonder how you did contrive to manage him."

Leslie Stephen's and Andrew Lang's opinions of Kingsley are appreciative and sound, "The high spirits of youth rather than a profound insight," "The truth is we should read Kingsley; we must not criticize him. We must accept him and be glad of him, as we accept a windy, sunny autumn day—beautiful and blustering—to be enjoyed and struggled with. If once we stop and reflect, 1. Hours in a Library Vol. III, p. 342 2. Masters of the English Novel p. 249
and hesitate, he seems to preach too much, and with a confidence which his knowledge of the world and of history does not justify. Ward's estimate of Alton Locke is, "It remains, of all its author's books, that which shares with Mrs. Gaskell's Mary Barton the credit of having come straight from the heart of a witness of the conflict who could not, when the fire blazed, remain a bystander." 2

It is difficult to imagine two novels on the same subject more unlike than Dickens' Hard Times and Mrs. Gaskell's North and South. Dickens' work appeared a year before Mrs. Gaskell's but both were being written at much the same time for Dickens' magazine, Household Words. Since Dickens was not acquainted with factories or the north of England, he visited Preston during a strike as preparation for his novel. After he had discovered to his disappointment that strikers merely moped at home, he spent the remainder of the afternoon at an indifferent performance of Hamlet. Hard Times is just the kind of novel which would be written after such an inadequate preparation. It deals with types and exaggerated caricatures, all imbued with very commonplace ideas. There is but a weak attempt to reproduce either the life or the spirit of the people. Dickens' letter to Mrs. Gaskell shows that Dickens recognized his weakness, "I have no intention of striking. The monstrous claims at diminution made by a certain class of manufacturers, and the extent to which the way is made easy for working men to slide down into discontent under such hands, are within my scheme; but I am not going to strike, so

don't be afraid of me."

The main plot of *Hard Times* treats of Gradgrind's unique and unsuccessful system of educating his children. The tragedy in the lives of the Gradgrind children and the factory hands may be traced to the same cause—Fancy has been starved out by Fact. The monotonous drudgery of factory life leaves the people with no idealizing element. For emotional outlet, they are forced to indulge in drink, opium, and low dancing. That the deduction from the Gradgrind problem to the factory one was, in Dickens' mind, almost as logical as a geometric theorem is clearly indicated in the list of titles which he submitted to Forster 1.

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Since Forster and Dickens both chose 6, that is the title which the world knows today.

The workman in *Hard Times* points out that, in attempting reform, the danger lies in either extreme, the strong hand or laissez-faire, "letting alone" as he calls it. He feels strongly that charity scientifically dealt out, as if the poor "were mere figures" will never solve the problem. However, he can suggest no adequate plan.

Bounderly, the mill-owner, who cozens everyone with his fake rise-from-the-gutter story has rather fantastic ideas of the life of the factory people. According to him, work in the mills is the lightest and pleasantest, the factories could not be improved except...

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1. Quoted in the *Introduction to North and South* A.W. Ward p. xiv
2. *Life of Dickens* p. 488
cept with Turkey carpets, the workman believes that he was born with a gold spoon in his mouth, and his supreme ambition is to be fed turtle soup and venison, and have a coach and six. Bounderby kindly assures the workman that he will never attain such an ideal state. Bounderby is an exaggerated caricature as a superficial comparison with Mrs. Gaskell's Thornton will indicate.

The trade union meetings give Dickens an opportunity to indulge in the high flown oratory which he had learned from his father and which figures to a great extent in all his books. Dickens probably never attended such a meeting, since his picture is so unconvincing, and barren of detail and spirit.

Two portraits, sketches as they are, arouse some interest and sympathy—Rachel, the gentle, patient factory woman and Stephen Blackpool, the man of sorrows, both at home and at work. Because, in his sincerity, he refuses to endorse the actions of the union, he is suspected by his employer and compelled to seek work under an assumed name. In Stephen's domestic life, Dickens exposes another tragedy of factory life, the inability of the working man to secure divorce because of the enormous expense. He must endure death-in-life from the pursuit of his dissipated wife while his wealthier fellows can be separated from uncomfortable spouses for the slightest of causes.

Critics agree in placing *Hard Times* lowest among Dickens' finished novels. The purpose is even more evident than usual; it lacks Dickens' usual saving grace, humor; and it is not an adequate picture either of the factory or of life in general. The portraits of Rachel and Stephen are the most worthy parts of the book. Gissing thinks that *Hard Times* more than any other of Dickens' works exposes his "untrained intellect, a mind insufficiently stored," i.
Ruskin, even while attempting to defend it, wishes that Dickens "would subject himself to a severer and more accurate analysis" while writing on such problems.

If *Hard Times* appears weak beside Mrs. Gaskell's first novel how much more so when compared to her second, *North and South*. In the seven years between the publication of her two novels, Mrs. Gaskell had attended working men's meetings and listened to their speeches, she had gone about among the factory people and become the confidante of many a poor woman. On the other hand, she had come into intimate contact with some of the most enlightened philanthropists and from them learned more about political economy. Thus both her acquaintance with real conditions, and the means of interpreting them had both become broader.

One of the chief evidences of such development is her treatment of the factory-owner. In *Mary Barton* we are drawn to the capitalist only at the close of the book, and then through our sympathy with his grief for his son. In *North and South* Thornton by perseverance and ability on his part and wonderful management on his mother's, rises from the position of the son of a ruined suicide to that of a successful manufacturer. We admire him and wish him success. However, he has his faults. Although he admires independence, he considers it dangerous when unaccompanied by ability. Since the laborer does not possess this ability, he must bow to Thornton's despotism. Thornton wishes no interference, least of all from Parliament. Because of competition with American yarn,

1. Gissing Charles Dickens p.24
2. The Roots of Honor- Unto the Last A note.
he must reduce wages. But as for the laborers,
"Theirs not to reason why
Theirs but to do and die."
The working man, for lack of a better explanation, thinks the bad state of trade a bug-a-boo to frighten children with. Again, as in *Mary Barton*, Mrs. Gaskell pleads earnestly for generous frankness between master and man. That is the solution in a nutshell. Thornton is not cruel, merely blind and headstrong. He argues that since he is working for his own interests, he is working for his employees' also, as the two are identical. The laborers are fools that can not understand. It is a law of political economy that some workmen and even some employers must be lost. Through Margaret, he becomes acquainted with the hand Higgins to whom he is attracted by qualities of character similar to his own, and through whom he discovers the working men's hearts. He learns that plans discussed with his employees are successful, and his creed becomes constant intercourse with them. One day seeing their poorly cooked dinners, he conceives the idea of an eating house under their own management. At their invitation, he often lunches there and discusses with them their common problems. Now he is their leader, an enemy no longer. He is inclined to think that this new relation will make strikes less deadly, and perhaps end them altogether.

Between 1848 and 1853, much improvement has been made in the method of striking. In *Mary Barton*, no provision was made before the strike, and the people were compelled to return in a short time at the same wages. In *North and South*, the laborers and the union make ample provision to stand the siege until the right wa-
ges are promised. Also, in order to gain public sympathy, the union disapproves violence. Each man is compelled to belong to the union, otherwise he is an outcast among his fellows. One of the union men complains that the union is cruel in its demands upon its members, although the members individually are sympathetic. The ideal union of the future for which the minister yearns is "the union of both classes."

Higgins, while reminding the reader of John Barton, is more typical and has saner views. Sir William Farburn, the great engineer, attested to the truthfulness of the portrait as the best kind of Lancashire operative. As a foil to Higgins' steady character is presented the impetuous perpetrator of violence. The ignorance of the cruder workmen is apparent in their opposition to improvements; they oppose the installation of a wheel for removing the cotton fluff from the air, for they become hungry when deprived of the fluff. It matters not that the inhalation of the fluff causes a lingering death from consumption.

Clara H. Whitmore in Woman's Work in English Fiction suggests that Margaret Hale is an earlier Marcella. She does resemble Marcella in some respects; however, while she may not feel so deeply as Mrs. Humphrey Ward's heroine, she possesses more self-control. I have never seen Professor Saintsbury so ridiculous in his criticism as in his estimate of North and South. I shall not undertake to refute his opinion that being unnecessary with an unprejudiced reader of Mrs. Gaskell. He calls it" her most elaborate effort." The heroine's father who resigns his wife and daughter to unsuitable surroundings "is one of those nearly contemptible imbeciles whom it is impossible to take an interest." The author

1. The English Novel p. 253
suggests at first that the wife is a "complainer about nothing" and then shows her "a suffering victim of her husband's folly and of hopeless disease. The lover (who is to a great extent a replica of the masterful mill-owner in *Shirley*) is uncertain and impersonal." Even the heroine fails to save the situation and the whole novel is a "flawed and unsatisfactory work."

Mrs. Gaskell's two factory novels are companion pictures. *John Barton* portrays the development of the laborer, *North and South* the development of the master. In the latter, the condition of the laborers is less depressing because much improvement had been made through the repeal of the Corn-laws, and the added experience and education of both classes. The tone of the novel is wiser, the author having enriched her experience and theory. But it has not the appeal of the first-born of her heart, nor had it such great influence.

The novel *John Halifax* by Mrs. Mulock carries the reader back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. John Halifax, a boy of good birth but alone in the world and penniless, wanders about the streets looking for chance jobs. The invalid son of a wealthy business man takes a fancy to him and persuades his father to take him into his tannery. By his perseverance and commonsense, he wins the confidence of his employer. In 1800 during a strike, the people demand flour; John's master replies by throwing some sacks into the river. The result is an attempt to burn the mill and an attack upon his house. John Halifax, however, who now in command, subdues the mob by another method which had been presented as successful in *Sybil*; he feeds the starving men and then writes orders for food for their families. Later when he be-
comes owner of a cloth mill, he exhibits the same commonsense and thoughtfulness. He inaugurates his proprietorship with a holiday and picnic. While the children play games, he and his wife become acquainted with the factory men and women respectively. He wants the men to feel that, although he is master because of his superior ability, he is their friend. He urges his wife to call the factory people by their right Christian names, thus showing them attention and consideration. Like Kingsley, he takes the Christian attitude, often repeating to himself, "One as your master, even Christ, and ye are all brethren." From the utilitarian standpoint he is convinced that such a method pays; the men because of their interest in him, turn out better work.

The test of his theory comes in a situation which, in Shirley, had caused riots and the loss of life. For a long time he had been wondering why steam could not be made to operate his cloth mill as well as the boats on the Forth and Clyde Canal; he had spent his spare time perfecting models for steam machinery. To install such an engine in his mill has long been the height of his ambition. Such a scheme becomes practical when the lord turns off the water out of revenge because Halifax had defeated his corrupt political intrigues. He installs the machinery quietly and when he has it finally in operation, asks the men to inspect it. They are somewhat afraid of him and it believing that there are "six devils inside of her". The whole situation is solved by the people's confidence in him through past kindnesses and his benevolent plan of laying aside money from his private fortune to compensate the laborers for the loss of work.

One is inclined to think that Charlotte Brontë knew more
about the real problem of installing machinery than Mrs. Craik. John Halifax's ideas, while worthy, sound somewhat ideal and wholly impractical for any large concern. But the best thing about the novel is that it may be read entirely for the romantic rise of the hero and the admirable love-story without attention to the factory element. That evidently is the explanation for its sustained popularity. The author feels with the hero that, "After all, it isn't the trade that signifies, it's the man."

George Eliot's *Felix Holt* deals with the general labor problem rather than that of the factory. It reminds one of *Alton Locke*. Like Kingsley's novel, it points out that the regeneration of the working class will not come through Charters or acts of Parliament. According to George Eliot, the solution will be found in the controlled living of the best members of the working class. The book is not so fervid as Kingsley's nor did it come from the very heart of the author. It is more balanced and more hopeful. However, *Felix Holt* as a man lacks the charm of Alton Locke, the poet-workman. The book as a whole lacks the masterly strokes which George Eliot can produce at her best. That she felt she was outside her element is indicated by her hesitation in supplying a magazine article to follow the novel addressed to the working men in the name of her hero. However the article was finally written and printed in *Blackwoods' Magazine* in 1866. It was too long and too full of figures from political science, and general history with "not enough earnest encouragement for popular oratory" to appeal to the class to which it was addressed.

*Wenderholme* by Philip Gilbert Hamerton gives a slight study of the development of the factory owner, contrasting one of the
old type who massed wealth for inward satisfaction and outer glory, and who, in this particular case, spent the last years of his life in insane cupidity tending his mother's garden for a few shillings a week, with one of the new type who wishes to accumulate a moderate fortune for cultural purposes alone. The novel is inferior and deserves the oblivion into which it has fallen.

Charles Reade wrote *Put Yourself in His Place* primarily for reform. It is a fierce and forceful invective against the trade union. Reade has been successful in putting himself in every one's place except that of the trade union official, perhaps he thought that place had nothing to recommend it. By following the fortunes of Henry Little, we see the problem from every phase. As a skilled workman, he is envied and after being duly warned, is blown up. As soon as he recovers from the explosion, he persists in working, however taking every precaution. After a continued strike the union men, his employer is compelled to desert him. Then the doctor whose hobby is "to save ruffians' lives" hires him as an inspector of factories. In that capacity, he makes some illuminating reports and suggestions for reform. In the meantime he is secretly working nights at a forge in a ruined church in the country. At last he is discovered, attacked, and severely wounded. Finally he blossoms out as an inventor and becomes the partner of a capitalist who refuses to comply with the unions. In turn the union men steal belts from the machinery and thwart the work in every way possible. The capitalist plans to build a new factory. At one time the union men put needles in the wet clay used in the building, at another they trample fifty thousand newly-formed bricks into a mass. They even burn the horse and stable of the
carter of the building materials.

Through the whole book there is fight after fight with the trade union; in each case Reade, although telling the same old story, is successful in instilling the spirit of adventure. Violence is always preceded by what the newspaper calls the Literature of Outrage:— first, the letter of warning to the manufacturer signed by the trade union, polite, grammatical, restrained; second, the less grammatical threat to the employer reminding him of the loss sustained on other occasions, under a less dignified pseudonym; third, the letter of coarse familiarity and brutal insolence with no grammatical form signed by such picturesque names as Balaam, Moonraker, One Who Means Doing What He Says; and last, the warning to the workman in the Dash Dialect. Then comes the rattening—throwing vitriol in his face, beating him with sandbags, shooting him, poisoning the beer or food for his family, even going so far as blowing up his sweetheart's home while he is calling. Then the trade union offers a small reward, a mere farce since it is always responsible through having hired the assassin or influenced him. Struggle succeeds struggle yet Reade sustains the suspense and interest, each incident being an adventure in itself. It certainly requires all of Reade's dramatic ability to weld together so many similar incidents into an interesting whole.

Reade does not blame the "rattener"; with Dr. Amboyne he puts himself in the place of the rattener of Henry Little. As the doctor looks over the group surrounding the wounded man, he notices one in whose eyes there is horror and fear instead of pity. Through his sympathetic imagination, he sees the whole story. Before the deed the man expected the sympathy of the union men and
thought only of his own cleverness in setting the trap. Not once
did he visualize the suffering he would cause. Now he looks with
horror upon his writhing victim and with fear upon his fellows
in whose hands his life would not be safe if they should learn
that he was the perpetrator of the outrage. Later when the same
man is dying through his failure to adopt Little's advice about
his grindstone, he pleads that his son be educated in order that
he may escape committing such crimes due to ignorance. "Right and
wrong they are locked up in books, I think; locked away from a
chap like me." Another excuse for the workman is the absence of
any laws for his protection. Others can sue for the breaking of
contracts; the working man has but one resource, lynch law.

Through Little's inspection of factories and his report to
Dr. Amboyne, "Life, Labor, and Capital, in Hillsborough", Reade
preaches most directly. Accompanying Little on his inspection, we
see first hand the conditions in the factories which cause the
diseases and fatalities dealt with in Part I of the report. The
most touching incident is the testing of grindstones by Silly Bil-
ly, an idiot boy. Several years before Billy, a bright little fellow
had come bringing his father's dinner and stood watching him at
his work. The grindstone broke, killing the father before the
child's eyes, hence the idiocy. Silly Billy recognizes instantly
the sound of a bad grindstone, "Oh the bad music! It is out of tune;
It says 'Murder! Murder! Murder!' 'You must not stand there. That
is the way they fly when they break and kill the poor father and
then the mother lets down her hair, the boy goes crazed." Silly
Billy says that Simmons' grindstone is bad. The employer prom-
ises Little to pay for the stone, Simmons to take care of the hang-
Simmons refuses to take the half day off and the trade union will not compensate him for the time lost. Simmons rejects Little's offer of help and pays with his life.

