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**THE EFFECTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AS REFLECTED IN
CHARLOTTE BRONTË'S *SHIRLEY*, CHARLES DICKENS' *HARD TIMES* AND
ELIZABETH GASKELL'S *NORTH AND SOUTH***

MASTER'S THESIS

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Ankara- 2014

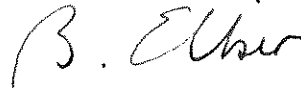
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ATILIM ÜNİVERSİTESİ

SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE

Mehmet Akif BALKAYA tarafından hazırlanan “The Effects of the Industrial Revolution as Reflected in Charlotte Brontë’s *Shirley*, Charles Dickens’ *Hard Times* and Elizabeth Gaskell’s *North and South*” başlıklı bu çalışma 20.06.2014 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda oybirliği ile başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Ana Bilim Dalında yüksek lisans tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deep and sincere gratitude to many people without whose support and guidance, this thesis would not have been possible.

I am deeply indebted to my supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Lerzan Gültekin for all her guidance and support she gave me throughout the study. I am also grateful to her for her detailed comments, and editing suggestions. Without her help, this study would never have been possible.

I would also like to thank my instructors Prof. Dr. Belgin Elbir, Prof. Dr. Gülsen Canlı, Assist. Prof. Dr. Evrim Doğan Adanur, Assist. Prof. Dr. Gökşen Aras, Assist. Prof. Dr. Kuğu Tekin and Assist. Prof. Dr. Ceylan Ertung for their invaluable encouragement and contribution to my studies through the courses they have given. I am also indebted to Assist. Prof. Dr. Zeynep Zeren Atayurt Fenge for her comments and suggestions.

I want to thank my beloved wife Fatma İnan Balkaya for her endless love, support and encouragement.

Thanks, finally, to my parents, Sadi and Fazilet Balkaya and to my brothers Asım and Eyyüp Balkaya.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to explore the negative social, political and economic effects of industrialization and urbanization as reflected in Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley* (1849), Charles Dickens' *Hard Times* (1854), and Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* (1855). These novels, which have a lot in common, are diverse and engaged responses to an accelerating industrial age. In and through the Victorian Era, industrialization made a rapid progress that resulted in the polarization of the society into two camps, viz., the rich and the poor or the exploiter and the exploited. Although these two camps lived side by side, there was no communication between them, which inevitably brought class struggles along with it. The poor workers and their families almost had no social securities. Because of the economic recession and fluctuation or progress in mechanization, workers were laid off. These conditions became the story line of industrial novels, especially during the Victorian Era when novel reading was a popular activity, particularly among the middle class. This sub-genre of the Victorian Novel is also known as the "social-problem novel" or "the Condition of England novel", which deals with problems of class prejudice, industrialization, race and gender. Authors of these industrial novels narrated the plight of the workers and their harsh working and living conditions in an attempt to entice the middle class to sympathize with the workers' plight. As industrialization grew, the gap between the poor working class and the rich middle class widened, while communication between the two classes shrank. As will be presented throughout the thesis, a certain level of sympathy for the oppressed and voiceless working class is expressed in these novels, while a better communication between masters and workers to solve these problems seems to be put forward as a solution, rather than allowing the situation to get more polarized through riots, strikes or lockouts due to the social, political and economic problems that stem from industrialization and urbanization. Industrialization brings class distinction to a higher level because of the growing economic gap between the

manufacturer and the worker. These Victorian novelists portray their ideas about the relationship between the middle class and the working class. However, the unions, strikes, riots or any other organizations of the workers are not considered to be a peaceful solution to industrial problems, affecting the poor, oppressed and suffering working class. Because of the attitudes of the union leaders, the unions are narrated to be misleading. The fear of violence, as reflected in these novels and as witnessed in the history of England in the Luddite Riots (1811-15), Preston Lock-outs (1853-4), and the Chartist Movement (1839-1850s) put the novelists into indecisive, and conflicting feelings towards the rioting workers as reflected through the characters Moses, Barraclough, Slackbridge, Higgins and others. It seems that the workers and the manufacturers need to reach a consensus with each other for the welfare of the society.

As will be explained, the novels of the 1840s and 1850s mostly dealt with industrialization, the state of the nation and its people, thereby helping to create awareness among the public via their underlying social analyses and reform messages. It will be concluded that Brontë, Dickens and Gaskell drew attention to the necessity of reforms as far as the living and working conditions of the poor working class were concerned. These three novelists, through their narrations of industrialized society, invite both the middle class and the working class to develop a better communication with each other as a way towards finding a solution, “a common Victorian, middle-class “cure” for industrial unrest...” (Humpherys 395). Notwithstanding the passing of factory acts (1850, 1853, and 1860) and reform bills, it was not so easy to put them into practice. In this respect, the inevitability of a healthy communication between the working class and middle class is pointed out in the examined novels. While analysing these three novels, it is hard to overlook the notion that the novelists wanted to be the voice of the voiceless and oppressed working class. Strikes, riots and lockouts, as narrated in the three novels, are solutions that are neither approved nor

considered durable. In some way, at the end of each novel, it is suggested that establishing a better way of communication between the rich manufacturer and the poor workers might be a way to enable each class to empathise with the other, thereby leading both classes towards a peace-making solution (Elbir 6-11)¹.

“The industrial novel” takes industrialization, urbanization and class conflicts as its subject. When analyzed in this context, it is seen that historical events inspired these industrial novels. The Chartist Movement (1838-1850s), Luddite Riots of 1811-1816, Preston Lock Out of 1853-1854 were among these historical events to which Charles Dickens, Charlotte Brontë, and Elizabeth Gaskell aimed to oppose and suggest ways in their novels to overcome these problems. In fact, social, economic, and industrial conflicts are decisive in the living and working conditions of both the working and the middle classes. In their *Communist Manifesto* (1848), Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels think that technology, economy, and economic relations have an important place in the formation of society, politics and intellect. Marx and Engels explain that the bourgeoisie who own the factories, banks and coal mines have the power to control the state since they have the economic power (14-34). Therefore, class struggle stems from inequality in politics, economics and social life; and as Marx and Engels put in *the Communist Manifesto* “the history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles” (3). Class struggles and the conditions that constituted these struggles were narrated in Charlotte Brontë’s *Shirley*, Charles Dickens’ *Hard Times* and Elizabeth Gaskell’s *North and South*.

Shirley narrates the plight of workers, and the difficulties the Yorkshire factory owner Robert Moore faces, together with the Luddite machine-breaking riots of 1811-1812, a protest of the angry workers who lose their jobs which began in an effort to protect the rights of the working class because of mechanization. In the novel *Shirley*, after the mill owner Robert

¹ The translation of the secondary sources from Turkish into English is done by the author of this thesis.

Moore is shot by a worker, Moore realizes what it is like to be dependent on someone else. At the end of the novel, Robert Moore totally changes, and cares for all the poor by providing work for them.

In *Hard Times*, the negative aspects of an industrialized society are portrayed with characters from different backgrounds. “Dickens is interested in ... the strikes and lockouts at factories in Preston...and in the educations of his middle-class characters – Louisa and Tom Gradgrind – and the circus girl, Sissy Jupe” (Simmons 348). In this respect, the novel also can be analyzed as the portrayal of the battle between the rational and realist urban, and the sentimental rural. Moral and spiritual decay of British people is narrated through the reflection of utilitarian ideals of progress. The setting Coketown may stand for Preston or Leeds, and it is known that The Preston Lock Out inspired Charles Dickens (Simmons 348).

North and South tells the story of the Hales, who move from Hampshire, a small town in the south of England, to north Milton, a growing industrial city, which is modeled after Manchester. The struggle between the self-made factory owner John Thornton and the workers is reflected through the omniscient narrator and thoughts of Margaret Hale, who seems to be impartial and also plays the role of a mediator between the two sides.

These novels represent a variety of critical perspectives of the problems of industrialization, particularly in the industrial cities such as, Manchester, Leeds and Preston. These Victorian novelists write about the fears, prejudices and hopes of an industrial society, and at the end of each novel, it is observed that effective communication between the two classes can be a solution to the negative consequences of industrialism. Brontë, Dickens and Gaskell desire to bring social, economic and spiritual improvements in the living conditions of both the working and middle classes. Hence, to understand why and how the industrial novel originated, it would be appropriate to examine the background of the Industrial Revolution.

During the Victorian Age (1830-1901), England faced economic, social and cultural changes “that brought England to its highest point of development as a world power” (Christ and Robson 979). The population of London “expanded from about two million inhabitants when Victoria came to the throne [1837] to six and a half million at the time of her death [1901]” (Christ and Robson 979). In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, England went into a set of technological, economic, and social changes which in total are acknowledged as the Industrial Revolution. The word “industry²” comes from the Latin “industria” which also stands for “diligence” and “effort” in English. Eric Hobsbawm states that “by 1750, indeed, there was not much doubt that if any state was to win the race to be the first industrial power, it would be Britain” (29). The middle of the 18th century (1750s) is regarded to be the starting point for the Industrial Revolution, and it is acknowledged that the 19th century witnessed great changes in England (Hartwell 1). As the pioneer of the industrial revolution, which had effects on economic, cultural and social conditions, England was one of the most advanced countries in terms of manufacturing and trade in the second half of the 19th century. Actually, “in the mid-Victorian era Britain was the manufacturing centre of the world.” (Trevelyan 764). However, the improvement in economy brought with it the changes in the standard of living. Joel Mokyr argues that “the fruits of the Industrial Revolution were slow in coming. Per capita consumption and living standards increased little initially, but production technologies changed dramatically in many industries and sectors” (83). Hence, the economic growth led to a transformation in society, culture and politics (Hartwell 1). The old cottage industry was replaced by the factory industry which gradually caused the migration of people from villages and small towns to cities to work as factory workers. As Marx and Engels write in *the Communist Manifesto*, “the place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry; the place of the industrial middle class by industrial millionaires, the leaders of the

² The production of goods for sale, especially in factories (Longman 673).

whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeois” (4). Harold Perkin points out that “the Industrial Revolution was no mere sequence of changes in industrial techniques and production, but a social revolution with social causes as well as profound social effects” (Preface xii). Due to these causes and effects of the Industrial revolution, it can be said that this revolution created the working class, consisting of the workers in factories, and the middle class, consisting of the bankers, factory and mill owners. As discussed in this thesis, the Industrial Revolution brought both blessings and sufferings for both classes.

Relying on L. Laura Frader’s *The Industrial Revolution: A History in Documents* as a source, it would be of great help to write the technological and social improvements in chronological order during the Industrial Revolution for a deeper insight into the problem:

1733: Englishman John Kay invents the flying shuttle.

1760s-1830s: Enclosure Acts in England permit landlords to enclose common land.

1764: English inventor James Hargreaves invents the spinning jenny.

1769: Richard Arkwright invents the water frame in England.

1776: English inventor James Watt produces the first efficient steam engine, revolutionizing transportation and production of textiles, coal, and iron goods; French minister of finances Anne Robert Jacques Turgot issues a Royal Edict banning guilds; Scottish political economist Adam Smith publishes *The Wealth of Nations*.

1779: Samuel Crompton combines the technology of the spinning jenny and the water frame in the “spinning mule”.

1787: Edmund Cartwright invents the power loom.

1799: English Combination Acts in Britain make it illegal for workers to unionize.

1802: Health and Morals of Apprentices Act in Britain limits apprentices' labor to twelve hours a day.

1807: British Parliament votes to abolish slave trade and United States forbids Southern planters to engage in slave trade.

1811-1815: Luddite Riots occur in England and France.

1815: George Stephenson builds the first steam locomotive in England.

1819: First Factory Acts in Britain limits children's age of employments and working hours.

1833: British Parliamentary Commission investigates the labor of women and children in textile factories and limits the working hours of children and youths; Britain bans slavery throughout the British Empire.

1845: Frederick Engels publishes his *Condition of the Working Class in England*.

1847: British Parliament passes Ten Hours Bill, limiting women's and children's workday to ten hours; British Mines Act prohibits the employment of women and children underground in mines.

1848: Democratic revolutions occur all over Europe; middle class demands political rights; Karl Marx and Frederick Engels publish *The Communist Manifesto*.

1851: Crystal Palace Exhibition in London displays industrial goods from around the world. (146, 147)

As observed, "a series of inventions [in the late 18th and early 19th centuries] revolutionized the industry and drastically altered the social conditions of the work" (Perry et al. 465). Due to the technological inventions, the cotton industry experienced a profound

progress. “British cotton production expanded tenfold between 1760 and 1785, and another tenfold between 1785 and 1825” (Perry et al. 465).

The flying shuttle, spinning jenny, water frame, spinning mule, and weaving loom were among the effective inventions in cotton industry, and their owning costs were not so high for the industrialists. Basically these inventions were the required products of the demand for more manufactured goods. Before the Industrial Revolution and mechanization, women were producing handmade textile products at home or in the ateliers. Due to the aforementioned inventions – especially in textile industry – manufacturing improved but in the course of time the inventions got bigger, and therefore, could not fit into houses or ateliers; also, these inventions and machines required energy which was largely supplied by steam engines. For centuries, wood and timber were used for heating and making ships, respectively; therefore, coal, abundant in the northwestern part of the country, in particular, was begun to be used as an alternative energy source. But flooding was a big problem in coal mining, and horses were used for hauling the water out of the mines and eventually, this system became inadequate to go deeper for mining. In 1712 Thomas Newcomen invented the steam engine which pumped the water out of the mine. But James Watt developed and produced a more powerful steam engine in 1776 (Frader 146). As G. M. Trevelyan puts it, “all over the island new businesses sprang up, each helped by some adaptation of James Watt’s steam engine to the various processes of mining and manufacture” (715). Also, Watt’s engine needed less coal to generate steam, therefore his steam engine was mostly used in factories. Before the invention of the steam engine, coal mines and factories were established close to the rivers to provide the energy for the machines but with the invention and proliferation of the steam engine, factories were established in the northern part of England, where the sources of iron and coal were abundant. Thus, “factories were no longer restricted to the power supplied by a river or a stream or to the space available beside flowing water;

they could be built anywhere” (Perry et al. 466). The use of coke made cast iron and steel production possible, and this gave way to machine production for factories. Also the steam engine and the use of iron and steel contributed to the development of railways and locomotives. The Liverpool-Manchester railway line opened in 1830 and the British inventor George Stephenson’s steam locomotive was used there (“George Stephenson”).

Steamship was invented by the American Robert Fulton. In *the Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels state that “meantime the markets kept ever growing, the demand ever rising. Even manufacture no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionised industrial production” (15). Following these innovations, railroads, canals, tunnels, harbors and roads were built. “Railroads were so successful that in mid-nineteenth-century England, roads became mere auxiliaries to the railroads – just paths leading to the station” (Perry et al. 467). Therefore transportation gained strength, and raw materials began to be transported to the industrialized cities of England from all corners of the world, and the manufactured goods were sold out to the markets all around the world. In other words, “other nations largely depended upon her [England] for coal and for manufactured goods in return for good and raw material” (Trevelyan 764).

As Maxine Berg puts it,

the clustering of a key set of inventions was combined with new forms of work organization, centralized factories and workshops and as well as decentralized subcontracting, and new labor forces, especially women, children and other uninitiated labor such as pauper apprentices. (5)

It can be deduced that as a consequence of this machine-technology, steam engines, new ways of manufacturing, factories emerged; that is to say, manpower gave way to machine power, and workers began to work in factories to operate these machines, therefore, handmade production was replaced by mass production (Berlanstein 18-27). The union of machine and

manpower in factories reduced the cost but increased productivity and profit rate of manufacturing (Berg 162-167).

As it was aforementioned, textile was a fast growing industry which required wool and cotton. This requirement was supplied with the rising of the enclosure movement by which lands were transferred to private property. Enclosure movement is “the division or consolidation of communal fields, meadows, pastures, and other arable lands in western Europe into the carefully delineated and individually owned and managed farm plots of modern times” (“Enclosure.” Encyclopedia Britannica) which

began in the 12th century and proceeded rapidly in the period 1450–1640, when the purpose was mainly to increase the amount of full-time pasturage available to manorial lords. Much enclosure also occurred in the period from 1750 to 1860, when it was done for the sake of agricultural efficiency. By the end of the 19th century the process of the enclosure of common lands in England was virtually complete (“Enclosure.” Encyclopedia Britannica).

This movement was a process which enabled wealthy people, especially aristocrats, to get the ownership of the common land; therefore, enabled them to have a title; that’s to say, landlord. These landlords began to graze their sheep in their lands which created the required wool for the textile industry. Wealthy landowners were controlling the land before the industrial revolution and people lived and worked in their farms. However, the situation changed with the emergence of the Industrial Revolution. The poor, who could not afford to buy a land, migrated to the cities and contributed to the labor power of the factories. Therefore, the population of the cities increased dramatically which caused poverty, unemployment, poor nutrition, poor health conditions and many other inadequacies.

Regarding the Enclosure Act, historian Eric Hobsbawm remarks that “it was accused of throwing peasants off their holdings and labourers out of work” (79). Regarding the population explosion, William Gibson states that

The eighteenth century was a period of rapid urbanization. In 1700, 17 per cent of the population lived in towns of more than 2,000 people. By 1800 this had risen to 27.5 per cent, and the population was rising. In 1700 London had a population of 500,000 – more than all the other English towns put together. There were only five towns with more than 10,000 people in 1700, but by 1800 there were twenty-seven. (Kindle File)

As can be realized, the population of cities increased visibly, and such a huge increase in the population of cities brought great challenges with it. “The enormous European population growth of the eighteenth century provided industry with both consumers and labor” (Perry et al. 462). The demand of more manufactured goods by the growing population almost required the technological developments and inventions which eventually gave rise to a quick advancement of cotton and textile industry. Regarding this new situation, Eric Hobsbawm writes that

Whoever says Industrial Revolution, says cotton. When we think of it we see...the new and revolutionary city of Manchester, which multiplied tenfold in size between 1760 and 1830 (from 17,000 to 180,000 inhabitants), where ‘we observe hundreds of five- and six-storied factories, each with a towering chimney by its side, which exhales black coal vapour’ ... (34).

Obviously, the Industrial Revolution, which is a movement from an agricultural to an industrial society due to the use of machines instead of manual labor, led to the emergence of an urban society. As G. M. Trevelyan argues, “a large immigration of Englishmen from the

rural districts must in any case have taken place, owing to the rise in population coinciding with new facilities for employment in industrial centres” (717).

As seen, the enclosure movement, the shift of population from rural area to the urban area, and the aforementioned inventions contributed greatly to the emergence of the factories, and factory cities. Consequently, to find workers to the factories was not a serious problem because of the overpopulation and abundance of manpower. Marx and Engels state that “the bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural...” (16). Unemployed workers, many of whom migrated from the rural area, were forced to work under hard conditions and for long hours with little wages.

The factory, mine owners and bankers constituted the middle class, and the workers together with their families formed the working class. Although the workers, who did the manufacturing, were working too much, their wages were too little. This limited income caused women and children to work to contribute to the income of the families. Based on his observation about industrialisation and exploitation of child labour, in his *Das Kapital* (1867), Karl Marx describes the working conditions of children:

Children of nine or ten years are dragged from their squalid beds at two, three, or four o'clock in the morning and compelled to work for a bare subsistence until ten, eleven, or twelve at night, their limbs wearing away, their frames dwindling, their faces whitening, and their humanity absolutely sinking into a stone-like torpor, utterly horrible to contemplate. (1: 651)

Whilst children suffered, capitalist factory owners gained profit by exploiting the working class families. Men were paid very little amount of money but women and children were paid less than men although they were working for long hours in factories. James Richard Simmons states that “women worked for lower wages and were found to be easier to

manage than men; thus by the middle of the century more than a million women worked in factories” (337). Also some women worked as charwomen in middle class families’ houses. The factory owners knew that the workers, their wives and children had no other choice than to work, so these workers were forced to work for long hours with little wages. “Furthermore, most factory work could be performed equally as well by children as by adults, and usually at half the wages” (Simmons 337). “Differences of age and sex have no longer any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labour, more or less expensive to use, according to their age and sex” (Marx and Engels 10). The workers were not only working but also living under poor conditions. They were living in the streets around the factories whose smoke and wastes were polluting the neighborhood. Regarding these conditions Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels remark,

Modern Industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of laborers, crowded into the factory, are organized like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois State; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the over-looker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. (10)

As seen, it is clear that the society became polarized as the “bourgeoisie”, the middle class, and the “proletariat”, the working class, “who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital” (Marx and Engels 9). Against the exploitations of the bourgeoisie, Marx and Engels highly recommend that the working class around the world should band together, and fight for their rights (34).

The novels, studied in this thesis, present certain social, economic, cultural and political problems, which were brought about by the Industrial Revolution in the nineteenth

century. Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley*, Charles Dickens' *Hard Times* and Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* are concerned with the problems of the working class and the middle class, and other issues like urbanization and industrialization that England grappled with. These Victorian novelists witnessed the problems of industrialization, and in their novels, they dealt with the economic and social problems of industrialization in the mid-Victorian Period. James Richard Simmons states in his article that

As the appetite for knowledge about the condition of England was whetted, novelists found an audience interested in learning more about the plight of the working classes, and the novel became a method of teaching the middle and upper classes about the “real” condition of England. (337)

Since these novels are responses to industrialism, they are known as “industrial novels”, which “provide some of the most vivid descriptions of life in an unsettled industrial society, and illustrate certain common assumptions within which the direct response was undertaken” (Williams 87). When analysed together, it can be said that “these novels ... illustrate ... the common criticism of industrialism ... [and] the general structure of feeling” (Williams 109) against industrialism and urbanization.

“Industrial novels” mostly dealt with the lives of working and middle classes, the changing education system, riots and lock-outs against industrialism and unemployment, love stories between the working and middle classes, and many other issues concerning the Industrial Revolution. Not only the middle class factory owners, but also the politicians were interested in these novels, and it is known that problems of, and responses to industrialism in the industrial novels, in a way, underlie many laws regarding factories, working hours, and wages. Regarding the industrial novels, James R. Simmons remarks,

...the condition of England novel became a victim of its own success, because as legislation enacted reforms and the working class enjoyed improving

conditions, other issues such as socialism and feminism (as in the “new woman” novel of the 1890s) came to the fore. Nevertheless, the condition of England novel played an important part in the development of Victorian literature, and more generally in Victorian politics and culture. (350-51)

As known, little wages, unemployment, overworking and many other problems affected both daily and family life. People began to be alienated; migration to industrial towns in search of a job caused irrecoverable and deep wounds in the inner worlds of workers. Therefore, workers were claiming their rights, as they did with the Chartists movement. Charles Dickens “dedicated [*Hard Times*] to Thomas Carlyle” (Greenblatt and Abrams 1238), a satirist, historian and essayist, who “raised the condition of England question in Chartism (1839), in which he expressed his sympathy for the poor and the industrial class in England and argued the need for a more profound reform” (Diniejko “Thomas Carlyle.”). With the Chartist Movement, the workers demanded to acquire a franchise, to hold elections annually by ballot, to put away the requirements to be rich or have a land to become a Member of Parliament, who would be paid for his services. On the other hand, the social demands of the movement were not as clear as political ones. (Trevelyan 762-3)

In the 1840s and 50s, the voice of the repressed workers began to resonate for political and social purposes. Charles Dickens, Elizabeth Gaskell, Charlotte Brontë, Benjamin Disraeli, Charles Kingsley and many other Victorian novelists had been the voice of the voiceless working class in their novels, and wished reforms and acts to better the harsh conditions of the workers. However, as G. M. Trevelyan states “the...shadow of Chartism in the background accelerated the passage of Factory Acts...” (763). As James R. Simmons remarks

The Chartists were still doing what they could to call attention to the problems of unemployment and poverty among the working classes. The Chartist movement, founded in 1838 when William Lovett drafted the “People’s

Charter”, had been campaigning for change since the Reform Act of 1832 in an attempt to improve conditions for the working classes. (344)

However, “...Chartism indirectly improved the lot of the working classes...attained some of its real objective” (Trevelyan 763). In his essay “Chartism”, Thomas Carlyle examines why the working class banded together in the Chartist movement. Thomas Carlyle writes that “a feeling very generally exists that the condition and the disposition of the Working Classes is a rather ominous matter at present; that something ought to be said, something ought to be done, in regard to it” (Carlyle 1). Like Karl Marx, Thomas Carlyle emphasizes the social and political rights of the working class. “Crowding, lack of sanitation, and other ills of urban expansion gave rise to concerns about “the condition of England”” (Matus 27).