Reade recognizes that these full descriptions of the conditions of the dry-grinders, wet-grinders, saw-grinders, file-cutters and what not contain more information than most novel-readers will stand for, and surely more than the legitimate ends of the novel permit. "Having thus curtailed the report, I print the remainder in an appendix, for the use of those readers who can endure useful knowledge in works of this class." Part II of the report deals with Remedies to the Above, divided thus. A. What the masters could do. B. What the workmen could do. C. What the legislature could do." A and B are technical measures, each fitted for the special conditions of specified trades. In his own factory, Little instituted all reforms under A and tried to compel his employees to submit to those under B, with varied success. Some adopted the improvements without a word of thanks, others tried to evade the provisions, still others absolutely refused to abide by the new regulations and were dismissed, their places being filled by men who signed a written promise. The trade union upheld the men by saying that working man preferred short and merry lives. However Little pointed out that their lives were anything but merry. The trade union official replied that by lengthening a man's life, there is a greater number of workmen and hence lower wages—one of the fallacies in political economy that Ruskin tried to refute in *Munera Pulveris*. Section C is worth attention. It demands that a commision be established to thoroughly investigate conditions, and suggests some laws:— (1) some technical laws compelling
the master to make provision for the safety of the men, and giving
municipal authorities the rights of inspection, (2) extension of
the Factory Acts to Hillsborough trades, (3) laws checking the av-
arice of parents, (4) assistance of Parliament in extinguishing
the fork-grinding trade, an incurably destructive trade, and pro-
viding for the men thus thrown out of work. Reade's influence on
actual legislation will be discussed elsewhere.

At the close of the book after all the characters are mar-
rried off and the hero has withdrawn to his uncle's estate to forge
his inventions quietly for the rest of his life, the last four
pages are devoted to a detached incident which reveals the au-
thor as a thorough going reformer. The house of an inoffensive
non-union grinder was blown up. An enraged journalist collected
the facts, and through the aid of the newspaper guild and the
police carried them to the Royal commision of inquiry. This com-
mission found that the unions had been responsible for all the
murders and outrages. Some men were at last filled with "hope
that the Government would shake off its lethargy and take string-
gent measures to defend the liberty of the subject against so
cruel and cowardly a conspiracy, and to deprive the workmen ,in
their differences with the masters of an unfair and sanguinary
weapon, which the masters could use but never have as yet; and,
by using which, the workmen do themselves no lasting good, and
indeed have driven whole trades and much capital out of the op-
pressed districts, to their own great loss." But now the hope
1. The cry of the children arising from the swearing and inde-
cency of the home, the lack of education, the driving of the chil-
dren to work to provide drink for the parents is Reade's echo of
Mrs. Browning's poem published in 1843.
was fainter. Parliament was turning to other matters. The executive was asleep so that a hundred thousand constables were necessary in Manchester. "The tendency of present legislation seems to encourage intimidation of one man by twenty and make him starve his family to save his skin—cruel alternative!" The author concludes with the following statement which gives at once the purpose underlying *Put Yourself in His Place*, the relation of fiction to the *blue-book*, and the author's opinion of the function of the novel in reform.

"Seeing these things I have drawn my pen against cowardly assassination and sordid tyranny; I have taken a few undeniable truths, out of many, and have labored to make my readers realize those appalling facts of the day, which most men know, but not one in a hundred comprehends, and not one in a hundred thousand realizes, until fiction— which, whatever you may have been told to the contrary, is the highest, widest, noblest, and greatest of all the arts—comes to his aid, studies, penetrates, digests the hard facts of chronicles and blue-books, and makes their dry bones live!"

Charles Coleman, the actor, in *Charles Reade As I Knew Him* describes the circumstances under which *Put Yourself in His Place* was written. "I suggested to Reade the subject of the Sheffield outrages for a story, and a drama with a part in it, which I thought especially adapted to my method and resources. He acted on the suggestion, and we went over to Sheffield together, where I introduced him to Mr. Reng, the courageous journalist (*Holdfast*) through whose initiative and the indomitable pluck of the late Mr. Roebuck the Parliamentary Commission was obtained, by means of which the perpetrators of the atrocities were unearthed. Before leaving the town we interviewed the miscreant, afterwards introduced into the
story as Grotait, and went to his public-house to make certain sketches; we also visited the scenes of the various outrages, so as to provide ourselves with local coloring for the future drama." Before the novel appeared in serial form in the Cornhill Magazine Reade, "to save this subject from unworthy treatment" dramatized it himself, and Coleman's company produced it. The dramatic production failed because Reade had constructed the play too hastily. In May 1870 Reade revived it for a company of his own under the title of Free Labor. In spite of several novelties which Reade introduced into the play, for instance Little making a knife at his forge in sight of the audience, it suffered the fate of its predecessor.

The anonymous author of How to Write a Novel gives an interesting picture of Reade at work. "Charles Reade's habit of working was unique. When he had decided on a new work, he plotted out the scheme, situations, facts, and characters on three large sheets of pasteboard. Then he set to work, using a very large foolscap to write on, working rapidly, but with frequent reference to his store-house of facts in the scrap books." Perhaps the large number of similar incidents in Put Yourself in His Place is to be accounted for by the author's wish to use all his newspaper clippings on the subject. When he tells us that he used "few out of many" incidents we are inclined to doubt his word until we remember that the indexes to his scrap books alone filled ten mighty tomes. Reade represents the extreme of the new tendency toward

1 p. 311 2. p. 122
accuracy in literature due to the influence of science. Most critics feel that he has been able to infuse into this mass of documentary material literary spirit. "It would require a chemical analysis to separate the fiction from the reality." "His success lies in the fact that he had the true creative instinct, the touch of flame, which welds a mass of fact into dramatic forms." "He understood better than Kingsley how to combine a moral with a plot. If novels with a purpose have to be written at all, they could hardly be written more wisely than Charles Reade wrote them." "Given the propriety of the motive, it is not easy to conceive that any writer could have handled with more effect the sometimes unpleasant material he put into these tales." "Besant in his own day gave Reade foremost place among the novelists. Swineburne, while pointing out some weaknesses in *Put Yourself in His Place*, gives it high praise. Friswell in *Modern Men of Letters*, published in the same year, makes the amusing but pointed criticism, "We are delighted when Reade begins a new story; we know it will be angular and singular, but that it will be bold and true." Our final estimate of his work agrees with Saintsbury's, "Reade had so much genius that he very nearly succeeded in digesting these 'marine stores' of detail and document into real books. But he did not always, and could not quite do it: and he remains, like Zola, the chief example of the danger of working at your subject too much as if you were getting up a brief, or preparing an article for an encyclopaedia." It is a misfortune that with his dramatic ability Reade chose to write tracts, rather than pure novels, and

that he had that eccentricity which sometimes prevents great ability from producing great work.

All Sorts and Conditions of Men was the first novel which Besant wrote without collaboration with Rice, their partnership having been dissolved by Rice's death. Besant dedicates the book to his partner and mentions his loss in the preface. All Sorts and Conditions of Men relates the story of a girl, educated at a fashionable boarding school, who, upon becoming an heiress, leaves her cultured life of leisure in order to become acquainted with her employees. In the neighborhood of her brewery, she sets up a novel dressmaking establishment, built on the co-operative plan. She introduces innovations which at first are loudly deplored in the neighborhood—frequent rest periods of tennis and gymnastics, well-ventilated work room, hot dinners, music and dancing at night, and Saturday evening parties. She fights against the suspicion of her employees and gains at last the confidence of the neighborhood. Her ally is a young fellow from the working class who had been adopted by a lord and educated as a gentleman but who had returned to his people when he learned of his parentage upon attaining his majority. He supplies the ideas, and she the money for the Utopian Palace of Delight—a monstrous building for the people, containing theatre, ball room, library, music room, study rooms for trades and crafts, and rooms for recreation and rest. The people are to manage the classes and entertainments for themselves, but they are to cost them nothing. The Palace of Delight is opened with an elaborate banquet and wedding procession where the heroine sweeps down the aisle in white satin and
and diamonds to the bellowing of the organ. Magnificent spectacle!

But what of the suspicion and aloofness of the people which she had overcome with such difficulty under an assumed name? This magnificent scene strikes the reader as a young idealist's summer day dream. When I wrote this criticism, I did not know that the People's Palace was the result of this dream of Besant's but still it appears just as Utopian. That it appeared so to others is acknowledged by Besant in the Preface, "I have been told by certain friendly advisers that this story is impossible. I have therefore, stated the fact on the title page; so that no one could complain of being taken in or deceived. But I have never been able to understand why it is impossible." The realization of Besant's Palace of Delight in the People's Palace is one of the closest and most remarkable contacts of literature with life. That the People's Palace failed to embody Besant's idea long was due to an oversight in its management which allowed the Drapers' Company to participate, their technical schools soon absorbing the recreational element which had been Besant's main idea.

Angela Messenger acknowledges that her methods of philanthropy do not follow the principles of political economy which she had learned at college. Somehow those doctrines do not seem to penetrate to the inner sores of the social body. Like Dickens in Hard Times, she and her husband feel that the greatest need of the working man is recreation, and look to private philanthropy to satisfy that need.

Another thrilling scene in the book is the meeting of the Advanced Club at which an Ex-Chartist who had acquired the habit

1. Sub-title to the book is AnImpossible Story
One of the popular demagogues gives a rousing speech urging the demolition of the House of Lords with illustrations of their corruption gathered from the last one hundred and fifty years. Harry replies that the solution does not lie with Parliament or new laws but with the people themselves. They must know what they want; they have the power if they only knew their own minds. Then he outlines what the people really need—good lodging, food, education, holidays, and justice for the girls. If they will leave Parliament alone and go after these things for themselves, they will obtain them. In this respect he agrees with the doughty captain of Plymounth, "If you wish a thing to be well done, you must do it yourself." Later as Adele Messenger's husband, he becomes head of a union to procure these very things. This union maps out the country for labor and helps the unemployed to emigrate; it establishes a newspaper from which all professional agitators are excluded and in which real questions concerning the working man are discussed. The book has three main ideas—the working man's need for recreation, justice to working girls, and self-help the solution of the people's problem. The People's Palace was to recognize the last principle in its operation although it could not in its establishment. The book has continued to be popular more for its all sorts and conditions of men than for any marked literary merit.

Besant's next novel, The Children of Gibeon, deals with the sweater, a still poorer class of working girl. If a girl wishes to be independent, not submitting to authority in office, store, or domestic service, the only employment open to her is sewing or factory work. But such independence! There is no one to help her. Her brothers will not, they prefer to spend their money on
some one else's sister; the political economists are not so inclined, they find there too good an illustration of their principles; the politicians will not since factory girls are a negligible quantity in politics; and the women of the country have not been so moved as yet. The socialist urges the girls to combine and strike but with no success. The only solution is for the men to strike for them. As in Besant's early novel, he appeals to the working man to help the working woman since he is awakened and she is not. The thoughtful doctor suggests two plans, (1) the women of the country to form a protective league for working girls, (2) the girls themselves to form a federation of labor; and at the same time sees the obvious objections to each scheme. The whole trouble is that the supply exceeds the demand, the fault being largely that of the girl at home or the married woman who takes in work for pin money, thus depriving the self-supporting girl of her means of livelihood. With such a supply the manufacturer may make his own terms and submit the girls to tortures like drilling. The press could accomplish much if it would for should publicity be given such cases, the manufacturer could not afford to indulge in such outrages.

In this novel, Socialism makes its first appearance in the factory novel. The schoolmaster, risen from the working class, by study and thought, is a violent Socialist. In the ideal republic which he thinks imminent, there will be no crime but laziness, that to be punished with a bread and milk diet. His brother, a university man, agrees with him that man comes into the world without possessions, but he is convinced the Socialist system. When a girl's work was unsatisfactory in some respect, she was forced to stand for hours, sometimes even days, waiting for new work
will fail because it is contrary to human nature. The system which Socialism would impose from above, will not solve the problem, but the reform which the people must in time make for themselves—the idea recurring constantly in the novels of this period and evidently imbied from the great prose-writers.

The Socialist insists that capital and labor are natural enemies and ridicules philanthropy which succeeds in patching a leak here and there. Scorning patching he wishes the whole social fabric torn down and a new one built after his specifications. He laughs at concerts which the social workers calls "softening the masses", hanging up pictures in schoolrooms or "introducing art among the lower orders", doling out tea and cakes and religion, "bringing religion home to the people." The trait portrayed as predominant in the working class is independence; it resents professional charity, and does not appreciate being worked for. The author's conviction that mere money-giving will not untangle the social knot is quite apparent. It is significant that the year after the publication of the novel, one of the district workers of London took up the challenge and published in the Nineteenth Century statistics showing the good accomplished by the professional charity which Besant had ridiculed.

In *The Children of Gibeon*, a university man and a girl of wealth attempt to educate the people through a series of tracts, dealing at first with simple subjects of home life and sanitation and leading up to politics, labor federations, and work girls. These tracts we are told accomplished much good, quite a different result from that in *That Lass O'Lowries*. In that book, whenever a stranger entered a cottage, he was greeted with, "We don't
want none. No one can read here." The people had been tracted to death!

Besant shows what he believes to be the essential difference between the two classes by the experiment of the lady who took a girl from the lower class and educated her with her own daughter, no one except herself knowing which was which. When the test comes, the working man's daughter turns from her own class, feeling only their shame and misery, the other goes to live among them and help them to higher things. It is an interesting experiment in the study of heredity and environment, but Besant does not realize its possibilities.

Besant's own account of the composition of the novel is interesting. "The Children of Gibeon was the most truthful of anything that I have ever written. It offered the daily life and manners—so far as they can be offered without offensive and useless realism—of the girls who do the rougher and coarser work of sewing in their own lodging. This book was as truthful as a long and patient investigation could make it. I knew every street in Hoxton and Ratcliffe; I had been about among the people day after day and week after week. The thing was absorbing. I had sat among girls whom I described—three in a room with the one broad bed for the three—stitching away for bare life. All these things I saw over and over again till my heart was sore and my brain weary with the contemplation of so much misery—and then I sat down to write." Cheyney attests to the fidelity of The Children of Gibeon by recommending it "as a story of labor conditions in London" in his bibliography in a Short History of England, it being the only novel suggested for the study of internal affairs of this period.

In Gissing's *Demos*, the Socialistic tendency becomes more pronounced. Different Socialist groups are presented, varying from the parlor speculative type to the revolutionary group which is planning for an imminent social and political upheaval. Richard Mutimer, in his career, exemplifies the worst tendencies of the movement. At the beginning of the book, he is a superior workman through his economical home training, and reading and lecturing. Through the loss of his uncle's will, he becomes a capitalist. He does not give his employees higher wages, but provides them with food at cost price, houses at low rents, a good school and library. He is not interested in that phase of the problem, but devotes most of his income to his Socialist union. He loses money and at last, through the discovery of his uncle's will, he is compelled to relinquish his uncle's fortune to its lawful heir. He returns to the lecture platform, led on by selfish ambition, and finally is killed by the mob. He represents the least worthy and the most dangerous of the Socialist types.

Meanwhile the conservative university man has come into his estates. Immediately he pulls the factories down, and restores nature in her beauty. When the Socialist's wife remonstrates with him, he replies that he is built for beautiful things and is opposed to all ugliness. She asks if uplifting the people is ignoble, and we get in his reply the attitude of the most aristocratic class. Giving the people material comfort injures the class that has finer sensibilities and puts the power in the hands of the lower classes who think intellect and refinement obstacles to progress. It is proper that the majority should be fed, clothed, and kept to labor for they will never be fit for anything else, in fact they
desire nothing more. The friend of the people retorts, "Then they must be taught to desire more." He admits that he can sympathize with the individual of the lower class but he hates the class.

In the vicar, we see the development of the radical into the conservative. In his earlier life, he had worked in a wretched parish; his imagination, so he says, was constantly at the boiling point. He broke down from overwork at thirty, and after he returned from the Continent he felt differently. Now he has come to believe that happiness is equally divided between the two classes, the excessive bodily suffering of the one class through the struggle for existence balanced by the excessive mental suffering of the other. There has always been a certain amount of happiness in the world; since there are more people in the world to-day, each person is less happy. One of the main causes for the greater social discontent at the present time is universal education which raises hope for knowledge in the lower classes which their manner of life is unable to satisfy. He hates the commercial class, the bourgeois capitalist at whose hands both the very poor and the uncommercial wealthy suffer.

Not one of these three types of thought is noble or uplifting. In fact, the whole novel is sordid, and sinks in its own morbidity. The author sees the faults of everyone and the hopelessness of everything. It belongs to the first period of the author's work and is one of those novels which led the critics to call Gissing sordid, pessimistic, and cynical, and to describe his themes as the "general grey grim comedy" and the bare ugly life.

1. Henry James Notes on Novelists p. 442
2. Hugh Walker Outlines of Victorian Literature p. 146
to which modern undustrialism has condemned the majority in England."Demoe appealed to a larger public than any of his previous books, and its sale made possible a long desired journey to Rome and Athens whose sunny influence is noticeable in his next novel Thyrza in the lifting of the heaviest clouds.

In Thyrza, there are several noble characters, and, although the end is tragic and the struggle not so ennobling as it might be, there is a saner spirit through out. Egremont, the son of a manufacturer who had risen from an inferior position, is educated at the university and then spends his time reading and traveling, as he says, "searching for himself." At last he finds himself through the story, told him by a philanthropic friend, of a girl in her hospital receiving an atheistic paper from her father. He loses himself in plans for the social uplift of the middle class artisans. To try to reach the lowest stratum, he thinks a grave mistake; general and widespread improvement of many conditions alone can do that. But the middle class workmen who are at present touched only by the Socialists and propagandists of the worst sort, may be aroused to culture and broad ideas, and in turn become the leaven of society, affecting both the classes above and below them. He starts with a course of lectures on English Literature to a selected dozen of men. Some stop immediately, some stick to the end viewing the situation in the light of a contract, only three gain much, and one, prepared through his own reading, fully understands. Egremont's next course on Thoughts for the Present fails because he feels himself in too deep water. He gives up lecturing for the present, hoping to have others speak on science in the rooms above the library on which he is spending all
his energies at the present time. He appoints his faithful listener librarian, orders the books, even places some of them on the shelves, but he fails because of his growing love for his librarian's fiancee— not the first beautiful social scheme spoiled by uncontrollable passion! All his work falls to the ground, and he turns to a factory in America where for the first time he feels himself a business man. He is a Shelley type— the too pure idealist.

Although Egremont failed, some of his theories are important. He hoped to establish a permanent club for discussion not of what should be done for the working man but what he can do himself, not how to procure shorter hours, better wages, which are well enough in their place, but the first things of life— those of mind and heart. Making money is necessary but it should absorb as little attention as possible. Our social life is wrong in that it has converted the means of living into the end of life. He emphasized What Carlyle and Ruskin had been reiterating. Men hoped to change the spirit of the common life by the change of institutions but all reform must be preceded by a change of spirit. The change would not come in one or two generations. The purpose of present education is to increase wages; it must be elevated to higher ends. The church has no hold upon the people, the Sunday newspaper being their Bible. The newspaper has replaced the book, and until the newspaper improves, the people will not. Dogma no longer interests the people— a situation which Arnold had recognized several years before in Literature and Dogma, and other religious essays. Egremont believes that dogma must be replaced by the pure love of moral and intellectual beauty. Here we have Gissing's love of the
Greek ideals of truth and beauty; he once said, "Our heritage of Greek literature and art is priceless."

Dalmaine, the ambitious M.P., sees in factory reform the means of political advancement for himself. He wishes to link his name with all the important factory acts, and later succeeds, winning the gratitude of the country. He publishes a collection of his speeches on the subject. He disapproves of Egremont's plans, the library scheme does not recognize the economic principle that nothing which the working men can get for themselves should be given to them, and the free lectures, the principle that the people do not value what they do not pay for. Rather sound principles! The educated workman, in another connection, points out the fallacy in the first application—the people will not tax themselves for anything until they learn to prize it, they will not prize a library until they have learned from books themselves. Egremont had always sneered at Dalmaine, but after he goes to America he comes to appreciate the value of the other's work. Writing of an article in the New York Herald which calls Dalmaine's Factory Act one of the measures which "largely rest upon the practical wisdom and beneficence of the spirit which pervades British legislation," he continues, "this is the kind of thing which keeps England from social disturbance so rife on the Continent and which America has so much to fear. But the amazing fact is that such a man comes forward to perform such services. Only the Vanderbilt business again." The capitalist, living a life of good-natured self-indulgence, says that the selfish hard-hearted men like Dalmaine really improve the condition of the people, and not the idealists, dilettantes, amateurs like Egremont. Such seems to be
the author's conclusion although he seemed to identify himself with Egremont's principles at the beginning.

The working girls presented to us are not of the sordid type but are industrious and quiet, kept fairly comfortable by constant industry and economy. Various types of workmen are portrayed—the dissipated young man, the narrow atheist struggling with his own soul, the young fellow absorbed in chemistry experiments who hopes to invent a new candle. His ally is the atheist's young son who through his father's struggles will mount to higher things. The most charming workman in all the factory novels is Stephen Grail who, after his thirteen hour day of manufacturing candles, reads late into the night. The struggle between poverty and the desire for culture is a favorite one with Gissing, and reflects his own experience. Stephen Grail's difficulty in obtaining books is reminiscent of Gissing's own struggles as he tells them in The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft, his autobiography. "Dozens of my books were purchased with money which ought to have been spent upon what are called the necessaries of life. Many a time I have stood before a stall, or a bookseller's window, torn by the conflict of intellectual desire and bodily need. The book was bought and I went home with it, and as I made a dinner of bread and butter I gloated over the pages." 1 Necessary as culture is, Gissing points out that it is incompatible with poverty; and here is the cause of much of the tragedy in modern life. But, says Gissing, there is tragedy worse than this—the story of those who have the ability for intellectual growth and know it, and yet never reach a favorable environment for fruitage. He seems almost to echo the

1. Kennedy English Literature p. 255
words of Carlyle: 'This and this alone, I call a tragedy; that a soul should be born into this world with a capacity for knowledge and should die out of it with the capacity undeveloped.'

Gissing's apology for sadness is, "If my stories are pessimistic, it is only because my life is such. My environments are sordid, the people are sordid, and my work is but a reflection of it all. Sadness? My books are full of it. The world is full of it. Show me the masterpieces of art, literature, and I shall show you creations palpitating with sadness. Mine has been but the common lot."

I regret that I have not the space to quote the passage beginning, "Do you know that music of the obscure ways, to which children dance?" which has been so often admired. More quotes Secombt...as calling it a superb piece of imaginative prose," and Kennedy thinks Gissing worthy in such a passage to rank with Maupaus...ant. More calls Thyrza "a book of rare, poignant beauty." "In Thyrza, Mr. Gissing has given wing to the poetry that is in his soul; therefore you admire the other books, but you love Thyrza."

An Unsocial Socialist is distinctly Shawian. The first third of the book is a light little story with no Socialist principles apparent. Then suddenly while a crowd is pursuing a woman and her newly-recovered husband, the husband explains to his wife the whole industrial and agricultural situation of England. It is absurd, and because so startling, challenges attention. Trefulsi's...
father, born of honest, hence unsuccessful parents, had become a
great factory capitalist. Original enough is Trefulsi's point of
view of his father's social contract with his factory hands. He
lets them work on his cotton in order to enhance its value by the
manufacturing process. They repay him for the materials and instru-
ments with which he supplies them, take only what will keep them
from starving, and return to him as a large gift the proceeds of
their labor. Trefulsi mocks at his father's prosperity, and his
attempt to ape nobility by buying a palace, a noble wife, and a
seat in Parliament. At Cambridge, his father's gains had been
justified on the grounds of his abstinence. It seemed to Treful-
sis that the workmen had done the abstaining, they had abstained
from proper food, clothing, homes, holidays, and so on. His fa-
ther had claimed wealth as the reward for his risks, anxiety,
constant work, and travel. So would the bandit of old who wres-
ted from others the fruits of their labor without returning an
equivalent. To his art-loving friend Sir Charles, Trefulsi ex-
pounds the new art of photography. He disgusts him with pictures
of his father's palace, stables, and the large figures of their
cost and maintenance. But his purpose becomes evident when he con-
trasts the stables of his father's horses with the tenements of
his father's factory hands. Shaw alone could think of such a
clever device for contrast between the two classes.

In Trefulsi's long oration on Socialism or Smash, he proves
to his own satisfaction that Socialism must accompany free trade
or the country will be ruined through the transportation of in-
dustries to other countries. He touches in his tirades upon the
crimes of the country gentleman, the income-living class, and the
artists who demand shorter hours and more compensation for brain work. He explains his present work in forming a union, managing lectures, writing letters and pamphlets, and editing a Socialistic journal. Here Shaw is describing his own work in connection with the Fabian Society. Finally in Trefulsie's letter to the author in the appendix, he accuses Shaw of sponging all his ideas from Karl Marx. The whole system of the country makes social justice impossible; he defies a capitalist or land-owner to follow the commands of Christ in such a state. Selling his shares would do no good since another capitalist would buy them, and the conditions of the hands would be unimproved. Just reward cannot be given labor for it is impossible to discover the value of any given piece of work. He illustrates from his experience in getting his wife's tombstone carved—another of Shaw's daring use of sentiment-protected customs.

With two other much discussed subjects of the labor problem, birth control and temperance, Shaw deals in his characteristic manner. The principal of a fashionable boarding school for girls rebukes the working man for bringing such a large family into the world. Trefulsie ironically drinks the "Reverend Mr. Malthus' health", and the working man replies, "Some says it's the children, some the drink, but all I can see, the poor get poorer, and the rich richer every day." Trefulsie explains, in another situation, that the capitalist objects to the drinking of the working man because if he did not drink, he could live for less and hence would not demand such high wages. However Trefulsie calls drink the working man's chloroform which makes living in such quarters possible.
In *An Unsocial Socialist*, as in Shaw's other works, wit, paradoxes, startling views and clever expression of them abound. It shocks and startles as often as possible. The destructive criticism predominates, and the constructive is absurd. The whole is an intellectual appeal without much real knowledge of the laboring classes or sympathy with them. The tone is so mocking, one is not sure which side Shaw really takes. Some critics have found in it a satire of Socialism, not the defense to which it makes pretense.

Mrs. Humphrey Ward's *History of David Grieve* is not primarily a factory novel but it gives here and there faithful pictures of factory life and expounds sound economic principles.

The revival minister, from his years of experience as a cotton spinner, carries his hearers through one day of factory life—the hurried breakfast and the rush to the mill, the constant attention to business, the coarse joking at intermissions, and the need for amusement after "knocking-off time", the tired dropping into bed— and all the day no time for God and prayer. Then he turns to the country lads in the audience. They are not shut up with the roar of machines and cotton fluff choking their lungs; they work under the sky, God's open eye, amidst the freedom and beauty of nature— a description into which he puts the starved poetical nature and imagination of a cotton spinner.

Through Lucy's description, we see the little manufacturing Lancashire town of Wakeley, where the girls will not admit the hours are too long but do complain of the heat, delicate appetites, and the" lung mischief", where the social life is pleasant, every one interested in every one else, and the Dissenting Church is the ideal bond which holds society together, "a picture", the au-
thor adds, "of one of those social facts on which perhaps the future of England depends."

Dora, the little dressmaker of High Church principles, works among the mill girls of Manchester, holding prayer and song service during the noon hour and conducting a Bible class for them on Sunday.

David does valiant service by rebuilding whole streets of working men's houses, spreading new ideas through pamphlets, newspapers, and journals, and helping the election of Liberals in the north although refusing to stand for Parliament. He has already inaugurated the profit-sharing plan in his printing office, and has established an apprentices' school. His sanity is shown in his attitude toward Socialism. As a system, it weakens the spring of will and conscience of the individual, the most precious thing in the world, on which the whole of civilized life and progress rests. As a spirit, it is the old thought which has forced us to think of the many instead of the few. Again, "the better life cannot be imposed from without, it must grow from within". If that generation did not learn that lesson, it was not the fault of the novelists and essayists. To see how the working man lacks the elementary conditions which make the higher things of life possible, tugs at David's heart. "Generations of workers have toiled for us in the past," (Shades of Carlyle!) "and are we, in return, to carry our own wretched bone to our own miserable corner! - sharing and giving nothing? That would be woe to us, it would mean second death, the separation final and irretrievable between us and the life of God."

In Mrs. Humphrey Ward's Marcella, there are four central char-
actors who represent varied attitudes toward the factory problem. The martyr is Hallin, a sweet lovable character. His father was an able factory inspector who had a large share in the inauguration and revision of important factory reforms. Hallin gives up his whole life to studying, writing, and lecturing on the subject. His death is caused largely by overwork and lack of appreciation of those for whom he has given his life. He accepts some of the Socialistic principles but he believes that property is one means of self-realization and struggles that more people may possess property, personal not common. Alfred Toynbee’s life and death were much like Hallin’s; perhaps there was Mrs. Ward’s source.

Craven is a staunch Socialist. He is not so broad-minded as Hallin nor so sound in principle but he supports the strikers in their struggle to gain the power to live like human beings and to assert their right of combination.

Wharton is a Socialist who sells, in a moment of great temptation, the good of the people to save himself. Otherwise he is sincere. He ridicules the lack of ability in his own class, the privileged class, and wonders how long the superior men who are called the lower orders "will allow themselves to be ruled by their inferiors in skill and knowledge. He yearns over the lowest class who are not fit to rule yet, and quotes Carlyle to show how they have borne the burdens of the world. In Parliament he introduces an Eight Hour Bill with local and trade option, and outlines the whole history and situation of the labor question in glowing terms.

Marcella is the dominant character in the book. She shows the most development. A girl of twenty who has read some poetry, some scattered books on political economy, and some modern socia-
listic books—Arnold, Ruskin, Carlyle—(which by the way suggests the sources of the author's own ideas), goes to London and through the influence of some art friends, becomes a Venturist. Later while spending some years on her father's estate in the North, she begins to see that the state desired by the Socialists will not be realized for sometime, and, in opposition to her Socialistic friends who think that all time, energy, and money should be spent on the plans of revolution and not fade, she feels that in the meantime the lowest classes must be helped by the upper. One of her schemes, the revival of straw-plaiting, was doubtless suggested to Mrs. Ward by Ruskin's experiments. After an entangled love-affair, she seeks change as a nurse in London, where her views suffer much modification. Before, she had seen the world as black and white, now the gradations of color puzzle her. She lives "now in their world, and sees the question is not one so much of possession as of character—some people will always remain vagabonds."

Her final conclusion may be gathered from her speech, "What is wanted, really wanted is not my help, but their growth. How can I make them take for themselves—take roughly and selfishly even, if they will only take! As for my giving, what relation has that to anything real or lasting?" Mrs. Ward in her introduction anticipates one objection that may be made to the novel, "The picture too is seen through a woman's eyes; a man would have reported it differently. But in the world of literature—let a woman-writer maintain the woman's impression and the woman's report are no less vital, no less necessary to the utterance of a generation than the man's." I believe that in this novel more effectively than in

any other, has Mrs. Ward been successful "not in solving the problem but stating it dramatically in terms of human life, bringing into clear light its relativity."

Clementina Black's *An Agitator* is the simple story of a superior workman who cannot rest content with his own skill and successful lot in life but must needs throw himself into the struggle for the betterment of his class. As a result, he is dismissed from position after position; however he persists in the cause. The climax in his life comes during his imprisonment for an unjust charge of corruption in his election to Parliament, when he realizes that his half-success has been due to his failure to give himself to his fellowmen; he has given his life, joys, intelligence, but not himself. Such a discovery promises a hopeful future.

Another interesting character is the enlightened curate who boasts of his "Conservative grandfather who voted with Lord Shaftesbury for the Factory Act."