In comparison with the ideas of Thomas Carlyle, Marx believes that industrialisation makes the worker alienate from his work, himself, and the society. Daily grind and work make the workers live both in economic and in spiritual poverty. In other words, they are exploited by the factory owners. In the year Karl Marx meets his lifetime friend Friedrich Engels, Marx writes his *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, in which he describes the alienation of the worker. He writes that “...labor is external to the worker, i.e., it does not belong to his intrinsic nature; ...he...does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind” (30). The monotonous, dreary and miserable working conditions led the workers to be unsatisfied with their lives. In the aforementioned work, Marx defines this concept as “estranged, alienated labor” (32). Thus, referring to the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, this thesis explores the misery of the workers and their alienation as reflected in Charlotte Brontë’s *Shirley*, Charles Dickens’s *Hard Times*, and Elizabeth Gaskell’s *North and South*.

As analysed in *Shirley*, *Hard Times* and *North and South*, the factory owners Robert Moore, Mr. Boundrby, and Mr. Thornton regard the workers as machines. To these factory owners, the workers are just like hands, and if any worker is not needed anymore, s/he is easily replaced by another worker. The factory owners in these novels do not care much about the living and working conditions of the workers; the masters seem to care about their own benefits. In other words, factory owner-workman relationship is handled in these three industrial novels.

When the three novels are analysed, it is observed that class struggle stems from miscommunication between the worker and the master as mentioned by Annette Chang in her article in *The Victorian Web*: “The antagonism growing between workmen the master stems from the stubborn unwillingness of both sides to communicate. Because each side is ignorant of the motives and opinions of the other, their hatred and bitterness grow to a pitch” (“North and South and Contemporary Attitudes toward Masters and Workers.”).

Shirley, *Hard Times*, and *North and South* are reviewed in terms of cause and effect relations of class struggle with regard to economic relations, political and social conditions. As will be seen, the social conditions, depicted in the novels, seem to be shaped by the economic conditions. Social and cultural norms, such as art, religion, education, literature and so on, constitute the *superstructure*, which is determined by economics, *base*, that is to say, “the economic systems...structure human societies” (Tyson 53). Referring to what Marx and Engels write in their works, as the contemporaries of the three novelists, class struggles, working conditions, master-worker relations, and education as reflected in *Shirley*, *Hard Times*, and *North and South* will be analysed. All the three novels can be seen as critiques of capitalism and classism because these novels reflect the socioeconomic conditions of the Industrial Revolution.

2. *SHIRLEY*

Before delving into the novel itself, it might be helpful to write briefly about Charlotte Brontë's background. The Brontës had many tragedies. "[They] were born into the post-Napoleonic era in the aftermath of Waterloo" (Gordon 66). Charlotte Brontë was born on April 21, 1816 in Thornton as the third child of the Reverend Patrick Brontë and Maria Branwell Brontë. In 1824, at the age of eight, Charlotte Brontë and her sister Emily were sent to the Clergy Daughters School at Cowan Bridge. In 1825 Charlotte's sisters, Elizabeth, 10, and Maria, 12, died of tuberculosis, and upon this tragedy, the Brontë sisters left the school that same year.

In 1835, Charlotte Brontë started Roe Head as a teacher, but upon her aunt's death she was recalled to their house in Haworth, a village in West Yorkshire, and tutored there to her sisters, Anne and Emily. In the late 1830s, Emily, Anne and Charlotte were writing poems, which they decided to publish even though they only managed to sell a few copies. But success eventually came, and in 1847 Charlotte, Emily and Anne published *Jane Eyre*, *Wuthering Heights*, and *Agnes Gray* respectively. By 1849, all her sisters were dead, such that Charlotte was by then living alone and taking care of her father at Haworth. In her *Life of Charlotte Brontë*, Elizabeth Gaskell states the following with regard to the effects of her familial tragedy on her novel *Shirley*:

Down into the very midst of her writing came the bolts of death. She had nearly finished the second volume of her tale when Branwell died—after him Emily— after her Anne; the pen, laid down when there were three sisters living and loving, was taken up when one alone remained. Well might she call the first chapter that she wrote after this, "The Valley of the Shadow of Death."
(333)

In 1852, Charlotte married a curate, Arthur Bell Nichols, and only three years later Charlotte died; she was pregnant when she passed away. Apart from *Jane Eyre* (1847) and *Shirley* (1849), Charlotte Brontë also wrote *Villette* (1853), and *The Professor* (1857).

Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley* was published in 1849 under the pseudonym Currer Bell in a triple-decker, i.e. a novel in three-volume, which returned good profit to the publisher. The novel is set in 1811-1812, hence a historical novel. In this context, this novel is different from the other novels examined in this thesis because *Shirley* does not deal with 1850s. Although the writer wrote her novel in 1849, she dealt with the problems of 1810s. However, although the workers attack to the mill of the manufacturer because of economic problems, we do not witness a scene of unionization. In this context, *Shirley* is different from *Hard Times* and *North and South*, which deal with similar industrial problems and unrest in 1850s together with the problems of unionization. Nevertheless, *Shirley* deals with the problems of both the working class and the middle class because of rapid industrialization and changes in social structure. Charlotte Brontë narrates history as "something real, cool, and solid" that is as "unromantic as Monday morning" (Brontë 1; ch.1)³. Concordantly, to place *Shirley* in its historical context, it is necessary to examine the novel in relation to the history of Luddite Riots of 1811-1815 and the Orders in Council. In this chapter, by focusing on the passages from the novel, and analysing them in the light of what Marx and Engels wrote in their works, the relationship between characters, shaped by class consciousness and discrimination in relation to the historical event, will be studied.

From the very beginning of the novel, Charlotte Brontë makes it clear that *Shirley* is different from her other novels with real historical events such as the Luddite Riots of 1811-1815, a protest of the workers who break machines for fear of losing their jobs due to

³ Brontë, Charlotte. *Shirley*. 1849. London: Penguin Books, 1994. Hereafter all the references will be made to this edition, and only page and chapter numbers will be given.

mechanization; therefore, it depicts the socioeconomic life of the early 19th century England. The Luddite Riots were the consequences of Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), political unrest, and the increasing gap between the rich and the poor (Webb 130-31). Yet, “the chief sufferers by the war were the working classes...” (Trevelyan 690).

The setting, working and middle class cultures and characters are depicted in a realistic way, depending on the realities of the time. The lives of the working and the middle class, class struggle, and the curates, “providing lively comic relief” (Gérin 389), between these two classes are represented throughout the novel.

Through a close examination of Charlotte Brontë’s *Shirley*, this chapter of the study aims to show that *Shirley* is not only a historical but also an industrial novel, depicting the social and working conditions in England at the time. As W. A. Craik remarks, *Shirley* is “in many ways a social novel and an historical one, concerned with the effects of the Napoleonic War and the Industrial Revolution in the West Riding clothing district of Yorkshire in 1812” (130).

In the first chapters, the novel is narrated by a first person-narrator but in the following chapters the narration is replaced by a third person-narrator with an omniscient point of view, providing the reader with a detailed account of the historical events, as seen in the first chapter: “The period of which I write was an overshadowed one in British history, and especially in the history of the northern provinces. War was then at its height. Europe was all involved therein” (27; ch. 2). As observed, the novelist directly informs the reader about the Napoleonic War.

Accordingly, this chapter of the study will deal with, and shed light on the industrial plot of *Shirley* by taking the historical event Luddite Riots of 1811-1815 into account. However, the condition of repressed women and workers will also be discussed as depicted in the novel.

The term Luddism is defined by Marjie Bloy in her article in the Victorian Web as,

Luddites were men who took the name of a (perhaps) mythical individual, Ned Ludd who was reputed to live in Sherwood Forest. The Luddites were trying to save their livelihoods by smashing industrial machines developed for use in the textile industries of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire and Derbyshire. Some Luddites were active in Lancashire also. They smashed stocking-frames and cropping frames among others. There does not seem to have been any political motivation behind the Luddite riots; equally, there was no national organisation. The men merely were attacking what they saw as the reason for the decline in their livelihoods. (“The Luddites 1811-16.”)

Within this context, the novelist recreates the Luddite Riots with her fictitious characters who experience the negative effects of industrialization.

William Cartwright’s true story, witnessed by Charlotte Brontë’s father Patrick Brontë, seems to have inspired her novel. Cartwright’s mill near Heartshead, at Rawfolds was attacked by one hundred rioters when the manufacturer wanted to stock new machinery to his mill (Gordon 69). “In the attack on his mill, two badly wounded rioters were captured and subsequently died. Patrick Brontë witnessed a clandestine burial in his own churchyard at Heartshead” (Gordon 69). Therefore, it can be deduced that the experience of Charlotte’s father may have played a role in inspiring her novel.

The struggle between the mill owners and workers, in the Yorkshire countryside, is handled masterfully. In the light of these historical events, it is seen that not only the workers but also the mill owners and their families had problems in the 19th century. This reality can be observed in the novel: “England, if not weary, was worn with long resistance: yes, and half her people were weary too, and cried out for peace on any terms” (27; ch.2).

The hierarchical microcosm presented in *Shirley* is full of conflicts, ambiguities, and prejudices, derived from classism. As will be shown, economic problems, and political decisions affect not only the proletariat (factory workers) but also the middle class. As Arthur Asa Berger states “class refers to categories based on the economic resources of different groups of people in a given society, and the social and cultural arrangements that stem from this division” (47). “From a Marxist perspective, differences in socioeconomic class divide people in ways that are much more significant than differences in religion, race, ethnicity, or gender” (Tyson 54). This division, as will be seen, brings conflict with it. However, as Helen Taylor states: “the novel...is attempting a critique of the dominance of bourgeois men over both the working class and women” (86). Throughout the novel, the patriarchal society is observed. As will be argued, some workers refuse to discuss political and economic issues with Shirley. Also, the manufacturer Robert Moore does not give reasons why he lays off some of his workers.

The industrial revolution, Napoleonic War, The Luddite Riots, the Orders in Council (1807), the status of women, the workers and the middle class are all mingled in this novel, therefore, *Shirley* can be labeled as a “condition of England novel”. The rapid changes in the social order due to industrialization and urbanization brought overpopulation, miserable living, working and housing conditions, and diseases with it. As Nicholas Daly states “...the industrial revolution was a revolution in the nature of manufacture, transport and communications, but shifts in these areas affected almost all aspects of experience” (43). Charlotte Brontë narrates the class struggle and social transformations due to industrialization like the other two novels discussed in this thesis. In his discussion of industrial novels, Sean Purchase states that “most of the novels contain set-piece industrial strikes, worker-industrialist tensions, problems of hunger or riots around mills” (87). The problems of riots

are especially very true for the novel *Shirley* as it discusses the “transition from manual to machine-driven labour in the period” (Purchase 87).

The novel opens with the introduction of the three curates: Mr. Malone, Mr. Sweeting and Mr. Donne. The setting is Briarfield, a parish in Yorkshire. The third-person narrator, who tells about every detail of the setting and characters, satirizes the curates in the first chapters of the novel:

The curates had good appetites, and though the beef was ‘tough,’ they ate a great deal of it. They swallowed, too, a tolerable allowance of the ‘flat beer,’ while a dish of Yorkshire pudding, and two tureens of vegetable, disappeared like leaved before locusts. The cheese, too, received distinguished marks of their attention; and a ‘spice-cake,’ which followed by way of dessert, vanished like a vision, and was no more found. (5; ch. 1)

While the three curates eat heartily, priest Mr. Helstone, orphan Caroline Helstone’s uncle, arrives and talks about the possible trouble Mr. Moore may have:

You know Moore has resolved to have new machinery, and he expects two wagon loads of frames and shears from Stilbro’ this evening...he takes no warning from the fate of Pearson, nor from that of Armitage – shot, one in his own house and the other on the moor. (11-2; ch.1)

The mill-owner Robert Moore brings new machines to his mill. This machinery decreases the need for manpower, which causes unrest among the workers, who protest their unemployment and hunger due to the changes with the new machines (Purchase 69). It can be said that the starting point of such changes is not only industrialization but also the wars and the performed politics, which is reported as follows:

After the end of the French Wars, it became increasingly clear that England was suffering from great social, economic and political upheavals. These

problems collectively became known as the 'Condition of England Question'. Many of these problems would have occurred eventually but had been speeded up by the effects of the French Wars on the country. Most of the major changes were the direct result of the French Wars. Others came from natural growth and change. The distress and discontent caused by these enormous changes were manifested in a series of events in the period 1811-19. One of these was the upsurge in Luddism. (Bloy "The Luddites 1811-1816.")

Gilbert and Gubar state that "every class in this novel has been affected by the inability of the English to win their war against France" (375). However, as it was the age of industrialization, manufacturers demanded new machines, which enabled a job to be done more efficiently and fast, so in time fewer workers were needed. This was obviously not the fault of workers. On the one hand, the mill owner had to keep up with the times, and had to get new machines to earn more; on the other, the workers were not needed anymore since the machines were faster and cheaper economically. As Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels state, the workers "live only so long as they find work and" they "find work only so long as their labor increases capital" (9). As a capitalist, Robert Moore, who thinks of his own mill, disregards the condition of the unemployed workers. As narrated, Robert Moore "did not sufficiently care when the new inventions threw the old workpeople out of employ. He never asked himself where those to whom he no longer paid weekly wages found daily bread" (27; ch. 2). As the mechanization increases, worker requirement decreases. The unemployed workers smash the machines, and their hatred turns into a battle. Like a historian, the author narrates the riots: "Misery generates hate. These sufferers hated the machines which they believed took their bread from them; they hated the buildings which contained those machines; they hated the manufacturers who owned those buildings" (28; ch. 2). Before the arrival of the machinery, people were working in ateliers, and hand-labor was appreciated but this concept

altered with the Industrial Revolution. Concerning this fact, it is stated in the *Communist Manifesto* that

The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. (Marx and Engels 11)

Tension between the workers and the mill-owner grows higher when the workers are unemployed. Moses, Barraclough, William Farren and many others were working in Robert Moore's mill before the arrival of new machines. The poor workers, who cannot get bread to their houses, become angry day by day. In a dispute with Moore, worker Barraclough says "...I can remember as far back as maybe some twenty year, when hand-labour were encouraged and respected..." (138; ch. 8). What this working class character says reflects the reality of life before the industrialization. Due to industrialization, means of production such as factories, machines, and tools became private property and the society was divided into two parts: bourgeoisie, and the proletariat. As discussed before and put by Mr. Barraclough, hand labor was appreciated and manufacture was done at ateliers. Before industrialization, a manufacturer was producing him/herself and s/he was the one who made the profit and was respected, but as the factories emerged, small ateliers began to disappear, and the self-supporting manufacturer could not keep up with the factories, and desperately turned into a worker, who worked for the factory owner. As Marx and Engels state, economic conditions and changes affect the social life. The workers were not respected anymore because they were not needed for work as they had been in the past. However, even if a worker was required, s/he could not get what s/he deserved for his/her work; the factory owner, in a way, was exploiting the worker, and workforce "through economic policies and production of goods" (Bressler 168). Peter Barry states that "...workers are bereft of their full humanity and are

thought of as “hands” or “the labour force”, so that, for instance, the effects of industrial closures are calculated in purely economic terms. People, in a word, become things” (156). Working relationships of the past were replaced by relationships based on self-interest. According to Marx, self-interest comes out of private property, by which Marx implies factories and means of production belonging to the bourgeois. Marx and Engels believe that due to the property owned by bourgeois, capital is accumulated in the hands of bourgeois, and the proletariat grows poor day by day (Marx and Engels 3-24). In other words, private property causes “the exploitation of the many by the few”. (Marx and Engels 16).

In *Shirley*, the exploitation and dismissal of the workers increase the tension. The dispute between the workers Mr. Barraclough, Moses, Mr. Farren and manufacturer Moore goes on. The hatred against the mill-owner is reflected through Moses’ words: “no mischief-maker had ventured to introduce these here machines, which is so pernicious” (138; ch. 8). Upon this, the mill-owner Robert Moore says “the persons behind you are some of them honest though misguided men; but you two I count altogether bad” (139; ch. 8). Both the mill-owner and the workers are angry with the circumstances. It seems that Charlotte Brontë thinks that many workers are “misguided” by some evil-minded workers or protestors against mechanization, and the manufacturers. In fact, William Farren seems to be an honest but a misguided worker, and Mr. Barraclough, and Moses are the provocative ones. Moore goes on, and says “You desire me to quit the country: you request me to part with my machinery...” (139; ch. 8) since Robert Gérard Moore is a Belgian, and a manufacturer, and he adds “in case I refuse, you threaten me. I do refuse – point-blank! Here I stay; and by this mill I stand; and into it will I convey the best machinery inventors can furnish” (139; ch. 8). It is clear that Robert Moore wants to improve the technical conditions in his mill, and all he cares about is his own benefits. Following the conversation, Robert Moore calls out the constable Sugden to arrest Moses since he destroyed some of his machines. The oppressed

workers cannot overcome the oppression through legal procedures due to the capitalist system. Power seems to be in the hands of the capitalist Robert Moore. Soldiers, reverend Mr. Helstone, curates, and many others side with the factory owner Robert Moore. As seen, the novel consists of the struggle between the oppressed and the oppressing classes.

After the arrest of Moses, another worker approaches Robert Moore. William Farren – the typical good, poor working-class man – was dismissed like many other workers with the arrival of new machinery “through no fault of his own” (Keating 27). What he says sums up the plight of the workers:

‘I’ve not much faith I’ Moses Barraclough,’ said he, ‘and I would speak a word to you myseln, Mr. Moore. It’s out o’ no ill-will that I am here, for my part; it’s just to mak’ a effort to get things straightened, for they’re sorely a crooked. Ye see we’re ill off – vary ill off: wer families is poor and pined. We’re thrown out o’ work wi’ these frames: we can get naught to do: we can earn nought. What is to be done? Mun we say , wisht! And lig us down and dee? Nay: I’ve no grand words at my tongue’s end, Mr. Moore, but I feel that it would be a low principle for a reasonable man to starve to death like a dumb creatur’ – I will n’t do’t. I’m not for shedding blood: I’d neither kill a man not hurt man; and I ‘m not for pulling down mills and breaking machines; for, as ye say, that way o’ going on ‘ll niver stop invention; but I’ll talk – I’ll mak’ as big a din as ever I can. (140-1; ch. 8)

Although Willam Farren’s living conditions get worse, he is peaceful unlike many vehement unemployed workers, so he seems to be the good working-class man. He is not against industrialization but still he wants to get his job back although he does not know how to achieve his aim. He says:

Invention may be all right, but I know it isn't right for poor folks to starve. Them that governs mun find a way to help us: they mun mak' fresh orderations. Ye'll say that's hard to do – so mich louder mun we shout out then, for so much slacker will t' Parliament-men be to set on to a tough job. (141; ch. 8)

It is clear that not all the workers want to break and destroy the machines; on the other hand, they are desperate because of unemployment, and cannot earn money. However, it is seen that the mill owner Robert Moore is also right in that he wants to preserve his mill. In this sense, the writer seems not to know whom to support but it can be argued that Brontë tends to side with the worker like William Farren, who is sensible and agreeable. William Farren wants Robert Moore to give them a chance, and asks him to “give them a bit of time” and “make his changes rather more slowly” (141; ch. 8). In response to the unemployed worker William Farren, Robert Moore says:

...if I stopped by the way an instant, while others are rushing on, I should be trodden down. If I did as you wish me to do, I should be bankrupt in a month, and would my bankruptcy put bread into your hungry children's mouth? Willam Farren, neither to your dictation, nor to that of any other, will I submit. Talk to me no more about machinery; I will have my own way. I shall get new frames in to-morrow. – If you broke these, I would still get more. I'll never give in.' (141; ch. 8)

It is clear that William Farren is not a rebel as the narrator states, William Farren “...was a very honest man, without envy or hatred of those more happily circumstanced than himself, thinking it no hardship and no injustice to be forced to live by labour, disposed to be honourably content if he could but get work to do” (142; ch.8). However, after this dialogue,

Farren “concluded that the foreign mill-owner was a selfish, an unfeeling, and, he thought, too, a foolish man” (142; ch. 8).

As discussed in the introduction of this thesis, the Industrial Revolution brought both blessings and miseries to the society. “...The damaging effects of capitalism on human psychology...” (Tyson 62) are revealed in the novel. The unemployed workers perceive the new machinery and the manufacturer as their enemy. Their misery turns into hatred, which causes discontent, as well.

As the manufacturers earn more, so does the country. But the earnings were not equal for everyone. Many workers were unemployed since the machines were producing both faster and cheaper when compared to hand-labor. Regarding this, it can be said that Charlotte Brontë has sympathy for the unemployed poor workers. It is obvious that when the workers are unemployed, they cannot put the bread on the table in their houses but the same thing cannot be said for the mill-owner Robert Moore because he has the money. However, we cannot be sure whether he will go bankrupt in a month if he does not dismiss the workers.

The novel not only deals with the working-class riots but also with the political events like Napoleonic War and the Orders in Council in 1807, which were implemented by the Queen. These decrees were ordered during the Napoleonic Wars to forbid French trade with the United Kingdom. Since America resisted such an embargo, the Orders in Council forbade the British tradesmen to trade with America. As a reaction to such an order, America went out of business with England. In the website of *Encyclopedia Britannica*, it is written that

Orders in council were first issued during the 18th century. Historically, the best known are those issued in November and December 1807, which imposed a blockade on Napoleonic Europe by the British and, in response, the decree by which the French might seize any neutral ship that complied with the British regulations. (“Order in Council.”)

Due to these orders, tradesmen suffered, and this is narrated in the novel with Robert Moore's suffering business because of the riots, war and the orders, that forbade trading in American markets. "In Yorkshire, the manufacturers, the clergy, and the workers suffer because the Orders of Council have cut off the principal markets of trade" (Gilbert and Gubar 375). The author writes about this political and historical event like a historian:

The "Orders in Council," provoked by Napoleon's Milan and Berlin decrees, and forbidding neutral powers to trade with France, had, by offending America, cut off the principal market of the Yorkshire woolen trade, and brought it consequently to the verge of ruin. (27-8; ch. 2)

As seen, Charlotte Brontë deals with not only class but also political conflicts. The author analyses class relations, political and socioeconomic conditions of the time.