In *Sir George Tressady*, the sequel to *Marcella*, the same heroine is presented in a new role, that of the clever wife of a distinguished member of Parliament. Her friends and enemies are divided in opinion as to whether she is an example of the new nineteenth century woman in politics or a modern Cleopatra whose physique helps her to accomplish her purposes. After a long and stormy courtship, she becomes one with her husband's ideas and helps him with his bill in every possible way—the final drafting, the inspection of shops in the East End, social intercourse with the wage-earners, and diplomacy in her drawing room. Some of the politicians resent her interference but it is her finger that pulls out the plum from the other party. However she may have come to
accept her husband's views, she still judges largely from her woman's heart, and her harshest criticism of a speech in Parliament is, "He has neither seen nor felt. How can one take his judgement?"

What then was Lord Maxwell's bill? Various acts had been passed against swaging, but without results. To Maxwell's party, the solution seems to be to drive the workers into factories where they can be controlled. This bill is tentatively for East London but the whole country is aroused for if it succeeds there it will be extended to apply to all England. East London has been chosen because the people there are weaker and more manageable than in the northern cities. The trade unions, mechanics' institutes, and working men's clubs are all clamouring for the bill, while the ignorant class, seeing the immediate means of livelihood threatened, are incited against it. It contains amendments and revisions of former acts, but most important, a provision making it penal to practice certain trades in the workman's home—that is, where he eats and sleeps—penal for a workman to work over the factory day of ten and a half hours, and making the landlords responsible for the observance of the second section. If the bill is passed, one of Maxwell's friends, a real student of affairs camouflaging in the character of a society man, has formulated a plan of buying all the existing shops of the typical trade of a certain district in East London, forming a syndicate, and supplying the people with work on the co-operative plan.

Maxwell, with his friend Hallin, fears the vast power given to the individual before he has become socialized and moralized; he feels that the working man must be protected from himself. Max-
well wishes to force trade legislation in order to prevent anyone from lawfully building his wealth on the degradation of his fellows. He believes that wealth should not be attacked as wealth or civilization will be undone. Private possession from the boy's first top to the largest estate is one of the most precious elements of human training. Collectivism as a system will never work, and if once tried will soon be relinquished. However the social conscience must be brought to bear on ill-gained fortunes.

Opposed to Maxwell, is Fontenay's party which stands for resistance. It is the buffer between temporizing conservatism and plundering democracy. It stands out and out for birth and wealth, the Church and the Expert, and opposes any meddling between master and workman. As one of their number puts it- Maxwell's side believes that the world can be mended by an act of Parliament, Fontenay's knows that it cannot; a majority of the world is bound to be miserable; the duty of the state is to keep all free but it is not supposed to keep them happy.

At one of the Maxwell agitation meetings in the East End, we get a glimpse of the people. The stories of the cruelty of the masters by the people themselves are quite touching, especially that of the woman with cancer whose husband forces her to support him and the children. She is opposed to the law because it would be impossible for her to leave her children at home while she was at work at the factory all day. Three other attitudes of mind are quite typical, all ignoble. The drinking trade-union official declares that the working men consider a man who does not drink a skunk and that the men will continue to drink until they control their own labor. A leader yet condoling his followers on one of
their worst faults! Another is that of the selfish society woman who calls the attention of her husband to the comfort and unheardof luxury in the homes of their wretched employees; she cannot understand why the strikers will ruin themselves as well as her husband and herself, not allowing him to make a decent profit. The other is that of her husband, a young M.P. who is brilliant but has no convictions; his attention has been directed by Maxwell's beautiful wife to the misery and hopelessness of the East End. He feels it an imper- tinence, this anxiety about a world which "you never planned and cannot mend. Whose duty is it to cry for the moon? Did you make the mill? Can we stop its grinding? Is it fair to drench our joy in the sorrow we cannot help?" He needs to remember that, "I cannot do everything, but I can do something."

In Sir George Tressady, the factory question is shown from every standpoint. The tone of the book as a whole is Parlia- mentarian, but Marcella's personality and feeling redeem it from becoming technical and intellectualized.

In Enoch Strone, Oppenheim gives us an interesting study of a skilled workman who is drawn into marrying a pretty but shallow factory girl. He has read and educated himself and becomes a success-ful inventor; he enters Parliament, but always about his neck is the factory girl who cares or understands nought about his work, and, yielding to vulgar companions, becomes captive to an inherited drink taste. He resigns his career, and, what he pri-zes more, his work for the betterment of his class, for the sake of his wife's salvation and in time is duly rewarded.

Strone is an interesting, although not altogether convinc- ing example of the unusual working man who has emancipated him-
self from the crudities of his class by reading and thinking. He is too much at home in high society to be true to life. His factory-girl wife varies too much in character to suit the exigencies of the plot—too vulgar at times, too subdued at others. It is not a great novel, and contributes no ideas on the factory problem. The incidents centering in Parliament deal merely with political moves, not bills nor their underlying principles.

*Mistress Barbara* by Halliwell Sutcliffe gives a picture of 1825 in an out-of-the-way district where the watermill has invaded only a part of the spinning, none of the weaving as yet, and steam has not been seriously considered although there are some steam mills in the neighboring Bradford. The mill-owner carries on the spinning at the mill and visits the combers and weavers at their homes. The weavers have heard of the factories where people are imprisoned within four walls, and dread the time when they, compelled to sell their little farms, can no longer weave in the sunshine and fresh air. Two mills and their owners are forcefully contrasted. Booth, the product of the new system, practices his creed that, "Brass is godliness an' godliness brass." He hires only children. They work sixteen or eighteen hours a day with only fifteen minutes for eating their meager lunch. They perform their work mechanically, half asleep until aroused by the onlooker's whip. The pauper children from the workhouse fare even worse; secreted from the parish eyes, they work on Sunday cleaning machinery, and fight with the pigs for their food. The parson's heart is wrung by the cry of the children but he is unable to pierce the "brass" heart of the owner. Retribution comes at last in a terrible form when, having lost all the brass compoun-
ded by children's lives, Booth drinks and drinks at the village inn vainly trying to shut out the faces and screams of the children. The other mill-owner, just as anxious to make money, is nevertheless a gentleman. Although he puts all his energies into earning back the estates lost through his father's dissipation, he can be no less than a gentleman to his employees. In his mill alone, girls are free from insult and children from the onlookers' whip. He pays his combers well and they sing his praises until a trades agitator from Bradford is successful in identifying Royd with other mill-owners in their minds. Royd soon sets them right in his lordly manner of handling them, partaking somewhat of the old feudal tone.

Royd sees the contentment and poetry in the humble life of the home-weavers and combers. He also sees the immense advantages in the new system— the greater speed and cheaper prices— offset by the cramped life of the employees and the cruelty of the mill-owners. Somehow he thinks it means progress and the time will come when the greater speed in manufacture will mean leisure for the weaver in which he may learn how to live. The parson's faith in Providence is shaken at his first acquaintance with the hideous evils of the coming regime, but he comes to hope that those who now weep into soft cambric handkerchiefs for the black slaves will come to do the same for the white ones around them, and thus something be done to ameliorate their condition.

In spite of the disagreeable passages about Booth's mill, the book is purified by the fresh air and bathed with the spring sunshine. It is colored by the poetry of the outdoor life of the North lands. Tim o' Babs' character is one of the most endearing
of all literature.

Chippinge Borough by Stanley J. Weyman does not touch upon the factory problem except through the factory men's enthusiasm over the Reform Bill. The novel gives vivid descriptions of the Parliamentary preparations, the contested elections, the final passing of the bill, and the Bristol riots. That the novel was written some years after the events described is apparent in the treatment. Although our sympathy, through our interest in the hero, is clearly with "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill", we realize the reasonable and, under the circumstances, the natural attitude of the faithful Tory toward the rise of the lower classes. He hears with astonishment that a butcher has opinions, and that it is considered just that he should have. Would such an impartial picture of both sides of the question been possible seventy-five years before when the question was raging? In this novel we see clearly the contrast between the novel which merely reflects conditions and that which seeks to reform. That Weyman has taken this period in English history as he would sixteenth century France, purely from the historical standpoint, is significant. It indicates that the factory problem has passed into the hands of the specialist and thence is considered solved so far as fiction is concerned.
Chapter II The Relation of the Factory Novel to Its Age

(a) A Brief Summary of the Political and Social Movements of the Period

For an understanding of the development of the factory novel, it is necessary to trace briefly the industrial history of England in so far as it concerns the factory problem. English industry took gigantic strides in the eighteenth century, the first improvement being made in weaving. Kay of Bury invented in 1738 the flying shuttle which did away with the second weaver on the hand loom and accelerated the process of weaving so that the spinners were hard put to keep up with the weavers. Then for the spinners, Hargreaves perfected in 1764 the spinning jenny which accelerated their work and made the operation by children possible. Arkwright from 1769 on, kept improving the spinning process, giving a harder twist to the yarn and thus for the first time making pure cotton goods a possibility. In 1779 Crompton combined the two inventions in his "mule" and gave the English domestic muslin as his machine made the manufacture of a finer yarn possible. The same processes were worked out for the other materials. Then with the power loom, invented 1785 by Cartwright and improved by Radcliffe and Horrocks, spinning and weaving had both been revolutionized. By 1815, the power loom was in fairly general use. Watts' improvements on the steam engine completed the wondrous revolution, both in machinery and social life.

Almost the whole population was shifted to large towns. The aspect of many a town was changed as completely as Lantern Yard described by George Eliot in Silas Marner. Women and children took the places of men. The whole industrial system, so it seemed, was
turned awry. Other disturbing causes were at work—the heavy taxation for the war, the social unrest due to continental influences, the Corn-laws, and the vicious Poor-law. Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations espoused the new doctrine that self-interest of the individual was for the best interests of the state in opposition to the old Mercantile protective system. Smith's principle, pushed to the extreme, became the injurious and odious doctrine of laissez-faire which dominated economic life in the early nineteenth century and which is responsible for much of the enmity between the working classes and their masters even to the present day. However, such a theory could not chloroform all people to the dreadful sights of oppression around them; they demanded reforms.

The repeal of the act forbidding combinations in 1825 gave legality to trade unions which did so much to arouse the agitation for Chartism in 1839 and 1848, and which caused bitter enmity between employers and employees between 1840 and 1870 but after that time were recognized as the best agents for obtaining thoughtful arbitration. The Poor-Law Amendment 1834 and the repeal of the Corn Laws 1846 did much to relieve the situation.

We shall mention only the most important factory legislation. Beel's Act of 1802 for apprentice children was the first factory act. Robert Owen, a successful manufacturer, who had instituted a number of reforms in his own factories, published a pamphlet calling attention to the excessive labor and early age of the children in the factories. IN 1815, Peel demanded an investigation and as a result, bills in 1819 and 1825 extended the law to other children and added further restrictions as to age and hours of labor. The agitation by Oastler through his Slavery in York—
hire, but still more Sadler's commission and Ashley's speeches provoked wide-spread discussion. Ashley's Ten Hour Bill of 1833 was defeated, but the substitute, Althorp's Act, though not nearly so restrictive, introduced shorter hours than were in use. The Children's Half-time Act passed in 1844 was the first provision for factory children's education. By 1847 law after law had gradually shortened the hours for child labor and pushed up the age of entrance into factories. The Ten-Hour Act of 1847 applied only to women and children but the men were indirectly benefitted because their work depended upon that of the women and children, and therefore the hours of labor for men were determined by those of the women and children. In 1878, The Factory and Workshop Consolidation Act repealed all former laws and worked out a full code for all classes of laborers. 1891 and 1895 produced the laws against sweating. It is interesting to note that the reform began on behalf of the children, extended to the women, and finally embraced the men. The Socialists predict many changes for the future. Socialism has influenced the factory problem as it has all industrial discussion for the last two generations.

Besides the improvement of machinery and special factory legislation, the factory problem was constantly complicated by the wider social and political agitations of the day of which we shall give the briefest summary. From 1830-1850 three main groups were facing the new problems. The Young England Party led by Disraeli expected the aristocracy to solve the problems of the lower classes for them, largely through Parliament. The Christian Socialists under the leadership of Maurice and Kingsley desired the application of Christianity to the new social organization. They were
sometimes called interventionists because they reacted against the individualism of the Utilitarians and the political economy of the Manchester school, claiming that the working classes were entitled to a share in the blessings of human life as well as the rights of citizenship. The third group was composed of independent philanthropists and social workers who were seeking through practical social service to regenerate the lower orders.

The most important movement among the laborers themselves was Chartism. Since 1825, the working men had educated themselves through trade-unions, institutes, clubs, and the reading of cheap encyclopaedias. In 1837 a conference drew up the People's Charter, the demands of which are well known. Conventions in 1839 and 1848 presented the Charter to Parliament, but it received no consideration. Meanwhile the Anti-Corn-Law League, formed by Cobden and Bright in Manchester in 1838, after the failure of the Irish Potato Crop in 1845, procured the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. The industrial disturbance caused by the introduction of machinery, the Corn Laws, and the laissez-faire theory of Supply-and-Demand, all were responsible for the uprising of the violent element of the Chartists in 1848. The government was prepared and promptly dispersed the mob. After 1848, the working men turned from political to social activity, and in 1851 the festival of peace was celebrated. Henceforth the trade union was the organ of the working class for reform. Beginning with 1859, legislation attempted to solve the trade union problem. Spurred on by the Sheffield and Manchester outrages in 1855-6, the government appointed a Royal Commission whose report was followed by the Trade Union Acts of 1871 and 1876. The Reform Bills of 1867 and 1884 opened the gates
of democracy wider until the peasants were finally admitted. As a result of Henry George's lecture tour 1881-2 advocating the nationalization of land, numerous socialistic societies sprang up:

1883 Social Democratic Federation, 1884 Socialist League established by William Morris, Hyndman, and Bax, and 1888 the Fabian Society with which Bernard Shaw afterwards became associated.

By 1890 the factory problem had passed into the hands of the special investigator as conditions had improved through the spread of education, the reduction of the hours of labor, the growth of democratic representation in the government, and the spread of Socialistic ideas. The problem had been attacked by groups of writers, lecturers, and workers from every standpoint—political, social, religious, and aesthetic.

(b) The Historical Development of the Factory Novel

In the course of the factory novel, there are four distinct periods of development according to subject. Those written before 1885 are evidently written to present specific conditions first hand, and in each case to demand reform for the conditions presented. In those before 1882, attention is focused upon the manufacturing towns in the north of England; after that, upon London. Quite naturally, the first novels are colored by the struggle for the Reform Bill which had stirred the national life a few years before. In Shirley, there is a digression to the earlier period of the introduction of machinery and the Orders in Council. From 1855 to 1870 the struggle between master and man, complicated by the trade union, is the prevailing interest which culminates in Reade's
scathing denunciation of the trade union. After that, the novelist becomes interested in the problems of general labor, thus leading to the Socialistic novel which comprises the second group flourishing from 1885 to 1892. After 1892, Socialism ceases to absorb the central interest although it continues to be a force which must be recognized. With the entrance of Mrs. Humphrey Ward, the Parliamentary standpoint is introduced which continues until 1902. Curiously enough the novel returns in its last period to the Reform Bill and the first factories, like Omar Khayyam coming out by the same door in which it had gone, though in this case in a happier mood. In the last period, the novel is most free from preaching. It seeks merely to revive another interesting period of English history.

It is easy enough to point out the development of subjects but not so easy to trace that of the form in which these subjects are embodied. In fact, there seems to be no real gain in technique except what is apparent in the changing character of the novel as a whole. There are poor novels in each period, and the whole question is one of the individual genius of the author. The earliest novels of this group portray that leisurely manner, cumulative effect of rich and varied background, wilderness of persons, places, and incidents which are characteristic of Scott and Dickens. Disraeli's Sybil shows that he studied his Blue-books and factory statistics with as much antiquarian love for detail as Scott, his histories of the storied past. Gradually like the novel in general the factory novel is pruned here and there, all superfluities lopped off, and the plot stands in its barest outline. To change the figure, it is a traveling theatre, nothing without its use, even
serving its purpose, each in its proper place. Instead of repeating scene after scene of the same character serving the same purpose, the novelist relies on one thriller to stamp an indelible impression. Instead of preaching forty sermons in one book, he shouts and then whispers, on a psychological basis, a single one. It may be said that, in harmony with the growing thought, the novelist-preacher inculcates broader lessons without the "seventhly, brethren". The novelist has reduced also the number of the cast, doing away with the doubles in character who were only slightly differentiated from each other. His task had become much easier because classes were becoming less uniform. There was no longer the sharp division of Family from Mob. The mass itself was no longer a mere teeming ant hill but here and there giants were arising; ant giants to be sure, but giants in comparison with their fellows. Whether the gain in effect of the new novel compensates for the loss of wealth of material of the old is a question to be discussed for the novel in general as well as for the factory novel.

In the later novels, the factory element becomes more and more subordinate to other issues, the special trade to the general labor problem, the physical to the spiritual. The feeling seems to grow upon the novelists that there is something higher than the body, that the man's character, himself, is more important than his work, that physical conditions need improvement but more so the moral and spiritual. The change from sentimental pity over the sordid life to practical expedients for the working man's self-help illustrates how far our age has advanced over that of Dickens. I do not think that the sympathy of brotherhood nor the passion for sacrifice is less deep or intense now but that the outlet has
wisely been changed from ineffectual sentimentality to practical efficiency. The district nurse or progressive politician may have as deep and holy consecration as the nun or the knight. In indicating this change of attitude toward the solution of factory problems, the novels have merely kept pace with the growing life of the times.

(c) The Influence of the Factory Novel on Social Conditions

The literature of no period was so closely bound up with the times in which it was produced as that of the nineteenth century. As we have just outlined the political events and social ideas to which the factory novel is so intimately related, we shall attempt to prove by citations from recognized authorities how the factory novel in turn has reacted upon those conditions. "The humanitarian movement gave us the humanitarian novel and in turn the novel probably accelerated the movement." Trollope explains why the novel can accomplish what the tract cannot, with the result that novelists like Disraeli having failed in influencing public opinion through the tract turn to the novel. Trollope writes,"It is because the novelist amuses that he is thus influential. The sermon too often has no such effect, because it is applied with the declared intention of having it. The palatable and overt dose the child rejects; but that which is cunningly insinuated by the aid of jam or honey is accepted inconsciously, and goes on its curative mission. So it is with the novel. It is taken because of the jam and honey." 1

Many of these authors labored in the realms of public or private action, in Parliament, in the slums through personal charity, settlement houses, or lectures to working men to make the dream which they had set forth in their fiction come true. But we are concerned here with their influence solely through their novels and will have occasion to mention their other activities only as they are the result or cause of their novels. We will draw only what indirect inferences seem fully justified, and will prove our case by the statements of those who are in a position to know what they are talking about.

We have already mentioned Disraeli's full platform of factory and labor acts during his second administration. In 1897 T.H.S. Escott in his Social Transformations of the Victorian Age writes: "Few individuals of our epoch have more appreciably and definitely impressed the image of their genius on the social history of their age, than Benjamin Disraeli. Of the little coterie whose inspiring literature is contained in the trilogy of romance that is constituted by Coningsby, Sibyl, and Tancred, the sole survivor is the Duke of Rutland" who in a letter to the editor of the Quarterly Review July 1896 "points back to the undoubted service which the sentiment generated by the Young Englanders rendered to Lord Shaftesbury, then Lord Ashley, and Mr. Oastler in their gradually successful efforts to pass the First Factory Act." Wilfrid Meynell in his Life of Disraeli, written in 1903, speaks thus of Sybil:

"which even those readers who place Tancred or Coningsby before it must allow to be the one that has exercised the greatest influence on our national life. Among the people of leisure and pleasure, he,
one of themselves, is the pioneer of social regeneration. His was the role— that of teaching the Rich to make restitution; the Poor to be powerful in patience. These awakened sympathies, awakened not a moment too soon, were of Disraeli's awakening so that now scarce a great family in the land but yields, one way or another, a worker for the weak. Every village has its Lady Bountiful. It was Disraeli's luck that the men and women about him, or his descendants, were raised up to translate his works and wishes into deeds. The Factory Acts were carried by such men as these, in the teeth of the manufacturers of the Manchester school; were carried by such men as Disraeli's friend, Bousfield Ferand."

In 1849, the year after Mary Barton was written, The Prospective Review praises it for "showing poetry under triviality of humble life, and what strong and pure affections, what heroism and what high faith in God under all the sorrow and trial of a hard world may be nursed in the homes of poor and unpolished men" and concludes, "We rise from its pages with a deeper interest in all our fellow-beings; with a firmer trust in their great and glorious destiny" (which I admit I fail to do); "with a strengthened desire to cooperate with its gifted authoress, and with all of a kindred spirit, in every effort to enoble and bless them." This was evidently the feeling of Miss Edgeworth, Landor, and Carlyle, and others who received it with enthusiasm, and wrote letters of congratulation as soon as the author was known. Katherine Lee Bates, 1907, calls it" that sympathetic presentation of the life of Lancashire mill-bands which awoke the anger and perhaps the consciences of the manufacturers. She served the poor of Manchester not with her pen alone, but when our war brought in its train 1. Payne Mrs. Gaskell and Knutsford p. 75
the cotton famine of 1862-3, she came effectively to their relief by organizing sewing-rooms and other means of employment for women. The anger of the manufacturers to which Miss Bates refers was expressed in The Manchester Guardian for 28 February and 7 March 1849 where Mrs. Gaskell was accused of 'maligning' the manufacturers.

A writer in Macmillan's Magazine, December 1865, speaks of Mary Barton as a book "of which the world was talking." From 1897, we have the three following comments on Mary Barton: "It is one of the most powerful and moving stories in the whole literature of English fiction"; "Like Alton Locke it has done much to break down the class barriers and make the rich try to understand the poor; and when we see the great advance in this direction that has been made since the date of its publication, we are able partly to realize how startling the first appearance of such a book must have been. -- Mary Barton which for nearly half a century has been influencing people all over the world." (It has been translated into a number of languages.) "To this day the great cotton capital bears the impress of this great author in the city in which she spent her life, that her efforts were not altogether fruitless, and that the state of things which she described with such thrilling effect is never likely to be repeated." Holliday in English Fiction, 1917, writes: "North and South, and Mary Barton struck home by their fidelity to life and added much to the wave of humanitarianism that continued to the last days of Dickens", and Ward in the same year writes: "Mary Barton may justly claim to rank among the most not-

able of the social novels of the age." "Tho it did not solve the problem to which it addressed itself, in no later phase of that problem has the spirit of Mrs. Gaskell's message been left aside with impunity."

There is no evidence that Brontë's *Shirley* had any appreciable influence, which is quite natural since it used the factory element merely to heighten the plot. "The rioters come in almost as perfunctorily as the mob in a melodrama, and they pass out of view the moment they have served the purpose of giving the reader an exciting scene in which Moore may act heroically and over which Shirley and Charlotte" (really Caroline) "may feel intensely. The genius of Charlotte Brontë lay not in the power to realize minutely and thoroughly the dependence of character on social environment, but in her power to portray with lyrical intensity the fates of a few important characters."³

The case for Kingsley is somewhat clearer. George Augustus Simcox, writing on *The Late Canon Kingsley* in the *Academy* 1875, writes: -" He will be remembered longest by Yeast and Alton Locke, the works of his 'Sturm and Drang' period as the 'Chartist Parson', before he had found the solution to everything. They were too bizarre to be permanently popular, but bizarre as they are, they are unmistakably powerful and probably did much in their day to loosen the crust of callous prejudice into which the self-complacency of the comfortable classes always tend to harden."⁴ Of Alton Locke, Moritz Kaufman in *Charles Kingsley, Christian Socialist and Social*

Reformer, 1892, remarks: "As a novel it is almost a failure, but not so as a propagandist work of fiction. In its presentation of fact it is a complete success. In the description of fetid and filthy workshops and fever dens of the sweaters, in its exposure of the causes which turned honest and peaceable workmen into conspirators, the author did the work of half a dozen labor commissions, and did it much more effectively by appealing in fervid tones of passionate sympathy to the well-to-do people of his day, calling upon them to rescue their fellow-men from destruction of soul and body, and stimulating private and public philanthropy to set about and face the social problem with honesty of purpose." William Dean Howells in Heroines of Fiction, 1901, says, "We can make sure of the fact that Alton Locke has been potent as a two-fold protest; first against the cruel exploitation of labor, and second against the misdirected resentment of the sufferers," and in the same year, Herbert Paul in Men and Letters says: "Kingsley had this advantage over Dickens, that he did not wait until abuses were removed before he denounced them. His novels and undoubtedly had a great practical influence." "It cannot be doubted that Kingsley had exerted an influence on his age attained by neither of these novelists." (Reade and Blackmore) "It is an influence subtle and peculiar, based in part on personality, in part on the nature of his message— an influence more commonly associated with the prophet than the novelist," is Dawson's opinion stated in The Makers of English Fiction, 1905. Leslie Stephen in Hours in a Library, 1907, recognizes Kingsley's faults but concludes, "But with all his short
comings he succeeded in giving forcible utterance to truths of vital importance, and brought vividly before our minds problems which most urgently press for a solution more satisfactory than he was able to reach." A balanced judgment is that expressed by Stoddard in The Evolution of the English Novel, 1909, :-"It is too much to say that Alton Locke brought on the political reforms of England- the demands of the Charter, the equal districts, the vote by ballot, the extended suffrage. It is too much to say that Yeast or Alton Locke freed the apprentice or emancipated the agricultural laborer. But it is not too much to say that they notably advanced the cause of freedom. When the influences were summed up which have made for social and political enlightenment in England no small share will be found due to these purposeful novels of Charles Kingsley." In 1910 Chambers says of Yeast and Alton Locke:

"The influences of these books were marked; and if Kingsley wrote nothing more to the same purpose, it was not so much that time had modified his views as that his views had modified the times!"

Dickens' Hard Times had seemingly little influence. The reasons are obvious. First, as Macaulay pointed out, it showed little knowledge of problems and methods of political economy. Second, it offered no solution. Third, its only contribution was the idea which Besant developed later in All Sorts and Conditions of Men, and which, through his efforts, finally found expression in the People's Palace. Dickens' importance was due to his humanitarian novels before this date which had evidently stimulated writers on factory problems although his dealt with other subjects. As Gissing said in 1912, "Hard Times is a forgotten book and little in it demands attention.""Dickens' remedy for evil was, for the most
part, private benevolence. He distrusted legislation; he had little faith in the work of associations; though such work as that of the Ragged Schools strongly interested him. His saviour of society was a man of heavy purse and large heart, who did the utmost good in his own particular sphere. "Their hope is in the Cheeryble Brothers; not at all in Cartist or Radical or Christian Socialist." Saintsbury's attitude toward this humanitarian school of Dickens is another of his amusing crotchet's. "Certainly he, perhaps more than any one else started that curious topsy-turvyfied snobbishness - that 'cult of the lower classes' - which has become a more and more fashionable religion up to the present moment." A testimony to Dickens' influence, at least!

John Halifax, Gentleman, although eminently popular in England and translated into French, German, Italian, Greek, and Russian, probably has had no influence on social conditions as it dealt so slightly with factory conditions, and those too, of a much earlier period which had become obsolete in the rapid transformations.

Charles Reade's friend, Coleman, in his book Charles Reade As I Knew Him, 1904, says that on the publication of Put Yourself in His Place in Cornhill Magazine, the novel created a great sensation. "Reade took up his parable with an eloquence, a force of conviction, a lofty passion of indignation, which stirred the public as no bare statement of fact could have done. He did more - he created vital drama from the gross material of blue-books. In his hands fiction becomes a vital force in the formation of public opinion."
opinion", is Dawson's statement in *Makers of English Fiction*, 1905, but Stoddard in *The Evolution of the Novel*, 1909, is more conservative, feeling that "it is too early yet to estimate its influence. Perhaps some historical imagination here would help us to draw a probable inference. In 1865-7, outrages had been perpetrated at Sheffield and Manchester which led in 1867 to the appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate the situation. Their report was followed in 1871 by the first important Trade Union Act. Reade's vigorous tirade against the trade union had appeared in 1870. Is it too much to suppose that so timely work did not give point to the commissioners' report when it appeared? In fact, at the close of his book Reade mentions this commission and their report in which they had found the trade unions guilty of all these outrages but he says that things are at a stand-still, nothing has been accomplished, and Parliament has turned to other matters. He pleads for immediate action. The action was taken the next year. It is not likely that a popular novel and one so much to the point was altogether negligible in achieving the Act of 1871.

Seldom is an author's dream translated into bricks and mortar and especially one which sounds so Utopian and which was pronounced so impossible as Besant's Palace of Delight in *All Sorts and Conditions of Men*. The *Dictionary of National Biography* relates the story thus: "*All Sorts and Conditions of Men*, and *Children of Gibeon* achieved a popularity in excess of anything else from his pen but on other than purely literary grounds. The second book dealt on the evils of sweating, and helped forward the movement for the trades-organization of working women. The first book great 1.p.174 2.p.183
ly stimulated the personal sympathy of the well-to-do with the East End poor. In this novel Besant depicted a fictitious Palace of Delight which should cure the joyless monotony of East End life. Besant helped moreover to give his fancy material shape. A bequest of 13,000 l. left in 1841 by John Thomas Barber Beaumont was made the nucleus of a large public fund. The Drapers' Company added 20,000 l. for a technical school. Ultimately, Besant's People's Palace was erected in Mile End Road, and was opened by Queen Victoria on 14 May, 1887. The Palace contained a hall capable of holding 4,000 people for cheap concerts and lectures. There was soon added a swimming-bath, library, technical schools, winter garden, gymnasium, art schools, lecture rooms, and rooms for social recreation. Besant actively engaged in the management, was leader of the literary circle, and edited a Palace Journal. The Drapers' Company later monopolized most of it for a technical school, thus frustrating Besant's original plan. It brought Besant knighthood in 1895. The critics agree in considering this the most remarkable instance in which literature has touched life. That the People's Palace did accomplish much is evidenced by the following quotations. Escott in Social Transformations of the Victorian Age, 1897, traces something of the development of its influence: "The administrators of the People's Palace for some time after the fancy of Sir Walter Besant was translated into fact, were not always sanguine as to the feasibility of civilizing their young patrons, even through the agency of pictures or swimming baths, thick slices of bread and butter, buns, and fried haddock, purchasable not much above, if not sometimes below, cost price. To-day, though the social deportment in the pleasure grounds of Bethnal Green may lack
the superficial polish, the innate breeding of the crowds at the Westminster aquarium or the South Kensington Museum, a considerable advance is recorded on the part of the Harrys and Harriets of Poplar and Whitechapel. "Such a change in the Mile End district is noted as to make one deem Sir Walter's the most considerable attempt towards civilizing the dreary East End, a region with a population nearly as large as that of the boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn combined."

In his Autobiography, Besant speaks thus of the effect of The Children of Gibeon: "Did the book do any good? I do not know. I heard among the Hoxton folk that certain firms which had been in the habit of fining their girls for small offences were ashamed to own this was their practice and refrained. What else it did I do not know. Perhaps it made employers more careful in their treatment of the girls, kinder in speech, and manner. That it ran up wages I cannot believe, because sentiment has nothing to do with wages. The book, however, introduced me to certain clubs of working girls. There followed an attempt at organizing co-operation for working women. Well, the attempt failed; the women were not educated to co-operation; sweating they understood. The next step was the foundation of a committee to consider the whole question of working women and their pay. "Underhill writing on Besant in The Review of Reviews, 1893, says, "Unfortunately it" (The Children of Gibeon) "has so far failed of its purpose. --- Industrial women are grateful to him for his powerful pleading of their cause-pleading which must meet in the end with its due reward. Whether these 1. Baldwin, Elbert F. The Founder of the People's Palace Outlook Vol. 68, p. 571 2. p. 246 3. p. 435-7
works will live or not no man may say. But to feel that he has instructed, entertained, charmed and improved his generation is to Mr. Besant a sufficient, as it is a present, reward."