At this crisis certain inventions in machinery were introduced into the staple manufactures of the north, which, greatly reducing the number of hands necessary to be employed, threw thousands out of work, and left them without legitimate means of sustaining life. (28; ch. 2)

The millworkers were working under hard conditions, and neglected in many ways. As R. E. Pritchard states "hours were very long, work wearisome, monotonous and strictly disciplined, wages poor, health and safety generally neglected" (144). The children, who were forced to work in factories, were also neglected during the industrial revolution. The miserable situation of the working children is depicted in the novel: "The mill-windows were alight, the bell still rung loud, and now the little children came running in... they had often come to their work that winter through snow-storms, through heavy rain, through hard frost" (60; ch. 5). To the children who were late for the work, Robert Moore "said a word of reprimand, which was a little more sharply repeated by Joe Scott when the lingerers reached the work-rooms" (60; ch. 5).

As aforementioned, due to political decisions such as Orders in Council, and the Napoleonic War, the middle and the working classes suffered a lot. The political unrest is created not only by wars but also by low wages and unemployment (Gordon 69). As reflected in the novel, the mill owner Robert Moore suffers economically, and for the workers, finding a job gets even harder, therefore, economic balance fluctuates. Charlotte Brontë portrays the people of the period through such descriptions: “national honour was become a mere empty name, of no value in the eyes of many, because their sight was dim with famine; and for a morsel of meat they would have sold their birthright. (27; ch. 2)

Concerning the situation of the workers, Marx and Engels remark in their *Communist Manifesto* that “these labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market” (9). The use of machinery and the fluctuation in Robert Moore’s factory lead the workers to be unemployed as if they are commodities. The life of a worker is dependent on his/her employer’s hands. As Friedrich Engels remarks, a factory worker

... knows that he has something today and that it does not depend upon himself whether he shall have something tomorrow. He knows that every breeze that blows, every whim of his employer, every bad turn of trade may hurl him back into the fierce whirlpool from which he has temporarily saved himself, and in which it is hard and often impossible to keep his head above water. He knows that, though he may have the means of living today, it is very uncertain whether he shall tomorrow. (Engels 72)

Apart from the social and working conditions of the factory workers, the status of women is also depicted in the novel, especially through the characters Shirley Keeldar and Caroline Helstone. “Brontë brings to the fore in this work the parallels between women and

workers” (Shuttleworth 183) because the workers and the women were both oppressed in the Victorian Era. Socially workers and women were regarded as incompetent and unemployed; and were “sick, in decline, oppressed, despised and silenced...by the bourgeois male” (Taylor 91). This parallel between the women and the unemployed workers is reflected in the novel as “old maids, like the houseless and unemployed poor, should not ask for a place and an occupation in the world; the demand disturbs the happy and rich – it disturbs parents” (401; ch. 22). As Sally Shuttleworth writes “the analogy between the situation of the ‘surplus’ middle-class woman and that of the unemployed worker is central to the structural organization of the novel” (183). None can gain their economic power because of the social and economic structure. Regarding the role of work for social life, Lee Holcombe states in his *Victorian Ladies at Work* that

Work was a positive good, necessary for women as for men to maintain them in both physical and mental health, for nothing was so depressing and so painful as to feel that one is in the world of no use. Work outside the home was also an excellent preparation for marriage, a means of education, promoting increased stability, independence, self-reliance, and any sort of steady womanly work would be a better preparation for married life than mere dull vacancy. (8)

Shirley Keeldar – introduced in the midst of the novel as a rich heiress who owns Moore’s mill – is a free-spirited, independent young wealthy woman, who does not wish to marry due to her belief that men are after her money. She is a good friend of Caroline Helstone – Robert and his brother Louis Moore’s distant cousin – who is looked after by her uncle Mr. Helstone, the rector of Briarfield parish. However, in the novel, Louis and Shirley love each other but they cannot reveal it due to the class difference between them. Louis Moore was “sent to England when a mere boy, and had received his education at an English

school. His education not being such as to adapt him for trade...he had... adopted the very arduous and very modest career of a teacher” (64; ch. 5). Louise worked as a tutor at Mr. Sympson’s (Shirley’s uncle) house. Love and marriage come to a deadlock due to class values. Shirley’s uncle Mr. Sympson would never let such a marriage but in the end, the free-spirited Shirley marries Louis Moore, who was her tutor when Shirley lived with The Sympsions. “The novel is about the events leading to the marriages of the most intensely-observed heroine, Caroline Helstone, and of the one who gives it its title, Shirley Keeldar” (Craik 130). Caroline is in love with her distant cousin Robert but she cannot talk about her love with anyone. She even tries to hide this truth from her friend Shirley. Caroline thinks that Shirley is also in love with Robert, and she believes that as a wealthy woman Shirley is more suitable as a wife to Robert than herself.

Robert, to whom marriage seems to be a commodity, associates marriage with economics. However, Caroline comes to terms with the supervalent thought that a rich middle class man marries a rich middle class woman, and she says:

"Of course, I know he will marry Shirley," were her first words when she rose in the morning. "And he ought to marry her: she can help him," she added firmly. "But I shall be forgotten when they *are* married," was the cruel succeeding thought. "Oh! I shall be wholly forgotten! And what – *what* shall I do when Robert is taken quite from me? Where shall I turn? *My* Robert! I wish I could justly call him mine: but I am poverty and incapacity; Shirley is wealth and power: and she is beauty too, and love – I cannot deny it. This is no sordid suit: she loves him – not with inferior feelings: she loves, or *will* love, as he must feel proud to be loved. Not a valid objection can be made. Let them be married, then: but afterwards I shall be nothing to him. As for being his sister, and all that stuff, I despise it. (264; ch. 14)

Drawing upon Caroline's account, it can be said that self-reliance, and decision-making in her society depend on social status, and on one's place in social hierarchy. Therefore, it is clear that Caroline believes she does not deserve to marry Robert Moore. Caroline's values and judgments seem to be shaped by the social rules. She lacks self-reliance, and she is ready to sacrifice her love. Unlike Shirley, Caroline cannot object to the Victorian common ideas, discussed so far. As Gilbert and Gubar remark "...that Shirley is Caroline's double, a projection of all her repressed desire, becomes apparent in the acts she performs "for" Caroline. What Shirley *does* is what Caroline would like to do..." (382). Although Caroline loves Robert, she betrays no emotion because of the oppression of the patriarchal society. Caroline's inner speeches reveal that she would like to go against the ones who ignore her. However, Shirley does not keep silent against any patriarchal thoughts; she is not backward in coming forward. While Caroline represses her desires, Shirley enunciates her thoughts to everyone.

In fact, Robert Moore's thinking of marrying Shirley is not because of his love but because of Shirley's wealth; he would like to put off his economic distresses by means of marrying a middle class lady. Even marriage seems to be degraded to a commodity – to be bought and sold between the same class members. This can be deduced from Moore's dialogue with his manufacturer friend Mr. Yorke,

I think I am not in a position to be dreaming of marriage. Marriage! I cannot bear the word: it sounds so silly and utopian. I have settled it decidedly that marriage and love are superfluities, intended only for the rich, who live at ease, and have no need to take thought for the morrow; or desperations, the last and reckless joy of the deeply wretched, who never hope to rise out of the slough of their utter poverty. (169; Ch. 9)

This paragraph about Robert Moore's thought on marriage illustrates the Victorian notion of marriage of the same class. In a way, marriage between the same classes seems to be an economic integration because in the Victorian Period, many people married for economic goals, in other words, a wealthy man would marry a daughter of a wealthy family or a poor working man would marry a working woman or a woman from the lower class due to the class-based Victorian society.

However, Caroline is a good friend and cousin of the Moores, and takes French lessons from Robert's sister Hortense. Following the first attack on Robert Moore's new machines, Caroline arrives early at Robert's house to take French lesson from Hortense. It is clear that Caroline worries about how Robert is, and asks: "You were not there? You were not with the wagons when they were attacked?" (69; ch. 5). When Robert Moore goes to Whinbury with his manufacturer friend Mr. Yorke for business to transact, Caroline tells Robert not to be late since she is worried about him due to the attacks on the mill-owners. Caroline also adds, "My uncle calls these times dangerous: he says, too, that mill-owners are unpopular" (69-70; ch. 5).

When Caroline talks to her uncle reverend Helstone, he tells his niece that being single is better than getting married:

"Uncle," said she, "whenever you speak of marriage, you speak of it scornfully: do you think people shouldn't marry?"

"It is decidedly the wisest plan to remain single, especially for women."

"Are all marriages unhappy?"

"Millions of marriages are unhappy: if everybody confessed the truth, perhaps all are more or less so." (102; ch. 7)

In the novel, Victorian Era is portrayed as a male-dominated society. Women, as discussed, are neglected, and degraded in many ways. Caroline is also neglected and has a

miserable life due to her alcoholic father, who left Caroline behind with her mother. Caroline's alcoholic father "...was not a good man, and...was never kind to her..." and she was locked "in a high garret-room" by her father "without a carpet, with a bare uncurtained bed, and scarcely any other furniture" and Caroline "had never seen him, except as a dead man in his coffin" (104; ch. 7). And as discussed, she is not happy to live with her insensitive uncle. Although the urge to flee triggers Caroline, she cannot do this. But Shirley is against male-dominant judgments. Some attributes to women are judged as immoral by Shirley when she talks to Caroline about the mermaids. Caroline says: "But, Shirley, [a mermaid] is not like us: we are neither temptresses, nor terrors, nor monsters", and Shirley replies: "Some of our kind, it is said, are all three. There are men who ascribe to 'woman,' in general, such attributes" (250; ch. 13). It is clear that Shirley is opposed to such negative, destructive and prejudiced attributes. It can be said that "by their authenticity, inner independence and originality Charlotte Brontë's heroines are distinctly removed from the traditional idea of woman and the contemporary conception of 'the female sphere' " (Basch 164).

However, the novel also depicts the traditional gender roles: a woman is expected to stay at home, and the husband has to earn their daily bread. As Caroline's uncle Mr. Helstone suggests, a woman has to "stick to the needle – learn shirt-making and gown-making, and pie-crust-making" until she would "be a clever woman some day" (100; ch. 7). Caroline's uncle Mr. Helstone does not let Caroline be a governess. Also, during the attack on the mill, Mr. Helstone orders Caroline to stay at home. Caroline is repressed by his uncle in such ways.

Throughout the novel Shirley and Caroline worry about the mill-owner Robert Moore. Since Shirley is wealthy and owns estates in Yorkshire, she does not work. Caroline would like to work but she cannot since middle-class women in that period did not usually work. Caroline reveals that she would like to work like a man when she talks to Robert Moore; she says: "I am making no money – earning nothing...I should like an occupation; and if I were a

boy, it would not be so difficult to find one” (71; ch. 5). Shirley and Caroline also talk about working:

‘Caroline’ demanded Miss Keeldar, abruptly, ‘don’t you wish you had a profession – a trade?’

‘I wish it fifty times a day. As it is, I often wonder what I came into the world for. I long to have something absorbing and compulsory to fill my head and hands, and to occupy my thoughts.’

‘Can labour alone make a human being happy?’

‘No; but it can give varieties of pain, and prevent us from breaking our hearts with single tyrant master-torture. Besides, successful labour has its recompense; a vacant, weary, lonely, hopeless life has none.’ (232; ch. 12)

This quotation entails conflicting ideas: on the one hand, Shirley advocates the development of women, but on the other hand, she tends to ascribe stereotypical and patriarchal attributes to women. “Middle-class girls, unlike their brothers, could not go to university, engage in business or enter the learned professions” (Gordon 120). Such popular wisdom of the time made woman a second class citizen. That is to say, the ruling worldview oppresses people, what is accepted to be true seems to be off the table, especially for women, who cannot decide their own occupations or go to a university. It seems that Caroline would rather work herself than need support from her uncle. Also it can be deduced that finding a job and working would make Caroline’s life more meaningful. She would be able to concentrate on her own life instead of worrying about Robert Moore. The narrator comments on this reality of the Victorian Era:

Look at the numerous families of girls in this neighbourhood--the Armitages, the Birtwhistles, the Sykeses. The brothers of these girls are every one in business or in professions; they have something to do. Their sisters have no

earthly employment but household work and sewing, no earthly pleasure but an unprofitable visiting, and no hope, in all their life to come, of anything better. This stagnant state of things makes them decline in health. They are never well, and their minds and views shrink to wondrous narrowness. (401-2; ch. 22)

If Caroline could have a purpose in life, then she would be refreshed mentally and physically but she is aware that social pressures and rules inhibit her, for instance, she could have been a governess if her uncle Mr. Helstone let her (Craik 133). It can be said that Charlotte Brontë portrays the reality that women are oppressed by social rules, which, in a way, prohibit women from going to university, choose their occupations and so on. Concerning the situation of the repressed women, Shirley says:

Men of England! look at your poor girls, many of them fading around you, dropping off in consumption or decline; or, what is worse, degenerating to sour old maids ... Fathers! cannot you alter these things? Perhaps not all at once; but consider the matter well when it is brought before you, receive it as a theme worthy of thought: do not dismiss it with an idle jest or an unmanly insult. You would wish to be proud of your daughters and not to blush for them ... cultivate them—give them scope and work—they will be your gayest companions in health; your tenderest nurses in sickness; your most faithful prop in age. (403; ch. 22)

The debased situation of women in the male-dominated Victorian England is described, and criticised. Shirley suffers from the common attitude towards women in the Victorian Era, as well. In the novel the mill foreman Joe Scott declines talking to Shirley and Caroline on politics due to his belief in male superiority in such issues:

‘Politics are our habitual study, Joe. Do you know I see a newspaper every day, and two of a Sunday?’

‘I should think you’ll read the marriages, probably, Miss, and the murders, and the accidents, and sich like?’

‘I read the leading articles, Joe, and the foreign intelligence, and I look over the market prices: in short, I read just what gentlemen read...I have rather a leaning to the agricultural interest, too; as good reason is, seeing that I don’t desire England to be under the feet of France, and that if a share of my income comes from Hollow’s mill, a larger share comes from the landed estate around it’. (336; ch. 18)

These passages are cited from Chapter 18, which is titled “Which the Genteel Reader is Recommended to Skip, Low Persons Being Here Introduced” (327; ch. 18). In this chapter some workers are depicted as rude and disrespectful. As seen, Joe Scott is a narrow minded man as a product of patriarchal values. But as the dialogue goes on, it is clear that Shirley is not a typical Victorian woman who keeps quite when a man asserts that she is uninformed in politics and business. Shirley asks: ‘Joe, do you seriously think all the wisdom in the world is lodged in male skulls?’, and Joe replies: ‘I think that women are a kittle and a forward generation...’ (337; ch. 18).

This conversation shows how a typical Victorian man can be prejudiced about women. Joe Scott even says “women is to take their husbands’ opinion, both in politics and religion...” (339; ch. 18). In this respect, as Eugène Forçade states, “as a picture of society, the novel could have been called *Shirley, or the Condition of Women in the English middle-class*” (qtd. in Allott 143). Regarding the condition of women, Felicia Gordon argues that

At the beginning of the century, for example, women could not vote, a married woman could not own property nor sue her husband for divorce, though he could divorce her; and she had no rights of custody over their children, no legal

share in the house in which she lived and no control over the money she herself might inherit or earn. (119)

This was the social picture prevalent in the Victorian Era, and it is reflected in the novel. Women were regarded as pure, innocent, and angel-like or evil, sinister, and crumb as Shirley's observation reveals:

If men could see us as we really are, they would be a little amazed; but the cleverest, the acutest men are often under an illusion about women: they do not read them in a true light; they misapprehend them, both for good and evil: their good woman is a queer thing, half doll, half angel; their bad woman almost always a fiend. (360; ch. 20)

Joe believes that as a man he is superior to Shirley but he does nothing to prove his superiority. Shirley tries to do her best to help the poor by making charitable aids to the families of unemployed workers. The conversation between her and Caroline reveals Shirley's sincere efforts in this issue: "I have money in hand, and I really must do some good with it. The Briarfield poor are badly off; they must be helped. What ought I to do, think you, Lina? Had I not better distribute the cash at once?" (270-1; ch. 14).

However, it is obvious that just giving money to the poor cannot solve the problem of unemployment. She just saves the day by distributing her money to the poor, and it can be said that such an attitude may cause more social problems. Although Caroline and Shirley gather a charity fund to help the poor with the aid of clergy, they cannot be successful in treating the problem of class struggle, and poverty. However, Shirley announces that she would react against provocative workers if her business was imperiled.

For, after all if political incendiaries come here to kindle conflagration in the neighbourhood, and my property is attacked, I shall defend it like a tigress—I know I shall ... If once the poor gather and rise in the form of the mob, I shall

turn against them as an aristocrat: if they bully me, I must defy; if they attack, I must resist,—and I will. (271-2; ch. 14)

From this standpoint, the author seems to point out that the workers may demand justice differentially, that is to say, workers or any repressed groups have the right to legal remedies as long as they do not run riot. William Farren is one of those workers that Shirley would like to help. Farren seems to be “an object of social pity” (Keating 27). The dialogue between the worker William Farren and Shirley is important since it reveals the psychology of an unemployed worker:

‘...I believe you would rather have starved than gone to the shops without money; and when I wanted to give you something, what a difficulty I had in making you take it!’

‘...I’d rather give than take, especially from sich as ye. Look at t’ difference between u: you’re a little, young, slender lass, and I’m a great strong man: I’m rather more nor twice your age. It is not my part then, I think, to tak’ fro’ ye — to be under obligations (as they say) to ye; and that day ye came to our house, and called me to t’ door, and offered me five shillings...I thought it shameful that, willing and able as I was to work, I suld be i’ such a condition that a young creatur about the age o’ my own eldest lass suld think it needful to come and offer me her bit o’ brass.’ (332-3; ch. 18)

Shirley is a sensitive woman, who cares about the problems of the workers. She wants to solve the unemployment problem in her and Robert’s mill, and that is why she brings money to the unemployed workers but it is obvious that this cannot be a solution to such a serious problem. Typically, an unemployed working-class character “is helped over immediate material problems by individual philanthropy” (Keating 27). However, this cannot always be accepted by some honorable characters as is observed in the character, William

Farren. The dialogue between Willam Farren and Caroline Helstone and Shirley Keeladar now turns to be about Robert Moore:

‘In course, starving folk cannot be satisfied or settled folk. The country’s not in a safe condition; I’ll say so mich!...If ye could transport your tenant, Mr. Moore, to Botany Bay, ye’d happen do better. Folks hate him.’

‘William, for shame! exclaimed Caroline, warmly. ‘If folks do hate him, it is to their disgrace, not his. Mr. Moore himself hates nobody; he only wants to do his duty, and maintain his rights: you are wrong to talk so!’ (334; ch. 18)

Although she listens to the problems of the workers, she worries about Robert Moore, as well. Shirley seems to be a mediator between the workers and Robert Moore. When compared with men, Caroline and Shirley would like the struggle between the workers and mill-owners to come to an end. Therefore, it can be said that women are portrayed as peace makers whereas men of the working and middle classes tend to act disapprovingly. In chapter nineteen, the riot takes place at a summer night. Working classes band together to rebel against the manufacturer Robert Moore. As is stated by Marx and Engels, the workers “have nothing to lose but their chains” (34).

Since Robert Moore and Caroline’s uncle Mr. Helstone become aware of the situation, they make provisions against the attack with the help of soldiers. Everyone, even the state, seems to support the mill-owner Robert Moore. From this point of view, what Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote in their *Communist Manifesto* seems to be valid: “the executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie” (5). In other words, “the employers (bourgeoisie) have the economic power and thereby gain social and political control of their society” (Bressler 168). As observed, the manufacturer has the economic power, and he has the control of the society with the help of the reverend and

the brigade. In a way, it is implied that the working class is neglected since they have no political or economic power.

Just before the attack, Mr. Helstone asks Shirley to stay with Caroline, and he tells Shirley that he will send Mrs. Pryor, Shirley's governess, her word that Shirley would stay with Caroline. Mr. Helstone has respect for Shirley's nobility and courage, and Caroline tells it to Shirley "my uncle, who I not given to speak well of women, says there are not ten thousand men in England as genuinely fearless as you" (270; ch. 14). This is why Mr. Helstone lets Shirley take and use the loaded pistol if needed. At night, Shirley and Caroline hear the voices of the rioters, and the two girls get out to see what is going on. They do this secretly because as Shirley says "men never want women near them in time of real danger" (350; ch. 19). The rioters' is "a struggle about money, and food, and life" (350; ch. 19). While the girls are talking, the rioters attack the mill with great anger.

A crash-smash-shiver-stopped their whispers. A simultaneously hurled volley of stones had saluted the broad front of the mill, with all its windows; and now every pane of every lattice lay in shattered and pounded fragments. A yell followed this demonstration—a rioters' yell—a north-of-England, a Yorkshire, a West-Riding, a West-Riding-clothing-district-of-Yorkshire rioters' yell. (352; ch. 19)

Charlotte Brontë narrates the battle-like situation like a historian because the struggle between the two groups is like a revival of Luddite Riots. As Marx and Engels state, workers "...direct their attacks not against the bourgeois conditions of production, but against the instruments of production themselves; they destroy imported wares that compete with their labour" (11). As narrated, "they smash to pieces machinery, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman... (11). Robert Moore, his friends, and the soldiers respond to the fire.

Shots were discharged by the rioters. Had the defenders waited for this signal? It seemed so. The hitherto inert and passive mill woke; fire flashed from its empty window-frames; a volley of musketry pealed sharp through the Hollow. (353; ch. 19)

As G. M. Trevelyan argues, “harshness often appeared...in the attitude to Luddites and the ‘labouring poor’ in general” (690). The manufacturers and the workers were – in a way – waging a fight. However, this is not the only attacked mill, but it is the first in which the rioters find resistance and an organized defense, therefore the rioters get back away from the mill with the wounded men.

Obviously, Charlotte Brontë was inspired by the riots which took place in the early 19th century. In her book *Against the Machine: the Hidden Luddite Tradition in Literature, Art, and Individual Lives*, Nicols Fox states that

...between 1811 and 1816, in the five central manufacturing countries of England – a triangle that included parts of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Leicester – organized groups of men, under the Luddite banner, raised whatever banners they could master, from muskets and revolvers to hatchets and blacksmith hammers, and in furious reaction to the installation of new technology that was taking their jobs and disrupting their lives, smashed certain types of mechanical looms. (24)

As purported, the historical context of the Luddite riots is narrated in the novel. The mill-owner Robert Moore and his mill is attacked by the unemployed workers who smash the machines, and attack him directly.

Caroline becomes ill because of thinking of the struggle between the workers and his beloved Robert Moore, who – according to Caroline – will marry Shirley. However, as mentioned before, Caroline has nothing to do in life: she has neither a job, nor a family, who

really loves her. “Most of the allusions to the loneliness and powerlessness of the single woman in a man’s world are made by or about Caroline Helstone...” (Peschier 132) since she is shaped by society, and social rules.

When Caroline gets seriously ill, Shirley’s governess Mrs. Pryor takes care of Caroline. Upon realizing that Caroline would like to be a governess since she cannot marry Robert Moore, Mrs. Pryor tells her ideas about love and working as a governess. Mrs. Pryor is experienced enough to know that living and working as a governess is a difficult task. Mrs. Pryor shares her own experiences as a governess:

My life in this house was sedentary, solitary, constrained, joyless, toilsome. The dreadful crushing of the animal spirits, the ever prevailing sense of friendlessness and homelessness consequent on this state of things, began ere long to produce mortal effects on my constitution,—I sickened. (385; ch. 21)

As the paragraph illustrates, Mrs. Pryor is socially neither a middle class nor a lower class, therefore, she advises Caroline not to even think about being a governess, and says “...you had better not attempt to be a governess, as the duties of the position would be too severe for your constitution” (387; ch. 21). However, like Caroline’s uncle, Mrs. Pryor despises love and marriage:

“My dear,” she murmured, “life is an illusion.”

“But not love! Love is real: the most real, the most lasting,—the sweetest and yet the bitterest thing we know.”

“My dear—it is very bitter. It is said to be strong—strong as death! Most of the cheats of existence are strong. As to their sweetness— nothing is so transitory: its date is a moment,—the twinkling of an eye: the sting remains for ever: it may perish with the dawn of eternity, but it tortures through time into its deepest night.” (388; ch. 21)

Mrs. Pryor's bitter remarks about love might be related to her alcoholic husband from whom she ran away and left her daughter. What Mrs. Pryor tells Caroline is the same as what others tell her; actually this is the reality of the Victorian notion of love and marriage. As Judith Wilt remarks in her article, "Shirley: Reflections on Marrying Moores", "the chorus against marriage is loud and varied in *Shirley*. Both the matrons and the patriarchs are agreed that love and marriage are dangerous, they wreck the health, distract business" (7). Mrs. Pryor believes that being single is freedom since she says that marriage is never happy, to which Caroline replies: "You echo my uncle's words! ... you speak like Mrs. Yorke, in her most gloomy moments:— like Miss Mann, when she is most sourly and hypochondriacally disposed" (389; ch. 21).

Finally Mrs. Pryor reveals her true identity; she is, in fact, Caroline's mother: 'it means that, if I have given you nothing else, I at least gave you life; that I bore you – nursed you; that I am your true mother: no other woman can claim the title – it is mine' (439; ch. 24). Upon this confession, Caroline recovers fast. She says 'but if you are my mother, the world is all changed to me. Surely I can live – I should like to recover' (440; ch. 24).

Caroline also worries about Robert Moore due to the workers' hatred. But William Farren's hatred vanishes when he becomes a gardener. It seems that Caroline finds plenty to talk to William Farren:

They had a dozen topics in common-interesting to them, unimportant to the rest of the world. They took a similar interest in animals, birds, insects, and plants; they held similar doctrines about humanity to the lower creation, and had a similar turn for minute observation on points of natural history. The nest and proceedings of some ground-bees, which had burrowed in the turf under an old cherry-tree, was one subject of interest; the haunts of certain hedge-

sparrows, and the welfare of certain pearly eggs and callow fledglings, another.
(452; ch. 25)

The class struggle seems to disappear when the two sides take a close interest in each other. William Farren is happy to work as a gardener, and Caroline is fortunate and merry since she finds out that Mrs. Pryor is her mother.

After the attack on his mill, Robert Moore leaves Briarfield for a few months to find out the attackers, but he does not come back for a long time. Everyone knows that "...his four ringleaders he had soon scented out and run down; he had attended their trial, heard their conviction and sentence, and seen them safely shipped prior to transportation" (540; ch. 30). However, Moore's proposal of marriage to Shirley Keeldar is declined since she knows Moore wants to marry her for saving his mill. Moore feels humiliated since he is refused by Shirley, this is why he leaves the town.

When Robert Moore returns to Briarfield, he talks to his friend Mr. Yorke, a manufacturer, and tells him how Shirley refused his marriage proposal: "'You have made a strange proposal... You spoke like a brigand who demanded my purse, rather than like a lover who asked my heart'" (547; ch. 30).

Being far from Briarfield and business for a while enables Moore to think freely and unprejudiced. After his confession of being refused by Shirley, he confesses how his character changed:

While I was in Birmingham, I looked a little into reality, considered closely, and at their source, the causes of the present troubles of this country; I did the same in London. Unknown, I could go where I pleased, mix with whom I would. I went where there was want of food, of fuel, of clothing; where there was no occupation and no hope ... I saw many originally low, and to whom lack of education left scarcely anything but animal wants, disappointed in those

wants, ahungered, athirst, and desperate as famished animals: I saw what taught my brain a new lesson, and filled my breast with fresh feelings. (555; ch. 30)

While away from Briarfield, Robert Moore realizes the miserable working and living conditions of the workers in London and Birmingham. The miserable plight of the workers in London and Birmingham brings to mind Friedrich Engels' observations while he was in Manchester. As Friedrich Engels states in *the Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, in which he tells the working and living conditions of the workers in the Victorian England which he witnessed while he was in Manchester at a factory, "What is true of London, is true of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, is true of all great towns. Everywhere barbarous indifference, hard egotism on one hand, and nameless misery on the other, everywhere social warfare..." (Engels 71). All these cities had population explosions due to the migration from the rural area to the urban area. People migrated from their villages or small towns to cities to find jobs at the factories or ateliers because they expected to live in better conditions. However, as realized, life was not as easy and comfortable as the poor thought. The worker had to struggle for survival in the capitalist order. In regard to this issue, Friedrich Engels remarks that,

Since capital, the direct or indirect control of the means of subsistence and production is the weapon with which this social warfare is carried on, it is clear that all the disadvantages of such a state must fall upon the poor. For him no man has the slightest concern. Cast into the whirlpool, he must struggle through as well as he can. If he is so happy as to find work, i.e., if the bourgeoisie does him the favour to enrich itself by means of him, wages await him which scarcely suffice to keep body and soul together; if he can get no work he may steal, if he is not afraid of the police, or starve, in which case the

police will take care that he does so in a quiet and inoffensive manner. During my residence in England, at least twenty or thirty persons have died of simple starvation under the most revolting circumstances... (71-72)

As Engels states, life in an industrialized world is rough. Unemployment brings hunger, homelessness, diseases and much other financial impossibility. And as Engels remarks, an unemployed worker may steal or even kill anyone for money as narrated in the novel. A weaver shoots Robert Moore because of the official investigation he has launched on the attackers of his mill. His manufacturer friend's wife Mrs. Yorke takes care of Moore for several months in Briarmains. She lets no one visit Robert Moore, while he is in his death bed. Soon Robert Moore realizes what it is like to be at the mercy of someone else, and understands the situation of the mill workers who can earn and live as long as a factory owner lets them work. Likewise, Engels' ideas seem parallel to how Robert feels: "Who assures [the working-man] employment, who vouches for it that, if for any reason or no reason his lord and master discharges him tomorrow, he can struggle along with those dependent upon him, until he may find someone else "to give him bread"?" (Engels 72). Robert Moore, for the first time, develops empathy for the workers, who are dependent on an employer to live.

Mrs. Yorke is a typical Victorian woman, who does not believe in love and marriage of love; therefore, she does not let Caroline visit Robert since Mrs. Yorke supposes that sensuality may deteriorate Robert's health. But Mrs. Yorke's son Martin secretly gets Caroline in. Moore rejoices to see Caroline, and realizes that he needs to confess his love to Caroline. It is apparent that Robert Moore has changed a lot personally. In the final chapter of the book, the narrator tells the reader who shot Robert Moore with a striking anecdote:

Mr. Moore knew who had shot him, and all Briarfield knew: it was no other than Michael Hartley, the half-crazed weaver once before alluded to, a frantic Antinomian in religion, and a mad leveller in politics; the poor soul died of

delirium tremens a year after the attempt on Moore, and Robert gave his wretched widow a guinea to bury him. (654; ch. 37)

Meanwhile, Shirley's Uncle Mr. Sympson visits Fieldhead, and expects Shirley to marry Sir Philip Nunnely, a lord who loves Shirley. Like Mr. Helstone, Mrs. Pryor, and Robert Moore, Mr. Sympson believes that wo/man needs to get married for financial benefits, and tells Shirley that marriage "is a question of common sense and common prudence, not of sympathy and sentiment" (567; ch. 31). Mr. Sympson gets angry when he talks about marriage with Shirley, and clarifies marriage not with sensation but with reason. To Mr. Sympson's question "will your principles permit you to marry a man without money—a man below you?", Shirley replies "Never a man below me" (558; ch. 31). But, as will be seen, both Caroline and Shirley marry for love at the end of the novel. As mentioned, Charlotte Brontë's "heroines determine their fortunes less by the dictates of society than by their own wishes. Their choice of mate, as well as their choice of circumstances, is based on personal feeling, regardless of what society expects" (Karl 160). As an independent woman, Shirley reveals her love for Louis Moore, who is then Shirley's cousin Henry Sympson's tutor.

Governesses and teachers were not paid and treated well in those days, and as a poor man, Louis cannot talk about his love for Shirley. Louis is aware of the class distinction, and asks Shirley whether she has rejected Sir Philip Nunnely. Louis Moore thinks that Shirley could marry Sir Nunnely due to "conformity of rank; age; pleasing contrast of temper, for he is mild and amiable..." (636; ch. 36). Louis knows that Shirley loves him, as well. Louis confesses his love, and says "...I love you – love you with my life and strength" (640; ch. 36) to which Shirley replies that she loves him "a little bit" (640; ch. 36). Throughout the novel, it is revealed that Shirley would like to marry someone wise, strong, handsome and a man who could be her master. At last, Shirley tells her love for Louis, who says, in return: "be my

companion through life; be my wife where I am ignorant: be my master where I am faulty; be my friend always!” (643; ch. 36).

As Heather Glen writes in her article “Shirley and Villette”,

The final chapter of Shirley tells of the resolution of many of the characters’ dilemmas. The paralysis imposed by the Orders in Council is ended; Caroline’s romantic desires are fulfilled; Robert Moore’s ‘day-dreams’ are realized; the workers are employed. (130)

Shirley and Caroline marry Louis and Robert Moore, respectively. In the end, for both couples love of marriage takes place against the Victorian social norms, in other words, marriage between different classes occurs. As Penny Bomelha states,

...Shirley accords its gender schema, the collision of masculine and feminine spheres, priority over its representation of the interests of class: indeed, in the more or less classic fashion of nineteenth-century industrial novels, it will slide class difference beneath gender in order that marriage may affect a reconciliation of sorts at the close... (98)

On the other hand, “the Orders in Council were repealed in June, and although Luddite incidents continued into the summer – and in the Midlands until 1816-17 – they petered out in Yorkshire by the fall of 1812” (Webb 125). The political stability brought order to the social life with it, and regarding this stability the manufacturer Robert Moore states:

The repeal of the Orders in Council saves me. Now I shall not turn bankrupt; now I shall not give up business; now I shall not leave England; now I shall be no longer poor; now I can pay my debts... Now, I can take more workmen; give better wages; lay wiser and more liberal plans; do some good; be less selfish... (659; ch. 37)

As can be realized, Robert Moore's economic relief, and his chance to think about the condition of the workmen while he is on the death bed changes his personality. From this point of view, it can be deduced that economic conditions seem to be the determining factor for both the manufacturer and the workmen. "Robert Moore's business, and by connection his personal fate, depend on the actual historical time when events happen: his bankruptcy is barely averted by the repeal of the Orders in Council" (Craik 128).

As Igor Webb writes in his book "Yorkshire Luddism ended formally in the trial of the Luddites held at York Castle between January 2 and 12, 1813" (126). Without the repeal of the Orders in Council, Robert Moore could have become bankrupt; the riots could have gone on, and the novel could not have had such a happy ending. It is clear that political stability brings economic and therefore social stability. It is revealed that what Brontë wrote in her novel reflects the reality of the years between 1811 and 1812.

Consequently with the realistic representation of the middle class and working class, class system and its consequences, *Shirley* critiques the concept of classism and capitalism. The riots, class struggle, and the status of the oppressed women and workers are portrayed in a realistic way, and this reality is examined with the passages from the novel. It is seen that the real history, social contradictions, and socioeconomic injustices reflect the miserable reality about the oppressed groups.

As seen, the factory workers are described as rude, and easily outraged to mob behavior, on the other hand, the factory owner Robert Moore, and other middle class characters seem to be realist and polite but insensitive and self-interested, as well. In the end, reconciliation takes place; sympathy and conscience generate a relatively self-satisfied society. Therefore, the novelist wishes for a peaceful society through solidarity, communication and cooperation. Otherwise, the society gets more polarized, and the antagonism increases. Concordantly, the historian G. M. Trevelyan remarks that "although the

proletariat assembled in the new industrial districts...it was still easy to keep them down so long as they had no middle-class support, and no legal trade union organization of their own” (716). Therefore, as the novelist suggests, each class needs to support the other for social welfare. The riot, struggle, and the tension between the workers and master are revealed in the novel, which – in this respect – seems to be a critique of the negative effects of capitalism and industrialization.

3. *HARD TIMES*

Like *Shirley*, *Hard Times* focuses on the conflict between the middle class and the working class. Both works are known as “Condition-of-England” novels. The aim of this chapter of the study is to analyse the negative effects of industrialism, utilitarianism, the social class, class differences, and struggles as reflected in *Hard Times* (1854).

Charles John Huffham Dickens was born in 1812, Portsmouth, England, as a member of middle class family. His father John Dickens was a clerk in the Royal Navy Pay Office in Portsmouth, Hampshire. Dickens family had turbulent times when John Dickens was imprisoned in the Marshalsea Debtors’ Prison due to his debts incurred when he could not supply with his large family (Lawrence, Seifter and Ratner 205). After a month in the prison, as was the custom in the Victorian Period, his wife Elizabeth and their four children accompanied him to the prison. And a few months later, John Dickens and his family were released upon the death of his mother, who left him about £ 450 (Urgan 982- 984). During his family’s imprisonment, Charles Dickens worked at a blacking warehouse to earn money (Smith 3). When he was fifteen, he left his education to work as a clerk in a law office, and then as a journalist and reporter (Urgan 983-984).

In 1836, at the age of twenty-four, Dickens married Catherine Hogarth but after 22 years Catherine separated from Dickens due to her husband’s forbidden love affair with the young actress Ellen Ternan (Urgan 986). Charles Dickens died in 1870, and was buried in the Poet’s Corner of Westminster Abbey.

Among Dickens’ worldwide known novels are: *Pickwick Papers* (1836-37), *Oliver Twist* (1837-39), *Nicholas Nickleby* (1838-39), *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1840-41), *Barnaby Rudge* (1841), *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1843-44), *Dombey and Son* (1846-48), *David Copperfield* (1849-50), *Bleak House* (1852-53), *Hard Times* (1854), *Little Dorrit* (1855-57), *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859), *Great Expectations* (1860-61), *Our Mutual Friend* (1864-65), *The Mystery*

of *Edwin Drood* (half the work was completed when he passed away-1870). Dickens' novels were published as serials⁴ (installments), and *Hard Times* was serialized in Dickens' weekly magazine *Household Worlds* as a "weekly serial from 1 April, 1854 to August 12, 1854" (Johnson "Chronology of Novels.").

Charles Dickens witnessed the rapid progress of industrialization, and urbanization throughout his life in the Victorian England. In this sense, *Hard Times* is "a novel of industrialism and class violence" (Schor 67). As a writer, he felt responsibility towards the negative effects of this rapid industrialization, migration from rural area to urban area, and the rapid urbanization due to the changes in Victorian Age, and he "had a reputation as a reformer" (Cunningham 159). It can be said that in his novels, "a novelist like Dickens is after a deeper set of truths" (Stearns and Burns 2). Regarding Charles Dickens's depictions of social responsibility in his novels, Donald Hawes states that

Dickens's exposure of certain social ills and anomalies still has an historical interest and importance: the plight of the poor in the workhouses and slums, the lack of urban sanitation, the absurdities and delays of legal proceedings, the incompetence and obstructiveness of the Circumlocution Office and the forcefeeding of the facts in schools. (6)

Victorian England was a hierarchical society, that is to say, a settled order of hierarchy was prevailing. Changes in the landscape, industrial cities, and population growth with industrialization directed Dickens to be the voice of the voiceless oppressed groups, namely: women, orphans and workers in his novels. Therefore, as Stearns and Burns express: "Dickens was a master at weaving a masterpiece from detail after detail of people, many of them from a largely ignored underclass, against the harsh backdrop of a society's crumbling feudal structure slowly, and inexorably giving way to industrial capitalism" (2).

⁴ Publishing a novel in a magazine or newspaper as weekly or monthly installments.

In *Hard Times*, Thomas Gradgrind, a retired merchant, and a member of parliament for Coketown, a northern mill town, educates the students and his children Louisa and Tom according to the Utilitarian principles, in which imagination is externalized while rationality is internalized because his education system is based on Jeremy Bentham's theories of utility, viz, the belief system which tests all institutions in the light of human reason and common sense in order to determine whether such institutions are useful, in that if they contribute to the greatest happiness of the greatest numbers of men. In a schoolroom, Thomas Gradgrind, "the embodiment of Utilitarianism" (Cunningham 160), talks about the importance of facts in life. Gradgrind believes in a fact-based life, and aims to raise his children and all students in his school through this system. Among the students of this Utilitarian-school are Cecilia (Sissy) Jupe, a sentimental girl belonging to the circus, and Bitzer, a self-interested pupil inured to Utilitarian education. When Sissy's father (a circus man) vanishes, Thomas Gradgrind, "the Utilitariantheorist and politician" (Schor 68), takes Sissy to his house, which pleases Sissy because her father wants her to get a proper education. However, Sissy looks after sick Mrs. Gradgrind. On the other hand, repressed by her father and the Utilitarian-system based on facts, and prompted by her self-interested brother Tom, Louisa, Gradgrind's daughter, marries Josiah Bounderby, Thomas Gradgrind's banker and manufacturer friend. Tom, however, works at Bounderby's bank.

Manufacturer and banker Josiah Bounderby presents himself as a self-made man, who was brought up by his alcoholic grandmother but late in the novel, his mother shows up when Bounderby's widowed caretaker Mrs. Sparsit supposes that she is the robber of Bounderby's bank; therefore, his made-up stories come to light. Actually, Gradgrind's son Tom is the robber who premeditates to bring into doubt to Stephen Blackpool, a poor worker at Bounderby's factory. Stephen Blackpool suffers materially and spiritually as a worker, who becomes an outcast since he does not join the union, gathered against Bounderby's factory,

and suffers as a husband, who seeks divorce from his alcoholic wife, who flees from and returns to their house time to time. However, the reason that Stephen does not become a member of workers union is Rachael, his beloved. He cannot divorce his wife since divorce is unaffordable for a worker as his master Boundery tells him. However, Stephen Blackpool, being fired by Bounderby, goes to another town to look for a job but is obliged to turn back to clear his name from robbery. Unfortunately, he falls down into a mineshaft, and dies after claiming his innocence.

Meanwhile, Louisa is seduced by James Harthouse, a politician, with whom she plans to elope but she cannot, and goes to her father's house where Sissy supports her. Thomas Gradgrind questions his Utilitarian way of life due to his daughter's striking words about his ill and one-sided education system. However, Tom shelters himself in Mr. Sleary's circus, but he is found by Bitzer, who is ready to take him to Bounderby to get Tom's position at Bounderby's bank. But with Sleary's help, Tom escapes. In the end, Bounderby dies, and Thomas Gradgrind is racked with pain by his fact-based, materialist life style.

As seen, the negative outcomes of industrialization, such as unemployment, minimum salary, aggravated working circumstances, lack of communication between the social classes, materialism, and increasing class discrimination are of concern to Charles Dickens, who satirizes the ills of the time. However, all these problems are Karl Marx's concern, as well; therefore it can be said that "...the works of Marx and Dickens serve as a complement to each other. They were writing at a similar time and place and looking at many of the same social problems in resonant ways" (Stearns and Burns 7). Therefore, as a writer, "Dickens has been significant for traditional Marxist criticism in that his texts deal explicitly with social issues..." (Newton 452). Regarding the plight of the workers, Dickens, in his *Hard Times*, deals with Chartism, "a movement engineered and controlled by working men to achieve

parliamentary democracy as a step towards social and economic reform” (Bloy “A Web of English History.”).

The class-based Victorian society is narrated through two plots. The first one is the story of Thomas Gradgrind, who does not include love, imagination and fancy in his life or education system as a defender of Utilitarianism, through which he brings misery to both of his children. As Juliet John argues in her article, Dickens “distrusted Polytechnic Institutions, for example, which to Dickens symbolized a Utilitarian view of education and a mechanized view of humanity” (144). The second plot centres on the banker and manufacturer Josiah Bounderby, his factory, and the workers union. As will be discussed in this chapter of the study, Louisa, Tom, Bitzer, Stephen Blackpool, and many other characters, coming from different social backgrounds, suffer in this class-conscious society, and have “hard times”. However, the circus life, narrated as full of love, sympathy, and feelings, portrayed by Sissy, Mr. Sleary and others, seems to be the antithesis of a loveless, insensitive and rule-based industrialized and utilitarian society. Regarding these two plots, this chapter of the study analyses the novel with two aims: the first purpose is to study Utilitarianism and its negative effects on the society, whilst the second purpose is to probe into the working class and middle class conflicts and unions, and finally to combine these two aims to call forth the plight of the oppressed groups, and the writer’s offer to class struggle, that is to say, establishing a better communication between the working class and the middle class instead of polarizing the society through riots or lock-outs.

Throughout the novel, it is observed that the manufacturer Josiah Bounderby, the Member of the Parliament Thomas Gradgrind, the model student and bank employee Bitzer are narrated as big-headed, selfish and self-interested. In addition, the public institutions such as schools, factories, banks, jails and infirmaries are portrayed in a gloomy, mechanic, depressing and dark atmosphere.

All the public inscriptions in the town were painted alike, in severe characters of black and white. The jail might have been the infirmary, the infirmary might have been the jail, the town-hall might have been either, or both, or anything else, for anything that appeared to the contrary in the graces of their construction. Fact, fact, fact, everywhere in the material aspect of the town; fact, fact, fact, everywhere in the immaterial. The M'Choakumchild school was all fact, and the school of design was all fact, and the relations between master and man were all fact... (19; Book I ch. 5)⁵

All the institutions seem oppressive and dreary. Unpleasant facts encircle the town, institutions, and all relations of people. It can be deduced that the writer wants a radical change in the attitudes of the ruling class to establish a peaceful and merry society. For instance, in the scene of the schoolroom at the beginning of the novel, Mr. Gradgrind talks about facts by excluding the power of imagination in education, and it seems that the teacher M'Choakumchild and the inspector, as the representatives of the state, approve and adapt such a rigidly limited education system (Elbir 148). Furthermore, when Thomas Gradgrind becomes a "Member of Parliament for Coketown", he becomes "one of the representatives of the multiplication table, one of the deaf honourable gentlemen, dumb honourable gentlemen, blind honourable gentlemen, lame honourable gentlemen, dead honourable gentlemen" (73; Book I ch. 14). The narrator states that the Members of Parliament are "deaf, dumb, blind and lame", in other words, they are useless, inadequate to solve out the public problems. In *Hard Times*, factory and bank owners are caricaturized through the so-called self-made manufacturer and banker Josiah Bounderby, as well. But, Bounderby's friend the self-opinionated and big-headed Thomas Gradgrind – the landholder of a school, and a Member of

⁵ Dickens, Charles. *Hard Times*. Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Ltd., 2000. Hereafter all the references will be made to this edition, and only book, chapter and page numbers will be given.

Parliament – educates his own children Louisa, and Tom, and the other students according to scientific facts since he believes that there should be no room for fancy or imagination in life. As Schor remarks “...the distortion of the children’s imagination (particularly Tom and Louisa’s) remains central to the novel’s plan” (68).