It is difficult to tell as yet whether Gissing's novels have produced any social regeneration or not, but it is well to point out what he was attempting to do. Bjorkman in The Bookman for February, 1904, is speaking of the earliest period of Gissing's novels. "Those were the days of violent radicalism, when he lectured to working men's clubs, 'knew what it was to feel the heart burn with wrath and envy of the privileged classes, and fought for freedom of the poor and ignorant, because he was himself in the bondage of insatiable longing.' Echoes of them are found in Demos and The Nether World. ""His heart is in his novels, and he strives seriously and with a purpose. He believes implicitly that his bitter unpalatable message will bear the sweet fruit in the regeneration of the lower classes of society. He does not preach reform, he suggests no remedy; but he paints in raw pigments a picture of pain and patience and a selfish, sordid, coward world that complains and cries and shrinks its burdens."

That George Bernard Shaw's influence has been of no slight proportions no one will deny, but it is difficult to trace the influence of a single book like An Unsocial Socialist, as it is so bound up with his other Socialistic work for the Fabian Society with which he has been connected since 1884, serving on its executive committee, writing tracts, lecturing and helping to shape its political policy. The Fabian Society has accomplished much, especially in educating the trade-unions, and Shaw has one of the most active members.

1. Bookman Vol. 18, p. 500 2. Academy Vol. 53: 258 March 5, 1898
J. Stuart Walters in his biography of Mrs. Humphrey Ward attempts to show "that the intense human sympathy which pervades these romances," (Marcella and Sir George Tressady) "touched the hearts of the tens of thousand who read them and so awoke in the national conscience that instinct which had too long been smothered under the storm-clouds of theological and religious controversy," and succeeds in making a rather clear case. Laurie Magnus writing for the Living Age in 1902, says that Mrs. Humphrey Ward delineates a period in which there were few ideas for social betterment and the responsibility was felt to be personal. He compares it with the present age in which there is ennui in legislation, there are many ideas abroad, and much talk about democracy, every one feels responsible, and yet nothing is done. He continues, "Outside of her novels as well, she is an ardent social worker, and quite recently has testified in her preface to Mrs. Sidney Webb's book on women and the Factory Acts how thoroughly she shares Lord Maxwell's moral enthusiasm." J. S. Steele in The Critic for April 21, 1894, writes, "Those who best know Mrs. Ward declare the great interests of her life are in the curious missionary settlement of University Hall, started by her and a group of friends some three or four years ago. Although confessedly more or less inspired by the example of Toynbee Hall, unlike that and similar organizations, Mrs. Ward's experiment is entirely without sectarian attachment. Among the widely different men and women who meet there on common ground may be mentioned the Reverend Stopford Brooke, the Earl of Carlisle, Miss Frances Power Cobbe, the Reverend James Martineau, the Dowager Countess Russell, Dr. Blake Rogers, and James Drummond." This comment was written in the same year in which Mar- l. p. 91 2. Vol. 232, p. 103
cella was published, two years before Sir George Treasyd appeared. In those books, Mrs. Ward was evidently describing her own experiments in those of Marcella's East End house where many of her social and political friends visited her. Walters says that, "If Mr. Passmore Edwards found the money," (for the Passmore Edwards Settlement), "Mrs. Ward supplied the ideas." Mr. John Morely at the ceremony of the opening paid a just and well-deserved tribute to 'that lady of so many gifts who must always be regarded as the Foundress of this Settlement— who, by the majestic wand of fiction, has raised from the ground a veritable palace, and has taught men and women, whose hearts may be glowing for personal service in social work, that in London they would find the nearest and strongest claim."

Magnus in English Literature in the Nineteenth Century said of the nineteenth century novelists what I consider true of those of this group, "Their work in the mass is to be regarded as an enlightened commentary of the times." "No one can doubt the ethical efficiency of the nineteenth century novel. It laughed at hypocrisy, false pride and vanity; it revealed and corrected the evils of its day; it made an earnest effort to throw some light on the philosophy of life. It questioned and it answered; it praised and it rebuked; it guided and it inspired. It apparently made an honest effort to destroy the half-gods that the true god might appear. Whether these novels will live or not, their authors have yielded to the grandest impulse of human nature, the impulse to serve their fellow men. That consciousness is some reward. We have ceased 1.p.20 2.P.114 3.p245 4.Holliday English Fiction p.376
to believe in the Other-Worliness and have turned our attention to this life and its needs. At last we have attempted to make this world a better place to live in, even for the least of these. I like Leslie Stephen's tribute to the influence of the man of letters. "It is a commonplace with men of literary eminence to extol the man of deeds above the man of words. I will confess, at any rate, to preferring the men who have sown some new seed of thought above the heroes whose names mark epochs in history. I would rather make the nation's ballads than give its laws, dictate principles than carry them into execution, and leaven a country with new ideas than translate them into facts, inevitably mangling and distorting them in the process."

(d) The Relation of the Factory Novel to Contemporary Literature

It has been said that the dominant literary type in the first third of the Victorian age was the poem, in the second the essay and novel, and in the last the novel. We have already shown the relation of the factory novel to Victorian fiction in general, now we shall indicate its closest points of contact with the other literary types of the period.

Tennyson, although keenly alive to his stirring time, stands aloof from politics. However in poems like Love Thou Thy Land, You Ask Me Why, Of Old Sat Freedom, we see him as a friend to freedom but a foe to disorder. He fears revolution; he believes in

progress, the slow progress which grows of itself, not that obtained through violent wrenching of the existing state of things.

"A land of settled government
Where Freedom slowly broadens down."

"Nor swift nor slow to change."

"The falsehood of extremes."

"Men loud against all forms of power
Unfurnish'd brows, tempestuous tongues-
Expecting all things in an hour-
Brass mouths and iron lungs!"

Such passages are quite frequent in Tennyson's work. He does not become unduly excited over the new problem for he feels that the "poor ye have with you always"- that the nineteenth century problem is only a new form of the eternal insoluble problem.

"These two parties still divide the world-
Of those who want, and those who have; and still
The same old sore breaks out from age to age
With much the same result." 1

In the Princess and Lady Clara Vere de Vere, he reveals himself as believing in the patriarchal method of social service.

"Why should not these great sirs
Give up their parks a dozen times a year
To let the people breathe?" 2

"Clara, Clara Vere de Vere,
If time be heavy on your hands,
Are there no beggars at your gate,
Nor any poor about your lands?
O, teach the orphan-boy to read,
Or teach the orphan-girl to sew;
Pray Heaven for a human heart,
And let the foolish yeoman go." 3

In such poems as Locksley Hall, Maud, Northern Farmer New Style, he wishes to "ring out the narrowing lust of gold", and finally he desires the New Year bells to

"Ring out the feud of rich and poor,
Ring in redress to all mankind."

1. Walking to the Mail 1842 1.68 2. Princess 1847 1.102 3.1842
An interesting study might be made of the effect of the factory upon Tennyson's diction as a superficial glance through a volume of his poems reveals the frequent use of words like mechanic, cotton-spinning chorus, steam, machine, web, sweat her.

Browning mingled more in the life of his contemporaries than the shy Tennyson but he exhibits a still greater detachment in his poetry. It is difficult to find any poems bearing directly on the social and political life of his time, with the exception of a few insignificant poems like *Why I Am a Liberal*, 1885. However, most of his poems are saturated with the new Individualism—the importance of the personality of each man or woman—and the idea of Progress, spiritual rather than material, however.

Of the most important poets of the period, Mrs. Browning sees more of the suffering, especially that of the women and children; she cries out in their behalf in such poems as *The Cry of the Human*, *A Curse for the Nation*, *A Song for Ragged-Schools of London*. In *Aurora Leigh*, her novel-poem, the hero speaks "in the Commons and elsewhere on the social question", and finally plans to marry a girl of the streets in the hope of setting an example for bridging the social chasm between the two classes, but she is frisked by her rival, Lady Waldemar. Mrs. Browning's *Cry of the Children* was the best known and most influential of her social poems.

In 1849, the year after the unsuccessful Chartist upheaval, Clough in his hopeless, helpless attitude was writing poems in which he asked himself:

"How can I laugh and sing and dance?  
My very heart recoils,  
While here to give my mirth a chance  
A hungry brother toils."
Clough's friend, Matthew Arnold, has a few social poems such as *East London*, and *West London*, written in 1867.

In the early part of the period, a large body of Chartist poems was produced; among them the most important were *Songs of Democracy* by E.C. Jones, *Poems, Songs, and Ballads* by Charles Mackay, *Purgatory of Suicides* by Thomas Cooper, *The People's Petition* by W.M.W. Call, *The Corn Law Rhymes* by Ebenezer Elliot, and *Cries of Forty-Eight* by Gerald Massey. Most of these poems to-day sound like doggerel, earnest doggerel to be sure. They, no doubt, accomplished their authors' purpose, but, with the exception of a few which have a true martial ring, they have no literary value.

Toward the end of the period, about 1885, William Morris was writing his *Chants for Socialists* in which he wrote of "The Day" which "Is Coming", when there will be "No Master" of any kind—a sad day!

The essayists bore a much closer relation to the factory novel and contemporary reform than the poets. The mountain influence was undoubtedly Carlyle whom Chesterton calls the first founder of Socialism. Ruskin, Carlyle's acknowledged disciple, is the second. We have already pointed out how Carlyle's ideas which he thundered forth in *Past and Present*, *Chartism*, and *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, had been woven into novel after novel, often forming the whole color scheme. Many a factory novelist betrayed his acquaintance with "the prophet of Cheyne Row" by letting slip some of the master's catch-phrases—Mammonism, Cash Nexus, *The Everlasting No*, Flunkeyism, and Captains of Industry. Carlyle in *Past and Present* contrasts two factory owners:—"Prudence keeps a thousand workmen; has striven in all ways to attach them to him; has
provided conversation soirées; play-grounds, bands of music, for the young ones; went even the length of buying them a drum; all which turned out to be an excellent investment. For a certain person, marked here by a black stroke, whom we shall name Blank, living over the way,—he also keeps somewhere about a thousand men; but has done none of these things for them, nor any other thing, except due payment of the wages by supply- and-demand. Blank's workers are perpetually getting into mutiny, into broils and coils every six months, we suppose, Blank has a strike; every one month, every day and every hour, they are fretting and obstructing the shortsighted Blank; pilfering from him, wasting and idling for him. 'I would not,' says Friend Prudence, 'exchange my workers for his with seven thousand pounds to boot.' ¹ By substituting such names as Trafford or John Halifax or Thorn-after for Prudence and Shuffle and Screw, or Carson or Thornton—before for Blank, one would have exactly the situation in most of the factory novels.

Harriet Matineau published 1832-4 tales illustrating her ideas of political economy; she recognized that her work had no intrinsic literary value. It is difficult to separate Ruskin's influence from Carlyle's for his ideas were practically those of his master, but whenever there is a tendency to emphasize the artistic, one may be sure that the inspiration was not Carlyle's but Ruskin's or Morris¹. However, Ruskin probably did a great service by putting Carlyle's ideas before the people through his letters to working men, the Flora Clavigera.

Arnold, who called himself a Liberal of the future, attempted to strike the golden mean between Carlyle's "aristocracy of talent" and Mill's wholesale democracy; his most influential work 1.p.268
on contemporary society was *Culture and Anarchy*. Throughout the factory novels, one hears of "sweetness and light." One of Mrs. Humphrey Ward's biographers, J. Stuart Walters, proves the influence of her "great thinker-uncle" upon her novels, and classifies the characters from her novels according to Arnold's Barbarians, Philistines, Populace.

Some critics are inclined to give Morris a place with Carlyle, Ruskin, and Arnold in influence upon the age. Some state that while the others preached, Morris did practical work. However, his influence was undoubtedly much narrower in its circle and inferior in quality. After the Socialist League with which Morris was connected became Anarchist in 1889, he withdrew and found consolation in his Kelmscott printing press and literary work about the remote past or the dim future. His *News from Nowhere*, picturing England in 1999, and *The Dream of John Ball*, painting a Utopian Arcadia, were too idealistic to reach the practical classes.
Chapter III The Characteristics and Problems of the Factory Novel

Owing to its subject and purpose, the factory novel has some distinguishing characteristics. In its wide range of characters of world literature is the enlightened workman. The unlearned honest toiler, best delineated in The Village Blacksmith on one hand, and Michael and The Cotter's Saturday Night on the other, had held forth for a long time in our literature, in fact since the Romantic revival. He was superseded at last by the reading, thinking, and speaking workman. There is hardly one factory novel without a representative of this type. In fact, of all the characters presented, he is presented with the most sympathy, and hence the most success. At times his struggle with his own limitations is pitiful and tragic, at others he has not stability enough to endure success and popularity. Generally he is sane in his ideas, progressive in his aspiration for light, and steadfast in his travail for his fellows. From John Barton to Enoch Strone, there is a long line of real men. In the first novels, almost all the representatives of this type are older men, reading and thinking in their leisure during strikes, addressing their brothers at trade union meetings, advocating the Charter, and in some cases, representing the cause at London. Alton Locke is the exception. In fact, he is exceptional in several ways. Besides being younger than the others, he is a poet—the only one in the series. Like a few others, such as Stephen Grail, David Grieve, and Enoch Strone, he is interested in literature and has educated himself through books of real literary excellence. Almost all of these workmen are absorbed in the study of politics and sociology, a few being interested in science—simple experi-
ments, herbariums, or zoological collections. Henry Little and Enoch Strone have some inventive genius. In the later novels, a younger workman is presented. Conditions are much improved and able men are not so driven by work that strikes alone afford them leisure and physical surplus for reading and thinking. Opportunity has opened the door to ability, and a man may rise from one class to another. The later novels are often the histories of the careers of earnest and able young factory men who become capitalists, in the most cases, quite deservedly through their persistent effort and hard work. They become a force in their communities, and Enoch Strone even enters Parliament. Of course, other workmen of all degrees of enfranchisement are presented, in order that the picture of conditions may be complete, but these are not reducible to fixed types. It seems to me that this new workman, thinking and feeling with his times, is just as admirable a literary type as his plodding predecessor, really of more human interest because he has risen higher above the plane of the beast; that in the career of this new knight of business will be found in time as much romance as in that of the newly-dubbed knight of old.

Not nearly so many pictures of factory girls are thrown on the screen. Naturally some of them belong to the worst types of women, otherwise the authors would be untrue to life and could not enforce their ideas. But even amidst the worst conditions of oppression almost always there is some redeeming trait— a rigid self-independence, a protection of some weaker sister. Whenever conditions have been ameliorated sufficiently, there blooms a sweet and patient character which puts to shame the selfishness
and fickleness of the older and more conventional heroine.

To meet the needs of these less fortunate girls, a new type springs up among the young women of the higher class—the philanthropist. In many novels, girls from the two strata of society are contrasted, let it be said, not always to the shame of the factory girl. Often a motive of the plot-entanglement is the choice of the hero between girls of the two walks of life. The factory girl is portrayed in worse circumstances, with less opportunity for self-expression, and hence less social consciousness than the workman. But the girl of the upper classes, profiting by her education and leisure, yields to the instinct of her sex—self-sacrifice. She is not the charity-distributor of the past, doling out necessities to the people on her estate if they bow properly; she leaves her home of refinement and leisure, and goes to live among the people, one of them, in a humble, sympathetic, sensible manner giving more of spiritual encouragement and fellowship than of material possessions. Among such girls, Marcella is the most appealing and stimulating. As the Anglo-Saxon would say, "That was a true heroine."

The young man in the same station of life does not seem to be so moved. That is quite natural. And it is too bad since it seems that he might accomplish more, if he would. In fact, there are only two examples of such a young man betaking himself to work among the factory people. In one case, he fails because he is too much of an idealist; in the other, he succeeds by extravagant schemes which we are chary in crediting. Some young men of this class become students of sociology, writers and lecturers for trade unions, working men's institutes or clubs, much after
the fashion of Ruskin. One becomes an ardent propagandist of Socialism. But the natural field seems to have been that of Parliament, a worthy field as some of them cultivate it. Too often, however, their motives for social service become adulterated with selfish ambition—too often the fate of the politician.