Concerning Dickens’ criticism of industrialism in *Hard Times*, Leavis states that

...in *Hard Times* he is ...possessed by a comprehensive vision, one in which the inhumanities of Victorian civilization are seen as fostered and sanctioned by a hard philosophy...represented by Thomas Gradgrind” who applies “the Utilitarian spirit in Victorian education. (228)

In this context, *Hard Times* is regarded as “a judgement of social attitudes” (Williams 93). Thomas Gradgrind promotes the views of Utilitarianism, which is a theory developed by Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), who believes in the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people. In his book *Principles of Morals and Legislations*, Jeremy Bentham writes:

By the principle of utility is meant that principle which approves or disapproves of every action whatsoever, according to the tendency which it appears to have to augment or diminish the happiness of the party whose interest is in question... if that party be the community in general, then the happiness of the community. (9)

Utilitarianism is based on the fact that “actions are...judged only by the contribution they make to increase human happiness or decreasing human misery” (Rée and Urmson 384). This theory is delineated by the Grandgrind School through the characters Thomas Grandgrind, his children Tom and Louisa, a teacher Mr. M’Choakumchild, and some students such as Bitzer, and Sicilia (Sissy) Jupe. Dickens satirizes utilitarianism through the portrayal of the negative outcomes of the utilitarian education system as practiced at Gradgrind’s School.

As seen, Bentham – through his theory of utility – believes that the interest of the community needs to be put in the first place, in other words, as he states, “the greatest happiness of the greatest number...is the measure of right and wrong” (393). Pain and pleasure are decisive on the happiness, and utility, viz, to judge any action as right or wrong, one should look at the consequence of that action, whether it has a painful or a pleasurable consequence. But as objected, Utilitarian theory ignores the fact that happiness is not the same concept for everyone, because each person has his/her way of thinking and way of life, and the happiness of one does not mean the happiness of another person (Buckingham et al 174).

However, Jeremy Bentham believes that the happiness of a community could be ensured through imposing punishment on the criminals by legislator (Buckingham et al. 174). For this reason, in 1791, Jeremy Bentham designs “panopticon”, a circular prison, in which the tower, where the guardrooms are, is surrounded by the prison cells. In this way, every movement of the criminal can be observed at any time by the guardian, therefore the criminal, who cannot know when s/he is watched, cannot commit an illegal act. The concept of panopticon is used in dystopian novels for surveillance to prevent any revolt against the authority. Actually, the students in the Gradgrind School feel a similar pressure of surveillance on them. As seen in the novel, all the time “facts” are hammered into the students, who are “the little pitchers...to be filled so full of facts” (4; Book I ch. 2). As Robert L. Patten remarks, “*Hard Times* satirized mechanical, unimaginative education” (24). The mechanical authority figure in the school is Thomas Gradgrind as a member of Parliament, and the proprietor of the school. Mr. Gradgrind’s philosophy of realism and rationality besets the children both mentally and physically. He is the representative of the education system based on rote-learning. To him, children are automatons who should accept whatever is told without questioning:

'NOW, what I want is, Facts. Teach these boys and girls nothing but Facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. You can only form the minds of reasoning animals upon Facts: nothing else will ever be of any service to them. This is the principle on which I bring up my own children, and this is the principle on which I bring up these children. Stick to Facts, sir!' (Dickens 3)

As the title of the first chapter of *Hard Times* suggests, 'the one thing needful' is facts alone for Mr. Gradgrind. To him, people are like machines which operate according to a system without questioning. It seems that Gradgrind, who believes that imagination and sensuality are to be avoided, misreads rationalism. Gradgrind forbids and despises anything related to imagination. He hates the circus close to the town. The people in the circus are not individuals of an industrialized society, therefore, they are marginalized by the oppressing group, such as Bounderby, Gradgrind, M'Choakumchild, and Bitzer (Elbir 143). When Thomas Gradgrind comes across his children at the circus, he cannot believe his eyes.

"In the name of wonder, idleness, and folly!" said Mr. Gradgrind, leading each away by a hand; "What do you do here?"

"Wanted to see what it was like," returned Louisa shortly.

"What it was like?"

"Yes, father."

There was an air of jaded sullenness in both, and particularly in the girl: yet, struggling through the dissatisfaction of her face, there was a light with nothing to rest upon, a fire with nothing to burn, a starved imagination keeping life in itself somehow, which brightened its expression. Not with the brightness natural to cheerful youth, but with uncertain, eager, doubtful flashes, which had

something painful in them, analogous to the changes in a blind face groping its way. (11; Book I ch.3)

The children cannot desist from wondering what circus life is like. No matter how much the students are taught with strict rules, they want to watch the circus performances. Fancy and imagination are forbidden in school; therefore, the circus life is regarded as a threat to the students. Almost in all education scenes in the novel, Gradgrind infuses facts and calculations into the students, and his own children, who are oppressed by their father both at home and school. As Prayer Elmo Raj states,

The society which the *Hard Times* explores is one characterized by poverty, denial and oppression. Freedom and happiness were established by the political and economic elites. Right to think and right to fancy was determined by the dominant. The prevalent Utilitarian educational philosophy created havoc in the lives of pupils who were prepared to work in the factories. (91)

In this system, according to Thomas Gradgrind, fancy and imagination should be excluded; the students “mustn’t fancy” (7; Book I ch. 2). This fancy-fact conflict arises through the character Sissy (Cecilia) Jupe, whose father is a circus performer at Mr. Sleary’s circus. The conversation between Thomas Gradgrind and Sissy Jupe shows the extent to which they are opposite characters. When asked whether the students would carpet their rooms with the representations of flowers upon them, Sissy answers “yes”, a response which Gradgrind infuriates:

‘So you would carpet your room - or your husband’s room, if you were a grown woman, and had a husband - with representations of flowers, would you?’ said the gentleman. ‘Why would you?’

‘If you please, sir, I am very fond of flowers,’ returned the girl.

‘And is that why you would put tables and chairs upon them, and have people walking over them with heavy boots?’

‘It wouldn’t hurt them, sir. They wouldn’t crush and wither, if you please, sir. They would be the pictures of what was very pretty and pleasant, and I would fancy - ‘

‘Ay, ay, ay! But you mustn’t fancy,’ cried the gentleman, quite elated by coming so happily to his point. ‘That’s it! You are never to fancy.’...

‘Fact, fact, fact!’ said the gentleman. And ‘Fact, fact, fact!’ repeated Thomas Gradgrind. (Dickens 7; Book I ch. 2)

As seen, an ordinary thing as carpeting a room with representations of flowers seems extraordinary and irrational to Mr. Gradgrind. By repeating the word “facts”, Mr. Gradgrind represses Sissy’s and other students’ personal preferences. Throughout the novel, Dickens aims to satirize the Victorian goals to produce “workers” to work at factories and students who are the shaped citizens of the future without the ability to think and question by repressing their individuality and fancy (Bernard 44). As Schor puts it “...the education which “distorts” the young Gradgrind children is a part of the same repressive force which keeps the workers from experiencing any pleasure, or the industrialists from imagining the lives around them” (69). “Dickens’s beliefs in popular culture as a vehicle of education and in the feelings as the seat of the educational process, expressed so uncompromisingly in *Hard Times*, made him fiercely critical of much of the educational provision for the working classes” (John 144). The education system also controls the working-class children; similarly, the workers are controlled in the factories, and therefore, both the children and the workers are repressed. As D. J. Thorold remarks in his *Introduction to Hard Times* “Dickens shows the interrelation of political and educational ideologies: children, like workers, are treated as units; both must accept harshly limited lives” (Thorold xiii).

In this context, Sissy and Bitzer, another student who is very much suited to Gradgrind's teachings, stand for the conflict between the non-shaped and the shaped students by a Utilitarian education system. When Sissy cannot define what a horse is from a technical aspect, Bitzer defines a horse as "Quadruped. Graminivorous. Forty teeth, namely twenty-four grinders, four eye-teeth, and twelve incisive. Sheds coat in the spring; in marshy countries, sheds hoofs, too" (5; Book I ch. 2). Bitzer is one of the model students for Thomas Gradgrind, who is "a man of facts and calculations" (Dickens 4; Book I ch. 2). As Raymond Williams states in his *Culture and Society*, "the schoolroom contrast of Sissy Jupe and Bitzer is a contrast between the education, practical but often inarticulate, which is gained by living and doing, and the education, highly articulated, which is gained by systemization and abstraction" (102).

It is clear that Dickens satirizes Bentham's theory, which asserts that happiness of human beings can be calculated, but for sure, such a calculation cannot be put into practice. "More controversially, Bentham proposes a "felicific calculus"⁶ that can express mathematically the degree of happiness experienced by each individual" (Buckingham et al. 174). Like Thomas Gradgrind, who brings up and educates his children through a fact-based theory, many Utilitarians believe that everything can be calculated through facts, and calculations. Dickens portrays the Utilitarian Thomas Gradgrind: "with a rule and a pair of scales, and the multiplication table always in his pocket, sir, ready to weigh and measure any

⁶ The variables and vectors of this felicific calculation are:

1. Intensity (I)--How intense is the pleasure or pain?
2. Duration (D)--How long does the pleasure or pain last?
3. Certainty (C)--What is the probability that the pleasure or pain will occur?
4. Propinquity (nearness or remoteness) (N)--How far off in the future is the pleasure or pain?
5. Fecundity (F)--What is the probability that the pleasure will lead to other pleasures?
6. Purity (P)--What is the probability that the pain will lead to other pains?
7. Extent (E)--How many persons are affected by the pleasure? ("The Hedonistic Calculus.")

parcel of human nature, and tell you exactly what it comes to” (4; Book I ch. 2). However, the third-person narrator with an omniscient point of view points that Gradgrind is wrong since measuring any human nature would not be possible and in this way, the writer criticizes the Utilitarian philosophy, applied in education, science, industry, and economics in the Victorian Era.

It is known, to the force of a single pound weight, what the engine will do; but, not all the calculators of the National Debt can tell me the capacity for good or evil, for love or hatred, for patriotism or discontent, for the decomposition of virtue into vice, or the reverse, at any single moment in the soul of one of these its quiet servants, with the composed faces and the regulated actions. (54; Book I ch. 11)

Utilitarian theory supports the view that “if everyone can be made happy, so much the better, but if a choice is necessary, it is always preferable to favor the many over the few” (Buckingham et al. 174). In the novel, the majority of students obey the school rules and the principles of the education system; if any of them questions these rules, s/he is despised. However, Sissy, who questions and discusses what Thomas Gradgrind, Mr. M’Choakumchild or Mr. Boundery tell her, represents the minority, in a way, she opposes the rules of the ruling class. Due to Sissy’s rejection of a fact-based Utilitarian system, “M’Choakumchild reported that she had a very dense head for figures...” (Dickens 43; Book I ch. 9). Sissy tells the conversation she had with M’choakumchild to Louisa. Sissy’s answers to Mr. M’Choakumchild’s questions reveal how Sissy opposes Utilitarian principles.

Now, this schoolroom is a Nation. And in this nation, there are fifty millions of money. Isn’t this a prosperous nation? Girl number twenty, isn’t this a prosperous nation, and a’n’t you in a thriving state?’

‘What did you say?’ asked Louisa.

‘Miss Louisa, I said I didn’t know. I thought I couldn’t know whether it was a prosperous nation or not, and whether I was in a thriving state or not, unless I knew who had got the money, and whether any of it was mine. But that had nothing to do with it. It was not in the figures at all,’ said Sissy, wiping her eyes.

‘That was a great mistake of yours,’ observed Louisa.

(45; Book I ch. 9)

Mr. M’Choakumchild tries several times to teach Sissy about the importance of the happiness of the majority but Sissy “shall never learn” (45; Book I ch. 9) such Utilitarian statistics. Sissy is not concerned with money, welfare of a nation, statistics or percentages; she is concerned with those who earn money with toil and trouble, and if there are any poor, starving ones. As seen, humanistic qualities are attributed to Sissy, whereas inhuman and cruel ascriptions are assigned to an espouser of an industrialized and utilitarian society such as Gradgrind, Bounderby, Bitzer, and the gentlewoman Mrs. Sparsit.

After Sissy’s father abandons her, Thomas Gradgrind takes her to his house, where she continues with her education, and takes care of ill Mrs. Gradgrind. But as mentioned before, she cannot put fanciful ideas out of her mind. The circus people and Sissy represent the imagination of mankind, and they are regarded as the minority in the society, who can be ignored according to the Utilitarian theory, in which the majority is preferred to the minority. However, as time passes, it is seen that Gradgrind’s own children are not content with their situation. Neither Louisa nor Tom enjoys their childhood due to the strict rules, applied by their father and teachers (Elbir 139). Tom’s misery is revealed through the conversation between him and Louisa.

‘I wish I could collect all the Facts we hear so much about,’ said Tom, spitefully setting his teeth, ‘and all the Figures, and all the people who found

them out: and I wish I could put a thousand barrels of gunpowder under them, and blow them all up together! However, when I go to live with old Bounderby, I'll have my revenge.'

'Your revenge, Tom?'

'I mean, I'll enjoy myself a little, and go about and see something, and hear something. I'll recompense myself for the way in which I have been brought up.'

'But don't disappoint yourself beforehand, Tom. Mr. Bounderby thinks as father thinks, and is a great deal rougher, and not half so kind.'

'Oh!' said Tom, laughing; 'I don't mind that. I shall very well know how to manage and smooth old Bounderby!' (41; Book I, ch. 8)

Dickens satirizes the theory which supposes that everything can be explained through reason and logic. Due to this utilitarian education system, hard-hearted, selfish and self-interested people, such as Bitzer and Tom Gradgrind, come into being (Elbir 144-5). Tom, who is shaped by his father's oppressive education system, turns into a robber. Tom robs Bounderby's bank as revenge and for his self-interest.

The system of the ruling class engulfs everyone in it. Tom Gradgrind becomes a bank employee in Bounderby's bank, and Louisa marries Bounderby. But Sissy stays out of this system as Mr. Gradgrind states "the course you pursued, you pursued according to the system – the system – and there is no more to be said about it" (72; Book I ch. 14). However, as the narrator puts it, she is the only happy person in the Gradgrind family, and it seems that she brings happiness to others. When Louisa says "What a beaming face you have, Jane!" to her sister Jane, she replies "I am sure it must be Sissy's doing" (173; Book III ch. 1). Shaped by the ruling class, Louisa and Tom lead unhappy lives. When Louisa is seduced by James

Harthouse, she wants to elope with the man but is unable to do so, and she goes to her father's house, where she tells her father about her real feelings for his father's system.

'Father, you have trained me from my cradle?'

'Yes, Louisa.'

'I curse the hour in which I was born to such a destiny.'

He looked at her in doubt and dread, vacantly repeating: 'Curse the hour?

Curse the hour?'

'How could you give me life, and take from me all the inappreciable things that raise it from the state of conscious death? Where are the graces of my soul? Where are the sentiments of my heart? What have you done, O father, what have you done, with the garden that should have bloomed once, in this great wilderness here!' (168-9; Book II ch. 12)

One by one, Thomas Gradgrind is faced with the painful and damaging consequences of his education system, through which he shaped his children, and his students. However, Sissy is positive and happy, and her happiness is a consequence of her objection against the materialist values and principles of the ruling class. As Anne Humpherys argues in her article, "only those outside the system, the circus people Sleary and Sissy, are free of sadness..." (395).

The other character Bitzer, shaped by the ruling class, holds "the respectable office of general spy and informer in the establishment", and "on his father's death, that his mother had a right of settlement in Coketown, this excellent young economist had asserted that right for her with such a steadfast adherence to the principle of the case, that she had been shut up in the workhouse ever since" (91; Book II ch. 1). The system converts Bitzer into a heartless man, who becomes a self-seeker materialist. The same system applied by Mr. Gradgrind and the other middle class members transform Tom into a robber.

It was very remarkable that a young gentleman who had been brought up under one continuous system of unnatural restraint, should be a hypocrite; but it was certainly the case with Tom. It was very strange that a young gentleman who had never been left to his own guidance for five consecutive minutes, should be incapable at last of governing himself; but so it was with Tom. It was altogether unaccountable that a young gentleman whose imagination had been strangled in his cradle, should be still inconvenienced by its ghost in the form of grovelling sensualities; but such a monster, beyond all doubt, was Tom. (105; Book II ch. 3)

Just like Bitzer, Tom is converted into a “monster” as the narrator states since he is deprived of all his humanly emotions. Tom becomes a thoughtless, hypocrite, self-interested and irresponsible adult due to this education system, and his repressed childhood (Elbir 152-3). Because Tom is in debt because of gambling, he becomes a robber and when his robbery comes to light, Thomas Gradgrind says: ‘If a thunderbolt had fallen on me, it would have shocked me less than this!’ to which Tom replies by questioning his father’s education system.

‘I don’t see why,’ grumbled the son. ‘So many people are employed in situations of trust; so many people, out of so many, will be dishonest. I have heard you talk, a hundred times, of its being a law. How can I help laws? You have comforted others with such things, father. Comfort yourself!’ (223; Book III ch.7)

Tom comes up with a logical and a utilitarian explanation to legitimate his robbery. In other words, that Tom becomes a gambler and a robber is the result of his father’s education system, which shaped him in such a negative way.

Dickens portrays two different worlds: the first group of people such as Gradgrind, M'Choakumchild, and Boundery, who represent the ruling class, who oppress and try to shape those who belong to the lower class, such as Sissy, the circus people, and the workers. The aim of this class comparison is to compare the power of heart and head. In other words, Dickens seems to present these two classes to reveal their differences of their views of life. By giving importance to the materialist values, principles and facts alone, the ruling class represents the head, viz, logic, whereas the oppressed group represents the heart, viz, sensibility. On the one hand, in the first chapter of Book I, Dickens states that “the one thing needful” (3) is logic, attained through facts, on the other hand, in Book III, “another thing needful” is the heart (173; ch. 1). Thomas Gradgrind realizes the importance of the harmony of fact and fancy after his daughter returns home due to her unhappy marriage of convenience.

Some persons hold...that there is a wisdom of the Head, and that there is a wisdom of the Heart. I have not supposed so; but, as I have said, I mistrust myself now. I have supposed the head to be all-sufficient. It may not be all-sufficient... (175; Book III, ch. 1)

Dickens advocates the harmony of heart and head, and supposes that both are essential to lead a happy life. In this regard, Thomas Gradgrind realizes that he needs to attach importance to humanitarian emotions. Regarding Gradgrind's recognition of his faults, Philip Rogers states that “*Hard Times* dramatizes the conversion of a prominent man, the orthodox exponent of an empirical philosophy that has shaped (or...seeks to shape) the modern state” (394). In the novel, the rational Thomas Gradgrind confronts his “repressed emotions and, yielding to the irrepressible, non-rational claims of sympathy, love and imagination, ...finally...acknowledge[s] the heart as more than a mere blood-pump” (394).

After Tom robs Bounderby's bank, he is kept in Mr. Sleary's circus as Louisa recommends Tom to do so. Mr. Gradgrind goes to the circus to meet his son but he does not realize that Bitzer follows him at the same time. The conversation between Bitzer and Gradgrind reveals how false and brutal Gradgrind's fact-based Utilitarian system is.

'Bitzer,' said Mr. Gradgrind, broken down, and miserably submissive to him, 'have you a heart?'

'The circulation, sir,' returned Bitzer, smiling at the oddity of the question, 'couldn't be carried on without one. No man, sir, acquainted with the facts established by Harvey relating to the circulation of the blood, can doubt that I have a heart.'

'Is it accessible,' cried Mr. Gradgrind, 'to any compassionate influence?'

'It is accessible to Reason, sir,' returned the excellent young man. 'And to nothing else.' (225; Book III ch. 8)

By heart, Gradgrind refers to humanitarian feelings but Bitzer, who is a model student of Gradgrind School, thinks about cardiac muscles as a clear thinker. As seen, when Thomas Gradgrind's daughter Louisa's marriage of convenience comes to an end, and his son Tom's robbery comes to light, Thomas Gradgrind realizes how hollow the facts and calculations he advocated for years are. As shaped by a Utilitarian theory, both Tom and Bitzer seek individual economic self-interest but this principle does not preserve the welfare of the society, as schooled by Utilitarian theory. In this sense, Barry declares that "Marxism ...inverted some of the ideas of early economic theory, especially the view that the pursuit of individual economic self-interest would bring economic and social benefits to the whole of society" (151). In other words, self-interest does not provide advantage to the society. Quite the contrary; it brings misery to the people. It can be said that "the failure of "fancy" is part of

the systematic failure of imagination that results in the bad marriages, ruined homes, and selfish strivings of virtually all of the characters” (Schor 69).

As a robber, Tom is a criminal and he needs to be put on trial for the peace of the society. However, Bitzer wants to arrest Tom not for the peace of the society but for his own benefit as he states:

I am going to take young Mr. Tom back to Coketown, in order to deliver him over to Mr. Bounderby. Sir, I have no doubt whatever that Mr. Bounderby will then promote me to young Mr. Tom’s situation. And I wish to have his situation, sir, for it will be a rise to me, and will do me good.’

‘If this is solely a question of self-interest with you –’ Mr. Gradgrind began.

‘I beg your pardon for interrupting you, sir,’ returned Bitzer; ‘but I am sure you know that the whole social system is a question of self-interest. What you must always appeal to, is a person’s self-interest. It’s your only hold. We are so constituted. I was brought up in that catechism when I was very young, sir, as you are aware.’ (225-6; Book III ch. 8)

Bitzer states that he was brought up by Gradgrind’s education system, which told him to think about facts, self-interest, and being rational by keeping away from sensuality. In a way, what Gradgrind produced aims to ruin him; in other words, the person who is shaped by the dominant ruling class becomes a shaped citizen who obeys the rules of the ruling class, and lives according to these rules. As seen, Bitzer’s reason directs him to think about his self-interest.

Regarding the rapid expansion of industrialisation, in his essay *Signs of the Times*, Thomas Carlyle states that “men are grown mechanical in head and heart, as well as in hand” (67). Raised through a utilitarian system, Louisa marries for his father’s and brother’s benefits. She is both psychologically and socially forced to marry the banker and

manufacturer Josiah Bounderby, because as a woman she is repressed and always under the control of materialist and class conscious Victorian society. Instead of her own happiness, she chooses the happiness of three men (her father, her brother, and Mr. Bounderby) as the Utilitarian theory teaches; in a way, she marries for the happiness of the greatest number in her small world. Therefore, as observed, due to Gradgrind's Utilitarian education system, the happiness of Thomas Gradgrind's children becomes of secondary importance because in this system both Tom and Louisa are repressed.

Besides Utilitarianism, Dickens satirizes industrialization, and writes about the negative effects of mechanization which led to an increasing gap between the working class and middle class. However, industrialism is satirized by the boastful factory and bank owner Josiah Bounderby, and the discontent workers who unite to demand justice. "Dickens, through his own experience as a child laborer, illustrated the plight of the proletariat in..." (Stearns and Burns 2) *Hard Times* and in his other novels.

"Like Marx, [Dickens] was concerned that for the working classes, the hard, monotonous life of industrial labor involved the dehumanization of people who were expected to behave like cogs in a machine" (John 143). Concerning the plight of the oppressed workers, the master-slave relationship of colonialism is portrayed as owner-worker relationship. The workers, working almost 16 hours a day with minimum wages, are exploited. The exploiter is Bounderby, who regards workers as if they were robots without emotions. To him, the factory workers are nothing but "hands".

As seen, class distinction and the oppression of the working class are criticized and satirized in *Hard Times* through the banker and manufacturer Josiah Bounderby, who is a man of facts like Thomas Gradgrind. The honest worker Stephen Blackpool, who is accused of robbery, becomes an outcast since he refuses to join the workers union due to his word he gives to his beloved Rachael, who is another worker in Bounderby's factory, and who cannot

marry Stephen since he is already married to an alcoholic woman – a hindrance to Stephen, who cannot divorce her due to the strict laws, almost forbidding divorce. In her article, Patricia Ingham states that “Blackpool...is supposed to be an ideal figure, resisting the temptation of anarchic trade unionists, deferential to his employers...He too represents working-class integrity, opposed to exploitative employers...” (*The Language of Dickens* 131). When analysed, it can be stated that all Stephen’s spiritual and financial difficulties stem from his social standings. When Blackpool goes to Bounderby’s house to get his employer’s opinion on how he can divorce his alcoholic wife, who leaves and comes back to the house, both Bounderby and his servant Mrs. Sparsit despise and find Stephen to be in the wrong.

‘He wishes to be free, to marry the female of whom he speaks, I fear, sir,’ observed Mrs. Sparsit in an undertone, and much dejected by the immorality of the people....

‘Hem! There’s a sanctity in this relation of life,’ said Mr. Bounderby, ‘and - and - it must be kept up.’...

‘But it’s not for you at all. It costs money. It costs a mint of money.’

‘How much might that be?’ Stephen calmly asked.

‘... I suppose from a thousand to fifteen hundred pound,’ said Mr. Bounderby.

...

‘Why then, sir,’ said Stephen, turning white, and motioning with that right hand of his, as if he gave everything to the four winds, ‘‘tis a muddle. ‘Tis just a muddle a’together, an’ the sooner I am dead, the better.’

(Mrs. Sparsit again dejected by the impiety of the people.)

‘Pooh, pooh! Don’t you talk nonsense, my good fellow,’ said Mr. Bounderby, ‘about things you don’t understand; and don’t you call the

Institutions of your country a muddle, or you'll get yourself into a real muddle one of these fine mornings. The institutions of your country are not your piecework, and the only thing you have got to do, is, to mind your piece-work. ...' (57-9; Book I ch. 11)

As seen, the lower class is not only oppressed by the money-holder middle class factory owners, but also by laws. In the scene above, Stephen cannot divorce his wife since he does not have enough money. In the Victorian Era, divorce was not an approved concept, and filing for divorce was both tedious, and required a great deal of money which could not be afforded by the poor.

Unionization is worth-stressing because it appeals to Chartism, a working-class movement against social and political injustices performed by bankers, land and factory owners; in other words, the workers were sick to death because of the social and political injustices of the middle class. None of the workers could fight alone against the injustices of the factory owners; therefore, they unite to demand better conditions of working, wages, and better lives.

Regarding the situation of the workers, Dickens writes about the unions. In 1830s, 40s and 50s, workers began to band together as Karl Marx put into words in his *Communist Manifesto*. The unions were formed by factory workers, who used strikes against the factory owners to improve their wages and working conditions in factories.

Such a union is formed in Bounderby's factory but Stephen Blackpool stays out of this union, and therefore, he is alienated due to his decision. Both the factory owner Bounderby and the workers perceive him as a threat; and he becomes unemployed. Stephen Blackpool suffers in many ways; first, he does not have a happy marriage with his alcoholic wife who disappears and returns now and then, as she becomes a burden to Stephen Blackpool, because she cannot divorce her. Another misery for Stephen Blackpool is that he cannot live with his

beloved Rachael together. He is also persuaded not to join the union by Rachael. Finally, Stephen Blackpool is accused of robbery by Tom Gradgrind due to his social standing which could easily make him a criminal in the eyes of the middle class.

As aforementioned, the emergence of trade unions in 1830s, 40s and 50s attracted the Victorian society's attention, an issue to which Charles Dickens and Elizabeth Gaskell was not indifferent. Both writers narrated the unionization, which was intemperate and bloody as some workers died and many were injured, especially in lock outs. During his visit to Preston, Charles Dickens observed riots and lock-outs held by the trade unions in 1853 (Simmons 348).

Although Dickens narrates an industrial city, the conflict between the factory owner Josiah Bounderby and workers, Dickens does not dwell upon the strike; the assembly held by the workers and their leader Slackbridge is the only scene regarding the strike (Elbir 141). Regarding the gatherings and strikes held by the trade unions, in *Selected Journalism 1850-1870*, edited by David Pascoe, Dickens states that "...I left the place with a profound conviction that their [the workers'] mistake is generally an honest one, and that is sustained by the good that is in them, and not by the evil" (460). As seen, Dickens perceives the strikes as an honest mistake, in other words, the plight of the workers is observed by Dickens but he supposes that reaction to such an exploitation needs to be peaceful rather than a bloody strike. Regarding this honesty, both Dickens and Brontë portray peaceful, modest, and honest workers through the characters Stephen Blackpool and William Farren. However, both novelists narrate the orators (Barracklough in *Shirley* and Slackbridge in *Hard Times*) as agitators, who seem to be rash and unrestrained while speaking to the workers (Elbir 142). Through the word-combination "slack" and "bridge", Dickens, in a way, implies that the orator is not a trustworthy person since the word "slack" means "not pulled tight; not firm in keeping control; not active; not taking proper care or effort" (Longman Dictionary 1267).

That is to say, Slackbridge is not a tight “bridge” between the workers and banker and manufacturer Bounderby; Slackbridge does not “take proper care or effort” for the welfare of the workers, and he is “not firm in keeping control” of the union as his name suggests. Slackbridge gives a speech to the workers with a provoking addressing as “Oh, my friends, the down-trodden operatives of Coketown! Oh, my friends and fellow countrymen, the slaves of an iron-handed and a grinding despotism!” (109; Book II, ch. 4). However, it can be said that by the words “grinding despotism”, Dickens makes a reference to Gradgrind, who is a despot, and whose name again seems to be a word-play due to its meaning “to crush into small pieces or into powder by pressing between hard surfaces” (Longman Dictionary 581). As Dickens states in his novel, the workers are “the slaves of...a grinding despotism” (109; Book II, ch. 4). However, “grind” also means “hard uninteresting work”, as in the sentence in *Longman Dictionary*: “I find any kind of study a real grind” (581). In this sense, it can be deduced that both the students in Gradgrind school, and his own children Tom and Louisa suffer in the hands of this despot character.

However, “Bounder” means “a dishonourable man who does not behave in a socially acceptable way” (Longman Dictionary 140). Josiah Bounderby boasts about being a self-made manufacturer, who despises the lower and working classes. When he goes to Mr. Sleary’s circus with Mr. Gradgrind, Bounderby humiliates Mr. Childers and Cupid, circusmen- by stating that “we are the kind of people who know the value of time, and you are the kind of people who don’t know the value of time” (24-5; Book I ch. 6). Bounderby is narrated as the capitalist who believes that “time is money”. Likewise, the fictional industrial city “Coketown” is composed of the words “coke” and “town”. As known, coke, which is a type of coal, is a basic need for industry.

It was a town of red brick, or of brick that would have been red if the smoke and ashes had allowed it; but as matters stood, it was a town of unnatural red

and black like the painted face of a savage. It was a town of machinery and tall chimneys, out of which interminable serpents of smoke trailed themselves for ever and ever, and never got uncoiled. It had a black canal in it, and a river that ran purple with ill-smelling dye, and vast piles of building full of windows where there was a rattling and a trembling all day long, and where the piston of the steam-engine worked monotonously up and down, like the head of an elephant in a state of melancholy madness. (18; Book I ch. 5)

The destructive effects of coal and industrialization are depicted in detail; the industrial town is dirty due to the factory wastes. Besides the social criticism, by stating the polluted river, and air due to the factory smoke and dye, Dickens also draws attention to environmental effects of mechanization. But there is not a dominant, opposing character to criticise the ills of industrialization. Within this context, it can be said that the narrator objects to the injustices of the dominant ruling class while narrating the social order, coordinated by the oppressing rich. In this sense, the narrator sides with the poor and the oppressed (Elbir 143). While narrating the assembly of the workers, the narrator remarks that the workers do not seem to join with the crowd of workers because of their personal preferences:

That every man felt his condition to be, somehow or other, worse than it might be; that every man considered it incumbent on him to join the rest, towards the making of it better; that every man felt his only hope to be in his allying himself to the comrades by whom he was surrounded; and that in this belief, right or wrong (unhappily wrong then), the whole of that crowd were gravely, deeply, faithfully in earnest; must have been as plain to any one who chose to see what was there, as the bare beams of the roof and the whitened brick walls. Nor could any such spectator fail to know in his own breast, that these men, through their very delusions, showed great qualities, susceptible of being

turned to the happiest and best account; and that to pretend (on the strength of sweeping axioms, howsoever cut and dried) that they went astray wholly without cause, and of their own irrational wills, was to pretend that there could be smoke without fire, death without birth, harvest without seed, anything or everything produced from nothing. (110; Book II, ch. 4)

The workers join the assembly for fear of being excluded from the union, and the narrator remarks that their allying like this is wrong since the workers cannot fully grasp the reasons behind such a unionization.

However, the worker Blackpool supposes that coming together will not do any good for the workers; he refuses to join the workers union. In this respect, Dickens's character, worker Blackpool resembles Charlotte Brontë's William Farren, who chooses not to rebel against the factory owner since he believes that this will cause bitter fruits for both the workers and the manufacturer. At the assembly held by the workers, Stephen Blackpool says " 'I'm th' one single Hand in Bounderby's mill, o' a' the men theer, as don't coom in wi' th' proposed reg'lations. I canna coom in wi' 'em. My friends, I doubt their doin' yo onny good. Licker they'll do yo hurt' " (111-2; Book II ch. 4). It can be said that Dickens and Brontë share similar ideas in manufacturer-worker conflict. Just like William Farren, Stephen Blackpool becomes an outcast due to his rejection of a worker-union, and he consents to this exclusion by stating " 'I know weel that yo aw resolve to ha nommore ado wi' a man who is not wi' yo in this matther. I know weel that if I was a lyin parisht i' th' road, yo'd feel it right to pass me by, as a forrenner and stranger. What I ha getn, I mun mak th' best on' " (112; Book II ch. 4). As he recognizes, the unionists do not speak to him anymore.

As understood, the workers are not satisfied with their living and working conditions. How, where and under which conditions they live are of concern to Charles Dickens. The workers, both in fiction and history, start working early in the morning, and finish late at

night. Therefore, they do not have time to socialize; in a way, they are alienated from their families, friends, and themselves as Marx and Engels remark in their works. In his article, Sean Sayers states that “alienation can be overcome and individuality developed and realised only through participation in a social world...” (4). But the workers do not have any time to socialize due to the long hours they work at the factories. Their days become monotonous as narrated in the novel:

[Coketown] contained several large streets all very like one another, and many small streets still more like one another, inhabited by people equally like one another, who all went in and out at the same hours, with the same sound upon the same pavements, to do the same work, and to whom every day was the same as yesterday and to-morrow, and every year the counterpart of the last and the next. (18; Book I ch. 5)

This fact of alienation is put into words by Stephen Blackpool, who says that the workers are regarded as “machines wi’out loves and likens, wi’out memories and inclinations, wi’out souls to weary and souls to hope...” (119; Book II, ch. 5). However, besides workers, Gradgrind’s own children are alienated, as well. Louisa and Tom become estranged from their father, and the society. Concerning the separation and alienated situations of the characters, in his article, David Sonstroem remarks that

The disjointed nature of the Gradgrind family; the many lonely pits, both figurative and literal, into which various characters fall; the ostracism of Stephen; the metaphor in the name Slackbridge; and the fact that there is not one true marriage portrayed in the whole book, are expressions of Dickens' sense of the pervasive separation among human beings. (521)

As indicated before, while narrating the social injustices and difficulties faced by the poor in his novels, Charles Dickens seems to be indecisive in response to Chartism, and

unionization of the workers as reflected through the character Stephen Blackpool, who does not join the union. Therefore, Dickens does not probe into the union question in the novel (Brantlinger 271). Regarding the unionization issue, it can be said that Dickens seems to be confused. As Raymond Williams remarks “*Hard Times* is a more symptom of the confusion of industrial society than an understanding of it, but it is a symptom that is significant and continuing” (104). Yet, as mentioned before, Dickens sympathizes with the plight of the workers and poor. Just before Blackpool dies, he tells Rachel:

If aw th’ things that tooches us, my dear, was not so muddled, I should’n ha’ had’n need to coom heer. If we was not in a muddle among ourseln, I should’n ha’ been, by my own fellow weavers and workin’ brothers, so mistook. If Mr. Bounderby had ever know’d me right—if he’d ever know’d me at aw—he would’n ha’ took’n offence wi’ me. He would’n ha’ suspect’n me. (Book3, ch 6)

As observed, worker Blackpool states that the social problems arise due to the lack of communication and prejudice. The writer, in a way, implies that the society is in a muddle. Through his “speech before his death...he [Blackpool] exhorts employers and employees to know each other better” (Humpherys 395). In this sense, Dickens’ view seems to be similar to that of Charlotte Brontë, whose worker-character William Farren in *Shirley* chooses to claim his rights in a peaceful way just like Stephen Blackpool.

However, that Dickens omits a battle scene between the workers and the manufacturer does not mean that he does not write about the conditions in the factories (Brantlinger 270). On the contrary, Dickens “travelled to Manchester and Brimingham, toured a number of factories, studied several strikes, and read...books on industrial conditions” (Brantlinger 270). Concordantly, it can be deduced that both writers are aware of the injustices against the poor working class, and it is clear that they create awareness about the condition of the poor

working class in their novels but the writers seem to oppose using force by the workers for their rights. In other words, both writers seem to justify the workers' resistance due to their social and financial predicaments. As a solution to the difficulties faced by the workers, both writers come up with establishing a better communication between the working class and the middle class instead of disassociating and becoming polarized; such a solution is "what Dickens himself calls for in the article "On Strike" on the Preston weavers" (Humpherys 395). Because unionization may polarize the workers and cause power and union dissipation as observed in the novel. In other words, as Patrick Brantlinger states in his article "the war between capital and labor is simply an unfortunate mistake, to be corrected by better feelings on both sides" (281). The union leader Slackbridge in *Hard Times*, and Barraclough in *Shirley* are ridiculed by Brontë and Dickens, who, in a way, reflect their opposition to such class struggles, and unionizations.

Because of the tragic end of the Gradgrinds, and the death of the manufacturer without having chance to reconcile with the workers, the novel portrays a pessimistic end for the ruling class characters. Although the tragic end of the ruling-class-characters in *Hard Times* portrays a gloomy atmosphere, there still seems to be hope for reconciliation. However, Thomas Gradgrind gives up his materialist, utilitarian education system after his children's tragic end. It is realized that he esteems and sympathizes with the circus-rooted people such as Sissy, Mr. Sleary and others, who were, at the beginning of the novel, despised by Thomas Gradgrind due to their low social status. "The CIRCUS embodies the alternative to Coketown's philosophy of fact. Its world of illusion expresses its commitment to FANCY, to imagination" (Davis 155). Gradgrind realizes that he should have taken note of the wisdom of heart together with the wisdom of head. When considered from this point of view, the writer suggests that both facts and imagination, and fancy are needful for human being, and that they are healers against social dislocations, and moral corruption. Regarding the conflict between

classes, Marx and Engels state that "...oppressor and oppressed stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted...fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending class" (3). In this respect, it can be said that Dickens does not approve of the "ruin of the contending classes" due to conflicts. Just like Charlotte Brontë, Charles Dickens invites each class to communicate with the other class so as to be familiar with each other.

4. NORTH AND SOUTH

“Coeval with the strike at Preston...and similar to *Hard Times*, *North and South* is a kind of apocalyptic journey into the inferno of the changing times – modern poverty, rage, desperation, militant trade unionism, and class antagonism” (Dainotto 75-6). In this chapter, the negative socio-cultural and economic effects of industrialization and class struggles as portrayed in Elizabeth Gaskell’s *North and South* (1854-5), which is regarded as an “industrial novel”, dealing with the problems of industrialization, urbanization and class issues, have been analyzed.

Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell (1810-65) was a poet, short story writer and a novelist, known as Mrs. Gaskell, during Victorian Era. In 1832, Gaskell married William Gaskell, a churchman. Due to her husband’s job, Mrs. Gaskell met many people from different social backgrounds; therefore, in her novels she narrated the lives of different social classes. Her novels include *Mary Barton* (1848), *Cranford* (1851-3), *Ruth* (1853), *North and South* (1854-5), *Sylvia’s Lovers* (1863), *Wives and Daughters* (1865). However, she wrote many short stories, poems, and the famous *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (1857).

North and South, published as serials in Charles Dickens’ weekly magazine *Household Words* from 2 September 1854 to 27 January 1855 (3 weeks after the final serial of *Hard Times*), narrates the story of an industrial town through highlighting the negative effects of rapid industrialization on different people from the north and south of England. As Jill L. Matus states, “Gaskell is typically open-minded in response to social transformation and change. This is evident in her early fiction in the treatment of the problems of working-class life” (1). Her first novel *Mary Barton* (1848) revolves around the plight of the working class, as well.

Elizabeth Gaskell, Charles Dickens, and Karl Marx “were writing at a similar time and place and looking at many of the same social problems...” (Stearns and Burns 7). Therefore,

the problems of industrialization are Karl Marx's concern, as well. In their famous *Communist Manifesto* (1848), Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels argue that economic relations and technology play significant roles in the formation of society, and culture. Marx and Engels assert that the bourgeoisie who own the factories and banks are the oppressor, ruling class who have the economic and political power to control the state. But, the lower class is neglected and oppressed since they do not have social, economic or political power. Therefore, as argued by Christ and Robson, "Gaskell wrote not just to entertain but also to critique society and to promote social reform" (1222).

In this chapter of the study, cause and effect relations of class struggle and classism, reflected in the novel, are analysed with regard to economic relations, and social conditions. According to Marx's views, the social conditions are shaped by the economic conditions, which constitute the "base"; however, socio-cultural norms, such as art, religion, education, literature and so on, which constitute the "superstructure", are determined by economics. In other words, as Tyson argues, "the economic systems...structure human societies" (53). The novel will be analysed in terms of working conditions, as well as master-worker relations, in which the critique of capitalism and class conflicts can be seen as a consequence of the socio-economic conditions of the Industrial Revolution. Regarding the Industrial Revolution, Karl Marx argues,

...steam and machinery revolutionised industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry; the place of the industrial middle class by industrial millionaires, the leaders of the whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeois.

Modern industry has established the world market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This

development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages. (4)

As Marx and Engels put in *the Communist Manifesto* “the history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles” (3). *North and South* tells the story of the Hales, who move from Hampshire, a small town in the south of England, to north Milton, a growing industrial city, which is modeled after Manchester, where Elizabeth Gaskell lived and witnessed the plight of the workers. The struggle between the self-made factory owner John Thornton and the workers is reflected throughout the novel by both Margaret’s thoughts and a third-person omniscient point of view. As will be argued, Margaret Hale seems to be impartial and plays the role of a mediator between the two sides. We witness most events from Margaret’s perspective; she becomes the reader’s “eyes”. Throughout the novel, the oppressive conditions of workers are portrayed. Therefore, in this chapter the working and living conditions of the oppressed working class, and the class relations between the working and middle class will be analyzed with reference to the works of Karl Marx, who was a contemporary thinker of Gaskell and Dickens. In 1849, Marx settled in London, where he spent the rest of his life till his death.

Margaret Hale lives in London with her aunt Shaw and Cousin Edith since her cousin’s marriage with Captain Lennox. After her cousin’s wedding, Margaret moves to Helstone, a small village in the South of England. However, Henry Lennox, Captain Lennox’s brother visits and proposes marriage to Margaret but she rejects the proposal. Margaret Hale lives together with Dixon, the family servant, her mother Maria Hale and her father Reverend Richard Hale, whose theological doubts obligate the family to move to Milton, an industrial city in the North of England. In Milton, Richard Hale tutors some Miltoners through his

former professor Mr. Bell's help. Among Richard Hale's students is John Thornton, a self-made manufacturer, who takes lessons of classical languages. However, both the Hales and the Thorntons are Mr. Bell's tenants. After Margaret meets John Thornton, she thinks that he does not act as a gentleman because of his rude attitudes, and she does not understand why a manufacturer takes lessons of classical languages. After a while, Margaret meets Nicholas Higgins and his daughter Bessy Higgins, a working class family. Bessy has tuberculosis due to the cotton dust, the polluted air of Milton, and harsh working conditions. Both Margaret and her father talk to Nicholas about industrial matters.

The manufacturer John Thornton has economic problems because of the economic recession; and a strike breaks out when Mr. Thornton employs some Irish workers, who work for low wages. At the strike, when a workman throws a stone at John Thornton, Margaret Hale protects him. Mr. Thornton proposes marriage due to Margaret's protection but Margaret rejects the proposal, which makes Mr. Thornton's mother Mrs. Thornton angry.

Meanwhile, Margaret's brother Frederick, who fled to Spain due to a naval mutiny, comes back to his family to see his sick-mother, but soon afterwards, Mrs. Hale dies. However, when Margaret meets her brother Frederick; a worker observes them, and at a hassle, the worker is accidentally killed. Since Frederick keeps his identity secret, John Thornton supposes that he is Margaret's lover. But Mr. Thornton does not share his judgment with anybody else. He investigates the worker's death as the magistrate, and Margaret states that she was not there during the incident. Mr. Thornton rescinds the trial. Margaret feels humiliated due to her perjury. Following these events, Bessy dies. Mr. Thornton employs Nicholas Higgins, and both the manufacturer and the worker begin to understand each other. Margaret visits the Higgins and the Bouchers, the penniless worker families. Mr. Boucher commits suicide due to poverty, and Nicholas Higgins supports the fatherless family. Meanwhile Mr. Hale dies during his visit to Mr. Bell at Oxford. After the deaths of her

parents, Margaret goes back to London to nurse Edith, who expects a baby. While on her way to London, Margaret visits Helstone with Mr. Bell. After Margaret returns to London, Mr. Bell dies, and he bequeaths Thornton House and Mills to Margaret, who becomes Thornton's landlord. Due to the strike and economic fluctuation and recession, Mr. Thornton is in financial difficulties. After Nicholas Higgins tells the truth about Frederick, Thornton goes to London and meets Margaret, who realizes that Thornton shows concern for the situation of the workers. At the end of the novel, Thornton and Margaret decide to marry.