The factory novel has modified the character of the parson who has a long line of representatives in fiction. The yearning over the weak and poor of his folk is in the factory novel diverted toward the factory people. His character varies much. In a section of the North, the rector belongs to the conservative class and becomes the fighting parson, aiding the mill-owner in the defence of his imported spinning frames. There is the aristocratic minister who draws his robe aside from the vulgar touch of the throng and shuts himself in his study, the conventional priest who relies on church services for regeneration, failing to see how detached those services are from the real life of the people, the old-fashioned pastor who clings to the older form of charity—almsgiving. But the most beautiful of any of the factory characters is the minister of real sympathy and Christ-like nobility. Here is one who makes friends with both employer and employee, attempting in his humble way to be a mediator after the fashion of the great Exemplar. Another, almost starving himself, uses a large share of his insignificant salary to keep alive his organization for factory boys. Another becomes so moved by the sufferings of the factory children that for the nonce he loses his faith in Providence.

Other professional men are represented as interested in the factory— the doctor who knows much of the physical ills of the
people through his practice, the school teacher who through his reading has come to identify himself with the cause of Socialism, and the newspaper man who realizes his important function in social regeneration. But these types are only scattered here and there, they are not general in the factory novel, nor are they clearly cut in characterization, nor deeply devoted to the cause.

A type which has appeared only recently in fiction, because it has arisen only recently in our common life, is the capitalist. He is quite a necessity to factory life. This type is the least attractive of the factory cast, excluding the young capitalist who has risen from the lower class and who spans thus the social chasm between the two classes of society. Of course, some of these young capitalists were blinded by their own success so that they thought all others might follow their example, and if they did not, their unfortunate circumstances were due to lack of industry and ambition. These more liberal capitalists appear later, they appear after the greatest oppression and enmity is over. The various capitalists in the earlier novels differ from each other only in degrees of cruelty and shortsightedness. The natural attitude toward their hands is enmity, further enkindled by the ill-advised action of the trade union. The capitalist is too proud to take the men into his counsels, too proud to consider them other than cogs in his machinery. Carson in Mary Barton is the best example of the earliest mill-owner, and Bounderby in Hard Times a caricature in the worst Dickens manner. Gradually the employer comes to see, what modern political economy teaches, that while the immediate interests of capital and labor do not seem to be identical, yet the ultimate interests of each are
served by the same means.

Least noble of the factory characters is the trade union official. He is portrayed as narrow-minded, prejudiced, and selfish. He stoops to any means to accomplish his purpose. He does not understand the principles of political science; he strives to gain the present struggle over a small point without understanding its bearings on the whole problem. He is blind to the best interests of the class which he is pretending to serve and often serves himself at their expense. The only picture of an admirable agitator is that in Clementina Black's simple novel.

Thus the factory novel has contributed several new portraits to literature, and modified still others. Some of them will disappear with changing conditions. Others are bound to persist and will make the field for character study richer and nobler.

The literature of toil in the past had presented varied pictures of man at his work, for the most part the rural laborer. Those most nearly approaching factory life had been in books like Edward Osborne on the weaving apprentices in London, or Silas Marner on the cottage weaver. For the first time, in the factory novel, was presented a number of men at a common work, crowded into a single building. Thus the factory was a setting, new in the literary field. The slums had become an acknowledged setting for the novel in Dickens' work. In the factory novel, it becomes a matter of much interest and significance because of its influence on the characters and lives of toiling millions. The question arises whether these two settings are legitimate, whether they are worth while, whether they will become permanent. If we
accept one critic's definition of the novel as "the story of plain human life", the matter becomes clearer. Considering the millions of people whose lives are passed in these surroundings, it is difficult to see how a complete picture of the life of the time can be thrown on the screen without them. The greatest danger is that the mere physical sordidness of such places will predominate over everything else. Unless the photograph is retouched by the imagination, in fact, taken with the gauze curtain of imagination over it, it will depict the grossest realism with all its seams and wrinkles which some of our vivid but materialist writers have caught with such accuracy yet without artistic blending of tones.

No other settings have made possible such strong and at the same time such unforced contrasts. The novelists have fully realized their opportunities in this respect. The mansion of the capitalist and the home of the man who makes that mansion possible are exactly the opposite of each other. Both are suggestive of deepseated truths. The most striking device was that of Trefulisia's photographs of the two, comparing the palatial stables for his father's horses with the tenements for his father's employees. In the differences between rural and industrial labor, there is another splendid opportunity for contrast. Mrs. Gaskell utilized it in her North and South. The home of the rural toiler from the poet's and novelist's standpoint, has two artistic advantages- its cleanliness, and its natural surroundings. Dirt is no more artistic than it is godly. The white-washed boards of the peasant's floor stood for an innocence of soul. Of course in some factory novels the homes are clean and wholesome, but there the
novelist is not preaching on the results of overcrowding, and women's work in the factory. Then too, what is to be substituted for the sunset which the farmer sees from his doorstep? His toil was dignified and beautified by his work under the open sky. What is to take its place in the factory novel? Can the seething human multitude be made as satisfying artistically? It certainly has possibilities dramatically.

In the plot, the factory and love elements are curiously commingled. Sometimes one predominates, sometimes the other. In many of the novels the love story has been added in order to reach and hold a large number of readers who otherwise would lay the book down and miss the author's sociological teaching. In others, it is quite evident that the author is primarily interested in the tumultuous course of true love, and adds the factory element to give the novel body. In some cases, the author seems to have set out with the purpose of instituting social reform but, like Fielding, to have become so interested in the characters which he has called into being that he forgoes his original intention in following their experiences.

I have been told that some one has worked out the number of plot combinations possible in the eternal triangle. In the factory novel, these complications are increased in number by the introduction of the new element— the differences in classes. In about a fifth of them, there is no intermarriage between the two classes and there the popular plots are used:

\[
\text{man} \quad \longrightarrow \quad \text{woman} \quad \longrightarrow \quad \text{man} \\
\text{woman} \quad \longrightarrow \quad \text{man} \quad \longrightarrow \quad \text{woman}
\]
The former is the more popular, I suppose because more complimentary to the fair sex. The following one is rather unusual and is found only once, in the case of a rather popular man, to be sure an unusually attractive one.

When the class element enters, other combinations are possible. In the most popular one, the man of the lower class works himself up, step by step, to the throne of success where the lady crowns him with her love.

This type is complicated quite often by a woman at the foot of the social ladder who wishes the hero to be content below with her, or by another lady at the top who is the beloved’s rival.
The reverse is to be found infrequently, the novelist feeling apparently that a man may rise, but that a woman may not, perhaps because the factory woman had not had the opportunities of the man. In fact, in the following two plots, the girls did not originally belong to the working classes but had been thrown there through their parents' disinheritance or loss of fortune.
In another case, the girl is the daughter of a factory hand, and her affair with the capitalist's son proves a mere infatuation and she marries within her own class.

These diagrams merely illustrate what variety is made possible in the old plot complications by the introduction of the class element. Also many new motives for action, and startling turns in the development of the story are added. Of course, as in all such cases, the success of the author depends upon his ability to weld the two elements into a perfect whole. The reader's failure to notice which is which attests the novelist's success. That is a question for application to individual novels.

The love-element solves one of the factory novelist's most difficult problems—how to span the social chasm between the classes. In business, there is an indirect link between the capitalist and his hands—how suggestive that word in the light of Socialism! — but in life really it is quite frail, hardly strong enough for artistic purposes. But love is the winged seed which in all ages has flown on its downy pinions from the lord's rose garden to the peasant's truck patch. In our modern age, it generally starts out under the guise of the Christian love of service, only to be surprised into revealing itself in the other love—Christian or pagan, as you please—that of the sexes.
In Mrs. Browning's poem, Romney Leigh speaking of women poets and novelists complains:

"The human race
To you means such a child or such a man
You saw one morning waiting in the cold
Beside that gate, perhaps. You gather up
A few such cases, and when strong sometimes
Will write of factories and of slaves, as if
Your father were a negro, and your son
A spinner in the mills. All's yours and you
All colored with your blood, or otherwise
Just nothing to you. Why, I call you hard
To general suffering.
You weep for what you know. A red-haired child
Sick in a fever will set you weeping;
But a million sick—-
You could as soon weep for the rule of three
Of compound fractions. Therefore this same world
Uncomprehended by you, must remain
Uninfluenced by you." 1

The very quality of which Romney Leigh complains has made woman in all ages the comforter of the human race. It is true that woman's sympathy must be touched before she understands a general problem, but what is understanding without sympathy? Intellectual understanding without sympathy led an age into the adoption of the laissez-faire doctrine of indifference, thus bringing tragedy to many lives. The women novelists do have some grasp of the larger problems of the period and see the relation of the specific to the larger issues but they hope for social betterment in order that each life may be touched, and thence the whole social fabric be renovated. That I believe is a principle more adapted to literary purposes. Literature is always the representation of the universal through the concrete. The mills of God grind out many faces, no two just alike, many characters, everyone with its own personality, many lives, each with its distinctive mark from the general pattern. A child goes forth from the same house, the same school, the same factory with many others yet it is an indi-
individual in spite of all efforts to cut and dry it after the rest. Because the masses lived such monotonous grinding lives, men took for granted that they were all ground down alike. Because the people displayed to them from their higher plane of life much the same markings, like so many insects, they grouped them as a single species and called them the masses. As a woman recognizes the difference in every child she bears, so everywhere she sees the individual before the class. I believe that is the reason that women have succeeded better with the factory novel. The men have seen the class as a whole, and then since literature deals only with single characters, they have attempted to "get up" some individuals from the class by adding some distinctive mark. It is like distinguishing the actors in a play by the color of their sashes. For instance, in one of Gissing's novels, one factory hand is interested in atheism, another in science, another in literature, the last one alone being a real individual. After all, there is less difference in the novels by the two sexes than would be expected.

Can the mass be portrayed in literature? In the romances of chivalry, we followed one knight through the Crusades. In the historical novels, we tracked the hero through the War of the Roses or the French Revolution. The novelist realized that he must always exhibit big movements through individuals. Not until recently has he attempted the gigantic task of showing movements by themselves. Perhaps it might be suggested that not until recently have there been movements of a whole class, a class which is not composed of personalities but mere units. To the last idea, I have already replied. I very much doubt if a new phenomenon has
appeared. Since the character of the class is different, it is natural that its manifestations should be different. If literature has shown us one eternal principle, it is that man is always himself, is the same in all ages. We are very much alike at the same time that we are different. Whether something new has appeared in our social life or not, it is clear that literature has not successfully dealt with life en masse, nor will do so, I believe. Hauptmann's *Weavers* is just such an attempt. It lacks focus, point. It has no beginning nor end. It is the single lunge of a huge monster which sinks back at last in the same spot because of the burden of its own mass and inertia.

There has been in almost all novels a movement of a number of people, sometimes a village, a church, a society, an army, a ball. There it formed the background, social or political or religious, for the actions of the individuals; it furnished public opinion, a contemporary standard, by which to judge the characters on which our attention was focused. It gave the impression of the rush of life, the littleness of the individual, the multiplicity of human life and its interests. Such a concerted movement was often the climax of the story. Very few novels can be mentioned which do not use this device to a greater or less degree. If the factory masses could be utilized in the same manner, such would surely be legitimate.

The mass to-day is inarticulate; that is its distinction from all groups in the past. It has lost its voice in the roar of its factories and, in its physical exhaustion, forgotten that it had anything to say. It is never in the periods of great oppression that men rebel, but only after much improvement has been
made for them, do they seem to find a voice to shout their wrongs. The French peasants waited for their revolution until they were much better off than their neighbors or their fathers. As Chesterton says, "We learn of the cruelty of some school or child-factory from journalists; we learn it from inspectors; we learn it from doctors; we learn it even from shame-stricken schoolmasters and repentant sweaters; but we never learn it from the children; we never learn it from the victims. It would seem as if a living creature had to be taught, like an art of culture, the art of crying out when it is hurt." So we see John Barton struggling with his undeveloped intellect to understand the reason for the suffering of his people. To his friends who urge him to tell Parliament, when he helps present the Charter, of this and that detail, he replies that he will tell of the distress he has seen. He is the father of the long line of superior workmen who have profitted by their superior gift of intellect, to travail for their class and cry out for those who could not. As time goes on, these men gain in understanding and the power of expression, but they cannot surpass John Barton in sincerity and intensity of feeling. Thus, can the mass become articulate like any class—through its superior representatives, and thus only.

1. Charles Dickens p.53
The most important, often the most baffling and wrongly answered question concerning any work of art is that of its permanence- will it live? It is rightly the most important question. Passing upon the permanence of any artistic piece of work is passing upon its rank and value. All great things live in God's eternity, only the insignificant pass away- so time has shown us. How many of the books from Solomon's reign remain to us, although even then "of making many books there was no end"?

Some one has said that the novel will live which "most truthfully depicts the deepest and healthiest emotions of to-day". How does such a definition apply to the factory novel? I believe it does depict truthfully those emotions which it does attempt. But are those the deepest and healthiest? I fear not. We see throughout the series the greed and oppression of the capitalist, the cruel intellectual slavery of the political economist, the rosy fanaticism of the Socialist, and, most heart-rending of all, the numbed stoicism of the working man. If these are the deepest and healthiest emotions of the age, pray, what are the shallowest and most diseased? The one thing which relieves the picture, in fact casts the rest of the age into darker shadow, is the bright vision of the social worker. Social service is one of the deepest and healthiest emotions of the day. It brings health and healing through its own strong spiritual well-being. And as time goes on and conditions improve, so that the novelist is truthful in depicting them, we see the growing consciousness of the capitalist that something pays better than oppression, of the political economist that the ground under his laws of Supply and Demand is
hollow, of the Socialist that government cannot order the people's spirit, and in the working man that things are "looking up."
The novelist can not depict deep and healthy emotions when the age has them not. Does it not all go back to the theorem that
great literature is produced only in periods of national well-being and social contentment? Such may be periods of great ac-
tivity but they can not be periods of spiritual disease.

The permanence of any literary work depends upon its qualities of suggestion, universality, style, and art. The first fac-
tory novelists left little to the imagination of their readers; they described everything accurately in the fullest detail. They
seemed to disregard the principle of suggestion altogether. Perhaps they felt that the imagination of their readers had no ex-
perience to build upon in this case. They gave the details which later novelists therefore could take for granted so that, by a
careful selection, they could mean more than met the eye.

The question of the place of suggestion in realistic fiction in general is an interesting one. If the novelist is to present things as they are, how can he rely on suggestion? Will not one thing be suggested to one person, and something else to another, perhaps both of them foreign to the real thing or the thing in the author's mind? When the Chesterton paradox that "our solid houses and square meals are in the strict sense fiction"
becomes generally recognized, will not the relation of suggestion to "realistic" fiction be cleared up?

Many questions arise over the universality of the factory novels, or perhaps their lack of it. Because such novels deal
with the masses, we must not make the mistake of thinking the un-
iversal element implied. Large numbers of people in one section or one period are not essentially representative of their race. The question then is, Can the factory novel be made to appeal to "all sorts and conditions of men"? The purpose novel generally dies with the reform of the ills which it exposed. Only rarely such a novel experiences the continued popularity of an Uncle Tom's Cabin. That novel has enjoyed such a wide circulation, having been translated in various languages, because the world has been pleased to see in its appeal for the black negro slave a plea for "all sorts and conditions" of slaves. Negro slavery has been so presented that the principles underlying it have seemed to include the principles underlying all slavery. Besides, every sort of universal love is depicted there in characters of true humanity. Can the factory novel be worked out after the same fashion?

There are two ways in which it might be possible. They have been attempted in Mrs. Gaskell's Mary Barton and Mrs. Humphrey Ward's Marcella respectively. In neither case, has the execution been quite successful. Mrs. Gaskell wished to place the relation between master and man upon the basis of the Golden Rule instead of the Silver one which prevailed at that time. That idea would make a universal appeal if presented in its largest phase. If "putting yourself in his place" was fully recognized everywhere as a guiding principle, surely all relations between weaker and stronger—capitalist and laborer, slave-owner and slave, king and people, feudal lord and vassal, large nation and small—would be solved. Surely the world over man has a right to live his life, not to drudge it out in galling bondage to provide mere sustenance.
for physical existence. As I conceive it, if such could truly be
presented in the factory novel, that novel would be permanent.
Mrs. Gaskell has not been entirely successful however.