In the novel, the negative results of industrialization, such as unemployment, low income of the workers, the worsening economy of workers and manufacturers, illnesses and deaths because of working conditions, unionism, lack of communication between the social classes, and increasing class antagonism, witnessed in the Victorian Era are of concern to Elizabeth Gaskell. The novel is concerned with the problems of the working and middle classes, and the conditions that constituted these problems. Concerning these problems, Jill L. Matus remarks that "Gaskell shows the turbulence, upheaval, and disruption in changing social conditions, all of which affect the mind in destabilizing ways" (35). Since Gaskell witnessed the problems of the Industrial Revolution, she was aware of the negative effects of industrialization both on the manufacturers and the workers. As James Richard Simmons asserts, novelists wrote "about the plight of the working classes, and the novel became a method of teaching the middle and upper classes about the "real" condition of England" (337). Like other "industrial novels", *North and South* (1854-5) deals with the lives of working and middle classes, riots, unions and lock-outs against industrialism and unemployment. Elizabeth Gaskell, like Dickens, was also inspired by the Preston Lock-out of 1853, when the factory workers in Preston went on strike due to the fact that the manufacturers did not increase the workers' salaries as they promised in 1847. Because of the

strike, thousands of workers were made unemployed. Regarding the Preston Lock-out, on November 12, 1853, the weekly news magazine *The Illustrated London News* state that

The facts of the case seem to be that in 1847, when a general 10-percent reduction took place, the millowners either promised their operatives — or they believed so — a general 10 percent advance on the rates of piecework as soon as prosperity returned. Prosperity came, but with it no general rise — or at least none to the extent looked for. Dissatisfaction began to prevail...the time had come for insisting on a general rise of payments in their respective trades...the associated masters, feeling that the intention was to take them in detail, closed their mills. (qtd. in Dainotto)

In the novel, a strike, similar to Preston Lock-out, is narrated. The workers go on strike due to the reduction in their low wages. Upon his observation, on August 1, 1854, in *The New York Tribune* journal, which is compiled in *Revolution and War*, Karl Marx writes,

The eyes of the working classes are now fully opened: they begin to cry: “Our St. Petersburg is at Preston!” Indeed, the last eight months have seen a strange spectacle in the town — a standing army of 14,000 men and women subsidized by the trades unions and workshops of all parts of the United Kingdom, to fight out a grand social battle for mastery with the capitalists, and the capitalists of Preston, on their side, held up by the capitalists of Lancashire. (32)

The gathering of the trade unions excites Marx. As a revolutionist, Marx aims and predicts social changes through this lock-out. However, Marx does not seem to support a bloody riot. He argues that “though temporary defeat may await the working classes, great social and economical laws are in operation which must eventually insure their triumph” (32). When their works are analysed, it is seen that the social changes for the better are what Gaskell, Dickens, Brontë and Marx desire. As James Richard Simmons states,

Reform was on the minds of all of England, and the novel was the apparatus by which many matters of concern would be presented to the public in a manner and language not suited only for lawyers and politicians, but for the common man and woman as well. (337)

Not only the middle class manufacturers, and the politicians but also the working class families were interested in these “industrial novels”, and it can be deduced that problems of, and responses to industrialism in such novels, in a way, underlie many laws regarding factories, working hours, and wages.

At the beginning of the novel, when Margaret learns that they will move to Milton, she retorts, “Milton-Northern! The manufacturing town in Darkshire?” (37; Vol. 1 ch. 4)⁷. Margaret is not particularly happy with the decision to move. She is much attuned to the farm life, and now she has to move to an industrial town since his father leaves the Church. The following conversation between Margaret and Mr. Hale outlines the reasons for which Mr. Hale leaves his job:

It is nothing about Frederick; the bishop would have nothing to do with that. It is all myself...I can meet the consequences of my painful, miserable doubts...’

‘Doubts, papa! Doubts as to religion?’ asked Margaret, more shocked than ever. (33-4; Vol. 1 ch. 4)

As observed, Mr. Hale starts questioning the religion he ministered which causes him to leave the Church of England for good and relocate to a place where he is not known, and live a life that he is not used to. Regarding the reason why Mr. Hale wants to move to Milton, he replies that “because I know no one there, and no one knows Helstone, or can ever talk to me about it” (37; Vol. 1 ch. 4). In Victorian era, religion played a significant role in people’s lives.

⁷ Gaskell, Elizabeth. *North and South*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Hereafter all the references will be made to this edition, and only volume, chapter and page numbers will be given.

Therefore, if one was a minister, he held a high place in the social standings and lived well. However, Mr. Hale's questioning of his own faith does not put him in a good position with the church, prompting his move to another town and hope for a fresh start.

Mrs. Hale, Margaret's mother, becomes ill because of leaving Margaret as the one to take care of their needs right after the move:

Mrs. Hale, overpowered by all the troubles and necessities for immediate household decisions that seemed to come upon her at once, became really ill, and Margaret almost felt it as a relief when her mother fairly took to her bed, and left the management of affairs to her (49; Vol. 1 ch. 5)

This puts a strain on things in the household as would be expected with any family which has been confronted with change. Margaret is now in charge of the household matters, and she carries the household responsibilities. She is appalled by the state of the town and the conditions of poverty, which is a consequence of the negative effects of industrialization. In *North and South*, Margaret Hale is the mediator between the middle and working classes, and through her we are informed about the problems of, and the struggle between the middle class and the working class. Margaret listens to the problems of both the working class through Nicholas Higgins and the Bouchers and the middle class through the manufacturer Mr. Thornton. The threat of a strike grows, and Margaret pleads with John Thornton to talk to the striking workers but instead of quelling their anger, he fuels it, and as a result Margaret is hit by a stone when she tries to soothe the crowd. Thornton then makes a proposal to her but Margaret refuses him, and explains her shielding him from the stone is not a symbol of her caring for him but her doing the right thing.

In the meantime, there develops a friendship between Margaret and the worker Nicholas Higgins, whose daughter Bessy suffers from lung disease due to the cotton dust. As a friend of Nicholas Higgins, Margaret begins to question what lock-out, strikes and unions are.

She is informed of the plight of the workers, and the harsh working conditions of the factories, and how these conditions cause illnesses and deaths of the workers, as in the case of sick Bessy.

In fact, class division is one of the basic themes of the novel, which is also one of the serious social problems of Victorian Era. This division brings conflict with it such as the struggle between the workers and the manufacturer Mr. Thornton, and the conflict between the Hales and the Thorntons. However, at the end of the novel, Margaret's mediation comes to fruition. The manufacturer Thornton and the workers reach common ground, and the predicaments of both sides change for the better. "Observing the mutual distrust of the rich and the poor, and their accompanying resentments, Gaskell hoped that her novel would help create within her middle class readership understanding and sympathy for the working classes" (Christ and Robson 1222).

Since her father's leaving of the vicarage, the Hales' financial status goes down, and as the narrator states, the environment of Milton oppresses Margaret's and her mother's souls: "There was no comfort to be given. They were settled in Milton, and must endure smoke and fogs for a season; indeed, all other life seemed shut out from them by as thick a fog of circumstance" (66; Vol. 1 ch. 8). The financial situation has forced Margaret's father to work as a tutor for a local manufacturer, Mr. Thornton. As Margaret gets used to her new surroundings, she becomes acquainted with the town life and its hard working citizens. When Mr. Thornton is invited to tea at the Hales, he goes home to change his clothes, at which his mother Mrs. Thornton is surprised. She says "Why should you dress to go and take a cup of tea with an old parson?" (77; Vol. 1 ch. 9). As a member of the bourgeois, Mrs. Thornton thinks her family is superior to the Hales, who are not as wealthy as Thorntons (Elbir 119). Mrs. Thornton seems to fit in what Marx says about the bourgeoisie: "it [the bourgeoisie] has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage

labourers” (6). Therefore, Mrs. Thornton disdains the Hales; however, Mr. Thornton does not agree with his mother and says that “Mr. Hale is a gentleman, and his wife and daughter are ladies” (77; Vol. 1 ch. 9). But Mrs. Hale continues to make critical remarks about the Hales:

'Wife and daughter! Do they teach too? What do they do? You have never mentioned them.'

'No! mother, because I have never seen Mrs. Hale; I have only seen Miss Hale for half an hour.'

'Take care you don't get caught by a penniless girl, John...This Miss Hale comes out of the aristocratic counties, where, if all tales be true, rich husbands are reckoned prizes.' (77; Vol. 1 ch. 9)

After her husband's death, Mrs. Thornton, “a woman of strong power, and firm resolve” (84; Vol. 1 ch. 10), looks after the family. She seems to be shaped by the patriarchal Victorian society; that is to say, her attitudes and judgments reveal that she prefers a marriage of collective agreement, the approval of all the members of the families of both sides. In other words, in Victorian Era, a rich man would marry a daughter of a rich or aristocratic family. Marriage for love was supposed to be irrational. However, when Mr. Thornton says that Margaret “held herself aloof from [him]” (77; Vol. 1 ch. 9), Mrs. Thornton cannot acknowledge such an action, and despises the family. She says: “What business had she, a renegade clergyman's daughter, to turn up her nose at you! I would dress for none of them—a saucy set! if I were you” (77-8). Mrs. Thornton believes that her son should marry a wealthy noble lady, not a “penniless” girl (Elbir 120). The Hales are not as poor as a working family, nor as rich as a manufacturer, so to which class they belong is uncertain. Therefore, it can be the reason why Margaret develops friendships easily with both the workers and the manufacturers (Elbir 120).

As the title of the novel suggests, the differences between the North and South of England are discussed during a conversation between the Hales and Mr. Thornton. As a northern manufacturer, Mr. Thornton implies that the south is behind the times by stating that “I would rather be a man toiling, suffering—nay, failing and unsuccessful—here, than lead a dull prosperous life in the old worn grooves of what you call more aristocratic society down in the South, with their slow days of careless ease...” (82; Vol. 1 ch. 10). Similarly, Margaret says “You are mistaken...You do not know anything about the South” (82; Vol. 1 ch. 10). Although it has been a short time since Margaret lived in the North, she has grasped the plight of the workers, as she states:

I see men here going about in the streets who look ground down by some pinching sorrow or care—who are not only sufferers but haters. Now, in the South we have our poor, but there is not that terrible expression in their countenances of a sullen sense of injustice which I see here. You do not know the South, Mr. Thornton. (82; Vol. 1 ch. 10)

As seen, the comparison between the North and South is a major theme in the novel. Margaret portrays the healthy and simple life of South where education is praised whereas Thornton stands for the industrial town in which the factories cause diseases and environmental pollution; and the workers hate the manufacturers. As Ron Martin states “Victorian novelists frequently drew attention to the distinctions between the grim urban industrial north and the more effete, prosperous and genteel south; for example, Charles Dickens' *Hard Times* (1854), Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* (1855)...” (415). The South of England is portrayed to be pastoral whereas the North is industrialized by destroying the beauties of nature. As also observed in *Hard Times*, the industrialized north in *North and South* is depicted as dirty due to factory wastes and smoke. Mrs. Hale says “...Milton is a much more smoky, dirty town

than you will ever meet with in the South” (82). The narration of the industrial town Milton seems similar to that of Charles Dickens’s Coketown in *Hard Times*. As the narrator states:

Meanwhile, at Milton the chimneys smoked, the ceaseless roar and mighty beat, and dizzying whirl of machinery, struggled and strove perpetually. Senseless and purposeless were wood and iron and steam in their endless labours; but the persistence of their monotonous work was rivalled in tireless endurance by the strong crowds, who, with sense and with purpose, were busy and restless in seeking after—What?...There was gloom over the town. (418; Vol. 2, ch. 25)

The factories, and machinery, chimneys, smoke, and the harsh working conditions related to industrialization are narrated to be gloomy. As seen, “the beauty of Helstone...is contrasted with the ugliness of Milton...” (Wright 134). However, Mr. Thornton informs the Hales of the northern industrialists. Like a historian, Mr. Thornton talks about the Industrial Revolution.

Seventy years ago what was it? And now what is it not? Raw, crude materials came together; men of the same level, as regarded education and station, took suddenly the different positions of masters and men, owing to the motherwit, as regarded opportunities and probabilities, which distinguished some, and made them far-seeing as to what great future lay concealed in that rude model of Sir Richard Arkwright's. The rapid development of what might be called a new trade, gave those early masters enormous power of wealth and command. I don't mean merely over the workmen; I mean over purchasers—over the whole world's market...I only name such things to show what almost unlimited power the manufacturers had about the beginning of this century...But by-and-by came a re-action, there were more factories, more masters; more men were

wanted. The power of masters and men became more evenly balanced; and now the battle is pretty fairly waged between us. (83; Vol. 1 ch. 10)

Mr. Hale chops Mr. Thornton off by saying “Is there necessity for calling it a battle between the two classes?” (84; Vol. 1 ch. 10). As is the case in *Shirley* and *Hard Times*, the manufacturers seem to be close to improve dialogue with the workers. During the Industrial Revolution, the financial situation of the workers was unbelievably poor; poverty was lurking in every corner of the industrial towns. The ones who became rich due to this mass production were the manufacturers, who supposed that being deaf to the problems of their workers was a necessity of the capitalist system.

Mr. Thornton tells about the hard times of his family after the death of his father. Since his father died sixteen years ago, Mr. Thornton “was taken from school”, and worked in a draper’s shop, and earned a small income, “out of which three people had to be kept” (84). Regarding the situation of the workers, Mr. Thornton purports that

Now when I feel that in my own case it is no good luck, nor merit, nor talent,—but simply the habits of life which taught me to despise indulgences not thoroughly earned,—indeed, never to think twice about them,—I believe that this suffering, which Miss Hale says is impressed on the countenances of the people of Milton, is but the natural punishment of dishonestly-enjoyed pleasure, at some former period of their lives. I do not look on self-indulgent, sensual people as worthy of my hatred; I simply look upon them with contempt for their poorness of character.' (84-5; Vol. 1 ch. 10)

The manufacturer Mr. Thornton despises the workers as the other manufacturers Mr. Moore in *Shirley*, and Mr. Bounderby in *Hard Times* do. Mr. Thornton believes that the poverty of the workers is due to their laziness, and it is their own fault. The workers are degraded to be “hands” that contribute to factory production. The workers overwork at the factories, and the

manufacturers in the industrial novels regard that the workers' poor conditions stem from their laziness. Because of overworking, the worker "does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind" (Marx 30). The tedious and miserable working conditions cause the workers to be unsatisfied with their lives and works. Marx considers work as "estranged, alienated labor" (32). Because of long hours of working, the workers are alienated from themselves and their families as Marx and Engels remark in the *Communist Manifesto*.

Daily grind and the monotonous work in the factories make the workers and their families live both in economic and spiritual poverty. As Carol T. Christ and Catherine Robson remark, "many Victorian...suffered from an anxious sense of something lost, a sense too of being displaced persons in a world made alien by technological changes that had been exploited too quickly for the adaptive powers of human psyche" (980). The factory owners exploit the workers who – desperately – assemble against exploitation, unemployment, and hard working conditions. In the mid-nineteenth century, many trade unions were formed. As an industrial novel, "the fraught question of union action is one that Gaskell handles very carefully in *North and South*" (Shuttleworth xxiv). In the mid-nineteenth century, workers began to band together as Karl Marx put into words in his *Communist Manifesto*. The unions were formed by factory workers, who used strikes against the factory owners to improve their wages and working conditions in factories. As stated by Marx, workers unite, and establish their unions to "...stand up and fight hard, -not for [themselves] alone, but for them round about [the workers] – for justice and fair play" (135; Vol. 1 ch. 17). Hence, Victorian Era is replete with worker rebellions, in which the workers demand for better payment and working conditions. As Karl Marx states, "the contest [strike] is carried on by individual labourers [like Higgins] then by the operatives of one trade, in one locality [as in Milton], against the

bourgeois” in this case Mr. Thornton “who directly exploits them” (11). As analysed in *North and South*, the factory owner Mr. Thornton regards the workers as machines. To the factory owner, the workers are just like hands, and if any worker is not needed anymore, s/he is easily replaced by another worker.

Elizabeth Gaskell presents the perspectives of both the oppressed working class and the ruling middle class through conversations. “Margaret’s arguments with the mill-owner Thornton are interesting and honest, within the political and economic conceptions of the period” (Williams 99). First, Mr. Hale and his daughter Margaret visit the Thorntons. Mrs. Thornton talks about the strike by saying “There is some uncomfortable work going on in the town; a threatening of a strike” to which Margaret cannot hide her astonishment: “A strike!..What for? What are they going to strike for?” (115; Vol. 1 ch. 15). Gaskell aims to narrate the point of view of the middle class in regard to strike and unions. Mrs. Thornton replies that the workers strike “for the mastership and ownership of other people's property” and regards the workers as “a pack of ungrateful hounds” (115; Vol. 1 ch. 15). Margaret asks whether the workers “are wanting higher wages” (115; Vol. 1 ch. 15), to which Mrs. Thornton replies in a rather prejudiced way:

That is the face of the thing. But the truth is, they want to be masters, and make the masters into slaves on their own ground. They are always trying at it; they always have it in their minds and every five or six years, there comes a struggle between masters and men. They'll find themselves mistaken this time, I fancy,—a little out of their reckoning. If they turn out, they mayn't find it so easy to go in again. I believe, the masters have a thing or two in their heads which will teach the men not to strike again in a hurry, if they try it this time. (115-6; Vol. 1 ch. 15)

Class struggle stems from inequality in politics, economics and social life as claimed by Marx and Engels. Class struggles and the conditions that constituted these struggles can be observed in Mrs. Thornton's statements. Her statements disclose the sharp division between the social classes. Mrs. Thornton refers to the workers in such a way as to imply that they are inferior to them, and do not really have any right to say anything about their working condition or in any matter, even those that concern them. For her, the workers are slaves. Regarding this master-slave relationship, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels remark that "not only are they [the workers] slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois State; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the over-looker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself" (10). Mr. Thornton thinks like his mother on social and financial issues. He states, "yes; the fools will have a strike...They think trade is flourishing as it was last year. We see the storm on the horizon and draw in our sails. But because we don't explain our reasons, they won't believe we're acting reasonably" (117; Vol. 1 ch. 15). As Marx argues, "it is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society" (8). Financial crisis threatens the Thornton family. However, Mr. Thornton makes up his mind, and does not exchange his opinions with the workers, and he says,

...we Milton masters have to-day sent in our decision. We won't advance a penny. We tell them we may have to lower wages; but can't afford to raise. So here we stand, waiting for their next attack...I conjecture, a simultaneous strike. You will see Milton without smoke in a few days, I imagine, Miss Hale.
(117; Vol. 1 ch. 15)

Mr. Thornton and his mother find the workers unjust in their strikes. The Thorntons see the workers as their enemies. Mr. Thornton clearly states that he is a dictator, and explains that the manufacturers need to get tough with the working class. He states:

In our infancy we require a wise despotism to govern us. Indeed, long past infancy, children and young people are the happiest under the unfailing laws of a discreet, firm authority. I agree with Miss Hale so far as to consider our people in the condition of children, while I deny that we, the masters, have anything to do with the making or keeping them so. I maintain that despotism is the best kind of government for them; so that in the hours in which I come in contact with them I must necessarily be an autocrat. (120; Vol. 1 ch. 15)

According to Thornton family, the workers are to be governed by dictatorship. The manufacturer family regards oppression inevitable and reasonable to maintain their power over the oppressed groups. However, through the character Margaret, Gaskell promotes her idea that she objects to this master-slave relationship. Margaret cannot understand the reason of enmity between the workers and the manufacturers, and she asks “but why could you not explain what good reason you have for expecting a bad trade?” to which Mr. Thornton gives an intolerant reply by stating that: “Do you give your servants reasons for your expenditure, or your economy in the use of your own money? We, the owners of capital, have a right to choose what we will do with it” (117; Vol. 1 ch. 15). Mr. Thornton, like Mr. Moore in *Shirley*, and Mr. Bounderby in *Hard Times*, is prejudiced against the workers, which causes a lack of communication. The economic recession puts the manufacturers into trouble, which is also a burden upon the workers to shoulder. However, the manufacturer Mr. Thornton does not feel the need of explaining his financial problems to his workers, who get furious and go on strike. Therefore, the lack of communication leads to a conflict between the two classes.

Mother Thornton and her son often talk about financial issues, as the Moore family does in *Shirley*. But family ties seem to become less important due to financial problems. Concerning the family ties, in his *Communist Manifesto* Karl Marx states that “the bourgeoisie had torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family

relation to a mere money relation” (6). The factory owner Mr. Thornton does not care much about the living and working conditions of the workers. In other words, he cares about his own benefits. Observing this chaotic situation, Margaret begins to think about the social structure of the town (Ingham 54). She refers to class conflict and purports that she finds the society strange:

I see two classes dependent on each other in every possible way, yet each evidently regarding the interests of the other as opposed to their own; I never lived in a place before where there were two sets of people always running each other down. (118; Vol. 1 ch. 15)

As the mediator of the two classes, Margaret says that “God has made us so that we must be mutually dependent” (122; Vol. 1 ch. 15) but each class is estranged from the other. Actually, each class is supplemental in economic terms but prejudice and lack of communication lead to disputes. Margaret discusses the problem of strike and unions with Nicholas Higgins, as well. During a conversation she asks “why do you strike?” (132; Vol. 1 ch. 17) to which Nicholas Higgins gives an evasive reply: “We just take our hands fro' our looms, and say, "Yo' may clem us, but yo'll not put upon us, my masters!" And be danged to 'em, they shan't this time!” (133). However, Nicholas Higgins’ sick-daughter Bessy indicates that she would like to live in the South, in which no strike takes place. Concerning the strikes and unions, Bessy remarks “What have ye gained by striking? Think of that first strike when mother died—how we all had to clem—you the worst of all; and yet many a one went in every week at the same wage, till all were gone in that there was work for; and some went beggars all their lives at after” (133; Vol. 1 ch. 17). As seen, through the workers’ and manufacturers’ points of view, the writer narrates what strike is, and what it brings to both classes. The worker Higgins has lost his wife during a previous strike, and now he will lose his daughter Bessy. Nevertheless, Higgins does not change his mind, he believes that union “is a great power: it’s [their] only

power” (293; Vol. 2 ch. 11). Higgins pretexts bad management as the failure of previous strikes, and expresses his determination by stating that “it’ll be different this time” (133; Vol. 1 ch. 17). Margaret asks for a clear reason for striking, and says “but all this time you’ve not told me what you’re striking for” (134; Vol. 1 ch. 17). Higgins explains why the workers go on strike:

Why, yo' see, there's five or six masters who have set themselves again paying the wages they've been paying these two years past, and flourishing upon, and getting richer upon. And now they come to us, and say we're to take less. And we won't. We'll just clem them to death first; and see who'll work for 'em then. They'll have killed the goose that laid 'em the golden eggs, I reckon. (134; Vol. 1 ch. 17)

Since the manufacturers do not give account of financial problems, the workers accuse the manufactures of being greedy and insensitive. As discussed earlier, the factory workers work long hours for low wages. However, from time to time, as mechanization improves (as narrated in *Shirley*) or as the manufacturers have financial problems and economic recessions, the wages are either fixed or lowered by the manufacturers. From this point of view, that the manufacturer makes provisions against financial problems seems to be acceptable but firing workers or lowering their small wages cannot be a rational exact solution of such problems. It seems that Gaskell desires the workers and the manufacturers to establish dialogues to overcome such economic problems and social struggles together. Regarding the social struggles, Marx states that “every form of society had been based...on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes” (14). Concerning the unions and strikes, Nicholas Higgins states that “we're resolved to stand and fall together; not a man on us will go in for less wage than th' Union says is our due. So I say, "hooray for the strike," and let Thornton, and Slickson, and Hamper, and their set look to it!” (135; Vol. 1 ch. 17)

Margaret helps both the manufacturer and the workers by listening to their problems; therefore, she plays an active role as a mediator. In this context, the heroine Shirley Keeldar in Brontë's novel *Shirley* and Margaret Hale in *North and South* have some characteristics in common. Both heroines seem to be the mediators between the workers and the manufacturers. Both women in the novels aim to help the manufacturers without ignoring the rights of the workers. Both women take part in the riots. Yet,

Brontë's heroines watch, invisibly, from a distance...Margaret, however, risks social opprobrium by appearing in public in response to a complex motivation which includes a desire to protect the man she is coming to love, and a desire to prevent the workers from committing violence they will regret. (Stoneman 138-9)

As Margaret Hale supposes that both classes need to give up their prejudices against each other, she helps both classes by enabling them to understand each other. Therefore, it is seen that "both [Brontë and Gaskell] emphasize the influence of women in bringing about this reform [reconciliation]" (Henry 157).

It is shown in the novel that class struggle stems from miscommunication, and prejudices between the working class and the manufacturers as mentioned by Annette Chang in her article in *The Victorian Web*: "The antagonism growing between workmen [and] the master stems from the stubborn unwillingness of both sides to communicate. Because each side is ignorant of the motives and opinions of the other, their hatred and bitterness grow to a pitch" ("North and South and Contemporary Attitudes toward Masters and Workers.").

The workers go on strike due to low-salaries, unemployment and pauper labour. The existing socio-economic system expels them so easily. Regarding pauperism and the worsening situation of the workers, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels argue,

The modern laborer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. (14)

The progress in industrialization seems to be inversely proportional with worker welfare, viz, as industrialization increases, the manufacturer derives good profit from industrialization, yet day by day the worker's working and living conditions get worse.

Each class behaves like enemies due to recriminations. As Karl Marx argues, "society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes, directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat" (4). As seen, it is clear that the society becomes polarized as the "bourgeoisie", the middle class, and the "proletariat", the working class, "who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital" (Marx and Engels 9). Against the exploitations of bourgeoisie, Marx and Engels urge the workers to band together and establish unions to claim their rights (34).

However, the Hales, especially Margaret Hale as the mediator between the two classes, establish dialogue with not only the manufacturers but also the working class. After a conversation between Mr. Hale, Margaret and Nicholas Higgins, the narrator concludes that "The workmen's calculations were based (like too many of the masters') on false premises" (228). Many workers were unemployed in the middle of the 19th century due to economic depression. Like Charles Dickens, Elizabeth Gaskell narrates the outcomes of Preston Lock-out (1853-4) in her novel through the plight of the unemployed workers as a consequence of this industrial dispute. In the website *The National Archives*, Preston Lock-out is defined as "a strike by cotton workers in Preston, Lancashire in 1853 and 1854. The strike resulted in a lock-out by the employers and Irish workers were brought in to break the strike by the larger mill owners ("Preston Lockout.>"). The manufacturers employed Irish workers because they

worked for low salaries. In a way, this historical event is narrated in Gaskell's novel realistically. During the strike, the workers put their guard up against the manufacturers, who were accused of being cruel and merciless. Regarding the plight of the workers, and the economic problems, Nicholas Higgins charges Mr. Thornton with poor administration by employing Irishmen as workers. Higgins says "they were consequently surprised and indignant at the poor Irish, who had allowed themselves to be imported and brought over to take their places" (228; Volume 2 ch. 3). The narrator asserts that the lack of communication, and false premises cause misunderstanding between the workers and masters (Elbir 122).

In the chapter titled "union not always strength" (289), Nicholas says that "Hamper's—that's where I worked—makes their men pledge 'emselves they'll not give a penny to help th' Union or keep turnouts fro' clemming...I'm a member o' the Union; and I think it's the only thing to do the workman any good" (292; Vol. 2 ch. 11). The workers feel obliged to join the unions as the poor worker Boucher joins involuntarily. Therefore, it can be deduced that "...the labourers still form an incoherent mass..." (Marx and Engels 11) since the workers are forced to join the union. Regarding this situation, Margaret says, "Do you remember poor Boucher saying that the Union was a tyrant? I think he said it was the worst tyrant of all. And I remember at the time I agreed with him" (292; Vol. 2 ch. 11). Nicholas justifies the tyranny of the unions. He says,

I'll not deny but what th' Union finds it necessary to force a man into his own good. I'll speak truth. A man leads a dree life who's not i' th' Union. But once i' the' Union, his interests are taken care on better nor he could do it for himsel', or by himsel', for that matter. It's the only way working men can get their rights, by all joining together. More the members, more chance for each one separate man having justice done him. (292; Vol. 2 ch. 11)

Nicholas Higgins accuses Boucher of “rioting and breaking laws” (293; Vol. 2 ch. 11). Then, Margaret cannot stand, and says that “then would it not have been far better to have left him alone, and not forced him to join the Union? He did you no good; and you drove him mad” (293; Vol. 2 ch. 11).

The oppressed workers demand justice against the injustices of the workers, and they band together as Marx and Engels state in *the Communist Manifesto*: “Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!” (34). But not all the workers want to attend the union as narrated in *Hard Times* through the character Stephen Blackpool, who dies after he seeks a job out of his town when he is excluded by the other workers since he does not join the union. Similarly, the worker Boucher, who is forced to join the union, dies when he seeks for a job out of his town as his wife tells “no one would give him work here, and he’d to go on tramp toward Greenfield” (296; Vol. 2 ch. 11).

However, later, the unemployed Nicholas goes to the Thorntons to ask for a job as Margaret advises him to do so but the servant of the house refuses Higgins impolitely. Concerning the rudeness of the servant, Nicholas Higgins says that “as to th’ language, I’m welly used to it; it dunnot matter to me. I’m not nesh mysel’ when I’m put out. It were th’ fact that I were na wanted theer, no more nor any other place, as I minded” (307). Unfortunately, as Gaskell narrates, the workers and the poor were humiliated and disdained by the bourgeois. Hales’ maid Dixon despises the lower class, as well. The narrator argues, “Dixon had not much to tell about the Higgings. Her memory had an aristocratic bias, and was very treacherous whenever she tried to recall any circumstance connected with those below her in life” (402; Vol. 2, ch. 22).

Throughout the book, we are confronted with illnesses and even deaths that are related to the industrialization of Milton, as well as the segregation of the town into social classes,

with the rich being the most powerful, oppressive and influential in that age. The oppressed workers suffer in the hands of insensitive, materialist manufacturers. Bessy dies due to tuberculosis, and Mr. Boucher commits suicide due to poverty. As Jill L. Matus states “ the deaths...implicate the social conditions in the industrial north, from Bessy, who dies of the cotton fluff in her lungs, to Mrs. Hale, who is rendered frail and sickly by the move to Milton” (36). If the workers and the manufacturers laid their obstinacy aside, and realized that Bessy coughed up a storm, they would have put an end to the struggle; in this context, the novel requires the working and middle class to compromise, and it propounds the peaceful way to the manufacturers and workers to resolve the disagreements (Schor 137).

Concerning the situation of the workers, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels remark in the *the Communist Manifesto* that “these labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market” (9). The fluctuation and recession in John Thornton’s factory lead the workers to be unemployed. As Karl Marx remarks, the factory owner Mr. Thornton throws off the workers as if they are commodities. In this context, what Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels state in their *Communist Manifesto* seems to be true “owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labour, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine...” (9). In other words, the life of a worker is dependent on his/her employer’s mercy. As seen through the characters Nicholas Higgins, Bessy, Boucher and his family, the workers are regarded as trivial commodities by the manufacturers. The manufacturers do not take the situation of the workers into account during economic fluctuations and recessions. However, when Mr. Thornton faces more financial problems, and is on the edge of bankruptcy, he realizes what it is like to be at the mercy of someone else, and he empathizes with the workers. He employs Nicholas Higgins,

and develops a healthy communication with the workers. After Mr. Hale's death, Margaret is left with a considerable fortune by Mr. Bell, who was Mr. Hale's friend. As Nancy Henry states in her article "Margaret emerges as Thornton's savior when she inherits the land on which his mill stands, making her his landlord" (158). As a businesswoman, Margaret says:

...if you would take some money of mine, eighteen thousand and fiftyseven pounds, lying just at this moment unused in the bank, and bringing me in only two and a half per cent.—you could pay me much better interest, and might go on working Marlborough Mills. (435; Vol. 2 ch. 27)

Margaret aims to make good use of her money through providing financial support to Mr. Thornton. Besides, while discussing her business plan with John Thornton, she discovers her love for him, and they finally decide to marry. Concerning the love affair between Mr. Thornton and Margaret Hale, Edgar Wright argues that

The obvious major theme, worked out chiefly in the relationship between Margaret Hale and John Thornton, is the reconciliation of the attitudes and social values of *North and South*, with the acceptance of the valuable qualities in both and the recognition of faults and prejudices on both sides. (134)

As seen, the industrialization period is a double-edged sword. In as much as it brings development to the areas of industries, it also brings problems, which have negative effects on those who live around the area.

The Hale family represents the pastoral south, where traditional social values are appreciated and valid, whereas the Thornton family stands for the north, where the industrialized, materialistic way of life is dominant. The rich manufacturer is narrated as a self-interested man, who ignores the miseries of the workers. The condition of England during Victorian Era, in which industrialization reached its peak, is narrated through the families from the north and south of England. In short, with sharp social, cultural and economic

differences “the contrasting experiences”, Gaskell had in rural Knutsford and industrial Manchester, “defined the poles of her fiction” (Christ and Robson 1222).

At the end of the novel, it is observed that effective communication between the two classes can be a solution to the negative consequences of industrialism. Gaskell believes that workers and the manufacturers need to settle the conflict by peaceful means. It seems that Elizabeth Gaskell desires to bring social, economic and spiritual improvement in the living conditions of both the working and middle classes (Elbir 138). In the end, the manufacturer “Thornton plans to build a new dining hall and provide educational opportunities for his workers”, therefore, through his personality change, the writer asserts her hope for a rapprochement between the workers and the manufacturers (Henry 158). Like Robert Moore in Brontë’s novel *Shirley*, Mr. Thornton decides to help workers to solve their problems. Hence, it can be deduced from “the balancing of workers’ and manufacturers’ views in *North and South* [that] Gaskell was sympathetic to seemingly opposing perspectives” (Henry 149). The perspectives of both the working class and the middle class are depicted throughout the novel, and it is shown that each class needs the other; that is to say, each class seems to be dependent on the other to generate a self-satisfied society.

5. CONCLUSION

This study, which aims to analyse Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley* (1849), Charles Dickens' *Hard Times* (1854) and Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* (1854-5), suggests that the works of these novelists bear certain similarities in terms of their subject matters. Certain historical events have been claimed to be present in these three novels to reach this conclusion. As observed, Dickens, Brontë and Gaskell joined the fray between the working class and middle class through their novels since novel-reading was a popular activity in Victorian Era. The novels about the negative effects of rapid industrialization and urbanization as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution constitute the subject matters of "the industrial novels" that narrate the socio-economic and political problems. Charlotte Brontë in *Shirley*, Charles Dickens in *Hard Times*, and Elizabeth Gaskell in *North and South* present the poor workers, unrest, riots, strikes and lock-outs, and reflect the realities of the Industrial Revolution. In her article, Nancy Henry argues that

Such novels represented the division of England...into "two nations," rich and poor. They addressed the social problems arising from industrialization, urbanization, and unregulated laissez-faire capitalism, primarily in the north of England. They pointed to the need for reforms out of humanitarian concern, but also out of fear, ominously forecasting violence from a class of workers increasingly desperate, angry and organized. (157)

All the novels discussed in this thesis take place in the north of England, where the social and economic problems emerged as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution. In all novels, the workers unite, one way or the other, to rebel against the exploitations of the manufacturers, long working hours and low salary. However, their unions turn into rampancy which ends up with injuries and even deaths of many workers. Elizabeth Gaskell, in her *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, regards industrialization as "terrible times of insecurity of life and

property on the one hand, and of bitter starvation and blind ignorant despair on the other” (85; Vol. 1) referring to the problems of workers and manufacturers.

As observed in Charlotte Brontë’s *Shirley* (1849), Charles Dickens’s *Hard Times* (1854) and Elizabeth Gaskell’s *North and South* (1854-5), all novelists deal with the problem of class struggle, and the conflict between the workers and the manufacturers because of prejudices, lack of communication, contempt, arrogance and misunderstanding. Both the working class and the middle class seem to contribute to the formation of class conflict. In all the three novels, examined in this thesis, the workers are divided into two parts, and they do not reach a consensus. Although the workers lead miserable lives because of the harsh working conditions and low salaries, not all want to join the worker unions since some believe that unionisation could lead a bloody battle, as seen in *Shirley*, in which many workers die because of the fight. In *Shirley*, Charlotte Brontë is inspired by the Luddite Riots (1811-15), in *Hard Times*, Dickens and in *North and South*, Gaskell is inspired by the Preston Lock-out (1853-4), which are narrated in a realistic way.

However, unionisation, riots and lock-outs fan the flame of the conflict between the workers and the manufacturers. Although the workers form unions to claim their rights regarding better working conditions, good salaries, less working hours to socialize more, the unions cannot settle the conflict. On the contrary, the unions perceive the manufacturers and the workers who do not join them as their enemies; therefore, the conflict and tension arise between the manufacturers and the workers. As narrated through the characters William Farren in *Shirley*, Stephen Blackpool in *Hard Times*, and Boucher in *North and South*, when a worker does not join the union, strikes or riots, s/he becomes an outcast; the other workers exclude such workers.

The manufacturers are shown to be reluctant to have a dialogue with the workers. Mr. Moore in *Shirley*, Mr. Bounderby in *Hard Times* and Mr. Thornton in *North and South* do not

listen to the problems of their workers. The manufacturers regard the workers as machines, who work at factories as long as their labour is required. As explained before, any economic recession or fluctuation directly affects the lives of the workers and their families in a negative way; the workers are either fired or their salaries are lowered. Therefore, strikes, lock-outs, unionisations, fights and riots take place inevitably. At this point, Dickens, Brontë and Gaskell invite both working class and middle class to improve dialogues to solve out the problems between them. The novelists want the manufacturers and the working class to exchange ideas, and to overcome the problem of lack of communication. According to the novelists, the manufacturers, bankers, and the workers need to reach common ground to avoid conflict, arising from classism, and to improve social and economic conditions. Concordantly, manufacturer Mr. Moore in *Shirley*, and Mr. Thornton in *North and South* empathize with the workers when they are on the verge of bankruptcy due to economic problems. In Brontë's novel, Shirley Keeldar provides financial support to Mr. Moore, and in Gaskell's novel, Margaret Hale provides financial support to Mr. Thornton. When the manufacturers realize what it is like to be at the mercy of someone else, they begin to help the workers by employing them, and by increasing their salaries. Therefore, both the workers and the manufacturers lead happy lives. Actually, Charlotte Brontë, Charles Dickens and Elizabeth Gaskell emphasize that through communication and reconciliation, class conflict may come to an end.

As explained before, these novels contributed to the formation of social reforms. As Marx and the novelists desired, the government enacted factory acts through the 19th century. They included 1850, 1853, 1860, and 1864 Factory Acts, which covered working hours, especially of children and women, and through these acts, "the workers could begin work at either 6.00 or 7.00 a.m. and finish at either 6.00 or 7.00 p.m" ("An Industrial Nation: Timeline."). As Louis James states "the novel became a platform for political and religious

concepts. Disraeli's *Sybil, or the Two Nations* (1845) [another industrial novel] was a political call for 'Young England' to redeem an England locked between an effete old order and a leaderless proletariat" (217). In the course of time, the harsh working conditions of the workers were reformed as the novelists, journalists, and many other middle class members gave voice to the workers. For instance, in 1867 the working class citizens had the right to vote "when a second Reform Bill was passed" (Christ and Robson 982). In this regard, industrial novel writers, Charles Dickens, Charlotte Brontë, and Elizabeth Gaskell can be regarded as the messengers of their era because novel-reading was a popular activity in the Victorian Period.

The novelists, "whose works emphasized the horrors of factory work with reform as the ultimate goal" (Simmons 340), contributed to the improvement of the living conditions of the working class, and emphasized the importance of communication between the worker and the factory owner. In her article *Industrial Revolution, Empire and the Novel*, Narin Hassan indicates that "the push toward social reform was supported by their vivid and detailed depictions of industrial and urban life" (29). Also the industrial novels contributed to the emergence of some of the Factory Acts such as the Factory Acts of 1850, 1853 and 1860 which were passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom which settled and limited the working hours and ages of factory workers. As Christ and Robson state in the Norton Anthology of English Literature, "Dickens, Gaskell, and many lesser novelists tried to stimulate efforts for social reform through their depiction of social problems" (996). In time, with the improvements in the working and living conditions of the working class, the industrial novels appeared less.

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ÖZET

Balkaya, Mehmet Akif. Sanayi Devrimi'nin Charlotte Brontë'nin *Shirley*, Charles Dickens'in *Hard Times* ve Elizabeth Gaskell'in *North and South* Romanlarına Yansıyan Etkileri, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2014.

Bu çalışma Charlotte Brontë'nin *Shirley* (1849), Charles Dickens'in *Zor Zamanlar* (1854) ve Elizabeth Gaskell'in *Kuzey ve Güney* (1854-5) romanlarını ele alarak, sanayileşme sürecinde gelişen sosyal, politik ve ekonomik sorunları eğitim, fakirlik, fabrikalardaki çalışma koşulları, kadının toplumdaki statüsü ve çocuk istismarı bağlamında incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Sanayi Devrimi 1760-1840 yılları arasında el üretiminden makine üretimine geçiş sürecidir. Sanayileşme özellikle İngiltere'de pamuk ve dokumacılık alanında gelişmeye başlamıştır. James Watt'ın Buhar Makinesini icadı zamanla makineleşmeye neden olmuş ve ulaşımın tren yoluyla yapılmasını sağlamıştır. Bu süreçte işin çoğu çok az bir ücretle günün yarısından fazlasını zor şartlar altında çalışmakla geçiren kadınlar ve çocuklar tarafından yapılmıştır.

Sanayileşme sürecinde, ülke küçük atölyelerde az üretimden büyük fabrikalarda toplu üretime geçmiştir. Bu süreçte yaşanan gelişmeler, Charlotte Brontë'nin *Shirley*, Charles Dickens'in *Zor Zamanlar* ve Elizabeth Gaskell'in *Kuzey ve Güney* adlı “sanayi romanları” ele alınarak bu çalışmada incelenmiştir. Çalışmaya konu olan romanlarda fabrikadaki çalışma koşulları, işçilerin yaşadığı sorunlar, ataerkil toplum tarafından ezilen kadının durumu ve genel olarak “İngiltere'nin durumu” araştırılmıştır.

Bu çalışma bir giriş, üç ana bölüm ve bir de sonuç bölümünden oluşmaktadır.

1. Bölümde, Charlotte Brontë'nin *Shirley* (1849) romanı 1811-15 tarihlerinde İngiltere'de yaşanan işsizliğe karşı makine kıran işçilerin ayaklanması olan Luddite Ayaklanmaları'nın analiziyle Karl Marx ve Friedrich Engels'in düşünceleri paralelinde incelenmiştir.

2. Bölümde, Charles Dickens'in *Zor Zamamlar* (1854) romanı incelenmiştir. Toplumdaki bölünmenin ve kargaşanın "Faydacılık felsefesini" benimseyen eğitim sisteminin sonucunda ve sanayileşme süreciyle, sanayileşmiş şehirlerde yaşayan insanların duygusuz, makineleşmiş insanlar olarak değerlendirilmiş olmaları ve fabrikatör orta sınıfla işçi sınıfının birbirinin sorunlarına kulak vermemesi, sorunlara her iki kesimin de duyarsız kalması gösterilmiştir.

3. Bölümde Elizabeth Gaskell'in *Kuzey ve Güney* (1854-5) romanı incelenmiş ve yazarın İngiltere'nin sanayileşmiş Kuzeyi ile kırsal Güneyi, bu yörenin insanlarını kıyaslayarak ve yine fabrika sorunlarını, işçi örgütlenmesini ve ayaklanmasını aktarmış, bu soruna çözüm olarak da işçi sınıf ile orta sınıfın daha fazla diyalog kurması gerektiğini göstermiştir.

Sonuç bölümünde, tüm bu romanlarda, sanayileşmenin toplumu ciddi şekilde sarstığı, orta sınıf ve işçi sınıf olarak kutuplara ayırdığı ve bu iki grup arasındaki farkın iletişimsizliğin bir sonucu olarak daha da arttığı aktarılmıştır. Üç romancı da tarihte yaşanan kanlı işçi isyan ve grevlerinden dolayı olacak ki karmaşık hissiyatlar içinde görünüyorlar. *North and South* ve *Shirley* romanlarında iki grup arasında bir uzlaşma olmasıyla toplumdaki huzursuzluğun kısmen çözüme ulaştığı, ancak Dickens'in *Hard Times* romanında bu uzlaşmanın yakalanamamış olması göz önüne alınarak, Dickens'in diğer iki yazara nispeten zengin kesim için daha karamsar bir tablo çizdiği gösterilmiştir. *Zor Zamanlar* romanında fabrikatör Josiah Bounderby'nin ölmesi, Thomas Gradgrind'in ve çocuklarının mutsuz sonları u karamsar

tabloyu çizerken, sanayi kenti insanı ile sirk insanların birbirlerini anlaması yine gelecek için umut verici bir tablodur.

Anahtar Sözcükler:

1. Sanayi Devrimi
2. Faydacılık
3. Sanayi Romanı
4. İşçi Sınıfı
5. Orta Sınıf

ABSTRACT

Balkaya, Mehmet Akif. The Effects of the Industrial Revolution as Reflected in Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley*, Charles Dickens' *Hard Times* and Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South*, Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2014.

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse education, poverty, conditions in factories, child labour, the position of women, marriage and social unrest in the age of industrialization in England as reflected in Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley* (1849), Charles Dickens' *Hard Times* (1854) and Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* (1855).

Industrial Revolution is the transitional period between 1760 and 1840, a transition from handmade production to new manufacturing processes. Industrialization mainly started with cloth and cotton manufactory in many countries, particularly in England. The invention of the steam engine by James Watt gave way to mechanization and railways. Most part of the labour force was constituted by women and children who were working under hard conditions with little wages. The factory owners desired to be more and more rich by exploiting the women and children. Long hours of working were paid with minimum wages.

It was the time when the country stopped making items on small scale, and started mass production, which would prove to be cheaper in the long run due to mechanization. The invention of new machines and the establishment of new factories paved the way for the industrialization era.

In these novels, Charlotte Brontë, Elizabeth Gaskell and Charles Dickens criticized how the factory workers were exploited, how women were repressed by the patriarchal system and the condition of England during the age of industrialization.

This thesis consists of an introduction, three main chapters and a conclusion. In the introductory chapter the social and historical context of “The Industrial Revolution” has been explored.

In Chapter I, Charlotte Brontë’s *Shirley* (1849), based on the “Luddite Riots of 1811-15”, the causes and effects of the riots of the workers and the situation of the mill owner together with the themes of social unrest because of mechanization in factories, and the woman question in that age has been analysed. Also it is examined that the novel focuses not only on the industrial unrest but also on marriage concept in the Victorian Era.

In Chapter II, Charles Dickens’ *Hard Times* (1854) is analysed, and it has been asserted that the disorder of the society is caused with the fact that people in factory towns are regarded as the products of the industrial age and automatons of that time and education; and the bleak factories even led the children to be educated as if the machines were programmed.

In Chapter III, Elizabeth Gaskell’s *North and South* (1855) is analysed, and it has been emphasized that the contrast between the north and south (of England) was reflected together with the themes of love, education and class struggles and strikes causing violence.

In the Conclusion, it is deduced that in these novels, the industrial revolution and its social aftermath make the society turn upside down. The fear of violence, as reflected in these novels and as witnessed in the history of England in the Luddite Riots (1811-15), Preston Lock-outs (1853-4), and the Chartist Movement (1839-1850s) put the novelists into indecisive, and conflicting feelings towards the rioting workers as reflected through the characters Moses, Barraclough, Slackbridge, Higgins and others. When analysing the works of these Victorian novelists, it can be said that Dickens is more pessimistic than Gaskell and Brontë with the portrayal of the outcomes of industrialization. Because of the tragic end of the Gradgrinds, and the death of the manufacturer without having chance to reconcile with the workers, the novel portrays a pessimistic end for the ruling class characters. Although the

tragic end of the ruling-class-characters in *Hard Times* portrays a gloomy atmosphere, there still seems to be hope for reconciliation.

Key Words:

1. Industrial Revolution
2. Utilitarianism
3. Industrial Novel
4. Working Class
5. Middle Class