Mrs. Ward in *Marcella* attempted to depict another idea—
with which she had more success— that is, the struggle in one
life over the eternal question of the world's misery and its re-
demption, the travail of the soul over the divine ends of man.
The Lord God could do no more, his sacrifice was the highest be-
cause he had infinite capacity for suffering and divine efficien-
cy for redemption. This brooding over the world-sin and sacrifice
for its regeneration is the first and last question of the uni-
verse. But Mrs. Ward does not cut deep enough. In her novel, the
real problem is submerged by a conflict between two rivals, one
of whom is deep— so we are told but not shown— and the other
turns out the most dishonest of politicians. Marcella herself is
too emotionally fickle. The springs of her inspiration are not
deep enough. The basis of her character is built on two shallow
parents, a weak father and a stoical mother. Marcella's struggle
is sincere and noble enough but it lacks background, stability,
and sublimity. The enduring factory novel has yet to be written.
It is hardly probable that it ever will be now.

Many a book has sunk into oblivion in spite of many virtues
for lack of that something intangible but very needful element
called style. As some one has said, "Every body talks about style
and no one knows what it is." In fact, every one feels what it is
but is at a loss to define it. As elsewhere, in the factory nov-
el "style is the man." Disraeli's comprehensive brilliant mind
finds expression in his full brilliant style. Mrs. Gaskell's
simple direct stories are told in a simple direct style, rising at moments of emotional stress to dramatic expression. The style of Shirley is gayer and more playful than that of most of Charlotte Brontë's books, harmonizing with the less tragic nature of the story. Charles Kingsley's style breathes his blustery, kindly good nature, revealing at times the poetic fire which his blustering failed to quench. Hard Times does not reveal Dickens in his best style, but it does contain passages in his distinctive manner— the full-length portrait, the rolling oration, the sentimental effusion, the repetition of phrase, the Dickens-coined word, all expressed in his interminable fluency. Mrs. Craik employs a simple narrative style, bursting forth on occasion into a beautiful passage of description of nature or sympathetic relation of a human crisis. Reade's style often partakes of the oddities of his mind but it is constantly touched by his dramatic power, glorying in its own vividness and vivacity. The harshest criticism of Besant's style is that it has no fault but commonplaceness; it lacks distinction. Gissing's style, which we are told he took great pains to improve, is generally as monotonous and drab as the scenes which he is describing but he rises to a wonderful rhymnic style in scenes of strong emotion; at his best he writes splendid imaginative prose. We all know Shaw's style—brilliant, witty, paradoxical, startling, intellectual, clear-cut. Mrs. Humphrey Ward's uncle could not criticize her, as he did the Romantic poets, for lack of broad culture; her books are overloaded with quotations from writers of many countries and periods, often incompletely absorbed in her own ideas. However, her style displays much force and some beauty. Oppenheim's style may be des-
cribed as effective rather than beautiful or literary; Sutcliffe exhales the lyric poetry of spring; and Weyman's is flexible and adapted to flowing narrative. Other factory novels which are not mentioned here have already been assigned lower rank for lack of stylistic distinction as much as anything else. It is to be regretted that a novelist's success depends more on other elements than on style. As a result style is often neglected. Essayists are remembered for their style long after their matter has become obsolete. Form is everything in poetry—free verse to the contrary. But in the case of the novelist, an interesting plot and interesting characters cover a multitude of sins in style.

Whether the factory novel can be made a true work of art is debatable. At first blush, it would seem that its aims are contradictory to those of art. Are they really irreconcilable? Art has no practical end; the factory novel certainly has. The purpose of art is to interest, to amuse, to please; that of the factory novel is to excite, to arouse indignation, to disgust with certain conditions. It must interest in order to do that. But how can it amuse and arouse, please and disgust at the same time? If amusement means merely tickling the laughter, surely the factory novel will never do that, it cannot stoop to that, but if amusement means interesting employment of one's whole faculties, the factory novel perhaps could do that. To be pleased and disgusted at the same time sounds perhaps like a paradox, but it is in sound merely. Every emotional state is so constituted that two opposites make it possible. Emerson had this in mind when in the Sphinx he wrote with his characteristic jerkiness:

"And under pain, pleasure
Under pleasure, pain lies."
The disgust which we feel at the sordid surroundings of the factory makes possible our pleasure in the opportunity to alter those surroundings, the one in the direct ratio to the other. The question has often been discussed, how can suffering be presented artistically? It has been presented in all art. Music throbs with the deepest tragedy; the stage has presented it more often than comedy; sculpture and painting have depicted it. All art seems to glory in the world's deepest sorrow. How can the portrayal of such suffering please us? It does please us in the depths of our nature. The Laocoon before us does not make us writhe in sympathy as we would if the originals were before us. The murder on the stage does not send us rushing out of doors in fear of our own lives. Even the most realistic tale of a maid's tragedy does not move us as the most ordinary letter from a sister. Over all art, all representation of life, there is a gauze curtain like the one Joseph Jefferson used in Rip Van Winkle—the gauze curtain of illusion. We never forget like children that it is just make-believe. Even in movies, which often comes nearest to complete illusion, there is that feeling of being spectators, not participants. It gives us security, a certain aloofness of emotion; no matter how intimately we may feel with the dramatis personae, we are always conscious of the "with". However, all suffering presented is not art. Hawthorne said that to look at a certain Italian painting of purgatory was purgatory itself. Whenever suffering is presented for itself, whenever we do not find justification for it, cannot see in it a moral law broken and expiation rendered, in fact, the victory of the moral order of the universe—then suffering has not been used for the legitimate
ends of art. That distinguishes Shakespeare's tragedies from those of most of his contemporaries.

For what sin then is the factory hand punished? Some would say for the over-production of large families and the drink habit, but, to wise students of affairs, these are not sins original with the workman, but the effect of some one else's negligence. One might answer with Carlyle—he is punished for the trouble of being born, he came into the world in the working man's home instead of the capitalist's, thence this life-long bondage. He suffers for the sins of others; he is the lamb sacrificed for the sins of the Jews. The days of his life must expiate for the greed, cruelty, blindness, and selfishness of others. His groanings do not right the moral order of the universe; they show its disturbance. The moral victory comes through those who bring in a new dispensation, thus making such blood-offerings no longer possible. Only in that manner can the factory novel present artistically wrongs toward the lower orders. They take the place of the complications which the author piles up during the story in order that the reader may have the pleasure of seeing him clear them away in the last chapter.

Art never discusses. "It ceases to be art when it begins to discuss. Like the Church of Rome, it is aristocratic in its nature; its message is flung to the world and must be taken or left." The propagandist must discuss. However, the novelist may legitimately present opinions and social ideas if he does it through one of his characters, provided that the character is a character and not merely the author's mouthpiece. The ideas which this character espouses must be colored by his own personality,

1. Kennedy English Literature p.219
and grow out of his life. That is the reason Mrs. Humphrey Ward never presents slum conditions per se, but always through the medium of one of her characters, modified by him at the same time the conditions are modifying the character. In her introduction to Marcella, she writes, "For as with the painter, so with the writer. Until the stuff of what we call real life has been re-created and transformed by the independent, possessive, impetuous force of imagination, it has no value for the artist, and in so far as it remains 'real' i.e. - a mere literal copy of something seen or heard, it represents a dead and lifeless element in an artist's work." All art is by necessity selective, it is given only a limited time and space and must confine itself to them. In factory fiction, the tendency is to choose those facts which most clearly convince the reader. Art demands that those facts be representative, be typical, be faithful to life, not twisted and exaggerated. Many factory novels have proved their case through a wise choice of facts which speak for themselves, a more convincing story than any author, speaking in his own person is able to tell. After such facts are chosen, the novelist does well to remember Mrs. Ward's warning. That is the pit which awaits all realistic writers, and into whose depths some have fallen irrevocably. Mere wretchedness, mere sordidness is not art, nor is it life. "Hope springs eternal". Life is not possible without joy in something. There must be a larger, inspiring, - what Arnold would call a tonic- view of life. The picture on the slide under the microscope must be faithful not only to its cross-section of life but to the laws of life as a whole. Graphic art is not art until it becomes creative.
It is interesting to note that at least two of these novelists, Besant and Mrs. Ward, have defended the moral purpose in fiction. In his Art of Fiction, Besant insisted that art should have a moral purpose; Henry James replied in his Art of Fiction which in turn was criticized by Stevenson in A Humble Remonstrance. Mrs. Humphrey Ward, according to Mabie, says, "The artist is no worse, but better, for stepping outside the limitations of his art occasionally for the sake of social service."  

In this discussion of the relation of the purpose novel to art, an indirect argument may be drawn from the fact that almost every one of these novelists is remembered not for a factory novel but for one without a purpose. Many lovers of Mrs. Gaskell's Cranford have not heard of Mary Barton. Many readers prefer Kingsley's historical novels to Alton Locke and Yeast. Critics are agreed in placing Dickens' Hard Times lowest among his works. Reade's recognized masterpiece is The Cloister and the Hearth. Critics have been pleased to recognize in Gissing's last book, The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft, a new spirit which should have relieved the sordidness of his early work. Hamilton Wright Mabie believes that Mrs. Humphrey Ward began to improve with Lady Rose's Daughter when she relinquished purpose. Does not such a large number of cases suggest that purpose somehow interferes with artistic execution?

Theory finds it difficult to reconcile the aims of art and purpose; practice shows that purpose somehow flaws an artistic production. However, with such a definition of the art of the

1 North American Review 1903 Vol. 176, p. 48
novel as Chesterton's—"the art of sympathy and the study of hum-
man variations"—one wonders why a factory novel written by a
master could not be artistic and hence permanent.
Conclusion

From the discussions in the preceding chapters, I believe the following conclusions may be drawn: - The factory novel grew up to supply a great social need. No literature has been more closely intertwined with the large social and political movements of its day. As soon as one reform was well started, the novel moved on to the next stage of progress. According to the subjects treated, the periods of the factory novel are: - (1) 1845-1885 first hand presentation of conditions, subdivided (a) 1845-1855 Charter and first Reform Bill, (b) 1855-1870 contests between master and man, complicated by the trade union, (c) 1870-1885 general labor conditions, especially sweating in the London slums, (2) 1885-1892 Socialism, (3) 1892-1902 Parliamentarian standpoint, (4) 1902 on, historical point of view. The factory novel really effected much factory reform. The other literature of the period is colored by the same social tendencies, and all types reacted on each other, the essayists such as Carlyle, Ruskin, and Arnold having the most influence on the novel. The factory novel, because of its purpose and subject, has distinctive characteristics and problems. From the standpoint of technique, it has rendered valiant service to the novel by adding new subjects, settings, and types of character, and making more plot-complications possible. It has developed specific kinds within the novel, subjected it to scientific treatment, added a deeper note of earnestness and seriousness, and developed strength and precision in treatment. It is difficult to reconcile the aims of art and those of the factory novel but, with certain limitations, they are not contradictory; however, in practice, purpose seems to impair a
novel's artistic value as most of these authors produced as their best work novels without a purpose. Factory novelists should make more use of suggestion; they must conceive the whole shot through with imagination in order to save it from gross realism; they must present suffering in the light of a moral victory, and give something inspiring in their outlook upon life. Few of them have been distinguished stylists. The novel to be permanent must make more of style than in the past. In Mary Barton and Marcella, the authors approached closest to universal subjects but each failed to be a great novel for other reasons. The great factory novel has yet to be written. It probably never will be because now the factory problem has become one for the specialist, not the novelist. So far as the novel is concerned, the factory is a solved problem. The historical standpoint alone remains.

It causes real regret that there is not time at the present to pursue the same study into American fiction. There would undoubtedly be comparisons worth making. A glance at the list in the appendix reveals three facts, (1) the American novelists have been industrious and interested in this subject, (2) the percentage of women novelists in this type has been larger for America than England, perhaps because women have taken more part in American fiction as a whole, and (3) the American novelists did not take up this subject as early as the English, most of them writing after 1890 after which date in England, with the exception of Mrs. Humphrey Ward, the type was dying out. We shall be content here with quoting from two reviews on American factory novels which we do not claim, by any means, to be summaries of the type but merely present them in passing as being interesting.
"The factory towns" (in American fiction) "of the past and present have done their share in modifying and creating types. Life is bounded on both sides by a factory whistle. A monotony of routine prevails in which the human being becomes a mechanism for the production of wealth, hardly a man with full employment of his powers. Passions are either subdued or break out inordinately.—Tragedies are plentiful. Wives and mothers deal with the drink problem in the concrete and all strive to drive the gaunt wolf of poverty from the door." The following criticism from The New Republic, 1917, if true, would show that the American novelists have little kinship with the English with the exception perhaps of Gissing, Reade, and Disraeli. It may be just to the most modern American novels but from my superficial acquaintance with some of the earlier ones, I doubt its soundness. "You must judge the American sociological novelist by standards of sociological pertinacity rather than that of literary art. The sociological raconteur uses people, but only as bricks to build his institutional edifice. It is the family, church, industry, that the story is really about. It is the institution that is the hero or the villain, and the institution either in the process of reformation or in shrieking need of it. The purpose of the story is to 'show conditions', and the significance is frankly the message that something ought to be done about it.—All we have a right to ask, therefore, of such a novel is that its sociology be sound and true, and its 'message' urgent. Such a story should not pretend to be more than a movie transcription of life. It is sociological observation 'filmed.' There is no claim to artistic value, and we do not ask for any."

1. Lieberman The American Short Story p.10 2. October 27 p.359 R.B.
What of the future of the factory novel? It is an interesting problem for the imagination—nothing more—nothing definite can be said. We feel like exclaiming with Brutus, "O that a man might know the end of this day's business!" Since we have concluded that the historical standpoint alone is possible now for the factory novelist, it is extremely likely that the purposeful author will betake himself to the subject of other reforms. It is probable that the purpose novel will largely be replaced by the new realistic novel which Simonds has described. "This will be the realism of the future. Along with the careful noting of details, the patient study and accurate analysis, the fidelity to nature, the lifelikeness men will recognize the reasonableness of a philosophy which admits the authority of this larger view. The realism embodied will be that of one who has the power to enter into the life of the character he paints, to become identified with its inner spirit, its weaknesses, its failures, and also with its struggles and its strength. In his choice of theme, the realist of to-morrow will be guided by the general need. Sometimes he will draw a repulsive picture if it be necessary to startle or disgust us with a revelation of some abuse to be corrected or some great wrong which demands relief. But oftener he will introduce 'the other side', because it has the power to stimulate and inspire. Hope is stronger than fear. The story of victory is more effective than the record of defeat."

At the coming of Stevenson, many critics prophezed a return to romance. In fact, realism has held the boards for a long time and according to the laws of reaction, it is about time for a turn of the tide. It is possible that the novel will in turn

1Introduction to English Fiction p. 81
give place to another literary type as all other types withdrew before it in the later Victorian period. However, that the short story will supersede it in England as it has in America is not to be expected. It is hardly probable that the novel will give way to such a low form as the newspaper as Jules Verne suggested, or, after attaining such an important place, disappear altogether as men like Frederic Harrison have prophesized in a pessimistic mood. "But it sufficeth that the day will end, and then the end is known."

In comparing the early factory novelists with our modern authors, Paul Elmore More in his Shelburne Essays has caught my feeling and expressed it better than I could. After quoting from Mary Barton the repentant master's resolution for his future dealing with his hands, More continues, "How strangely old-fashioned the phrases sound; how far we have removed our theories from that simple trust! Turn from Mrs. Gaskell to the bleak skepticism of Gissing; or compare the doctrine of class consciousness so diligently proclaimed by some of our living novelists— and how different the world we are in! What novelists to-day would dare to indulge in a sentimental outcry to the rich like of Dickens in Old Curiosity Shop to 'those who rule the destinies of nations'? Whether economically or not, the advantage artistically was certainly with our elders. Through their appeal and warning we seem to hear, in tones confused it may be by the perplexities of long experience and by much half-knowledge, the cry of the Greek stage, 'Alas, oh generations of men!' and of all literature; and the reader is softened and broadened by association with the ancient pity of human life. Our modern fiction of the
Zola-Tolstoy school may be more effective, though this is doubtful, in immediate reform, but to the reader it brings only a harsh contraction of spirit, and its end is hatred and revolution and palsy and decay.¹

¹Fifth Series p. 73
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1. Those available, hence those upon which this thesis is based.
B. A Suggested List of American Novels Dealing with Factories and Kindred Subjects

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