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**EGE ÜNİVERSİTESİ**  
**SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ**  
**İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı**

**THE INDUSTRIAL NOVEL:**  
***SHIRLEY, HARD TIMES AND NORTH AND SOUTH***

**YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ**

**Dilek MENTEŞE**

**Danışman: Prof. Dr. Rezzan KOCAÖNER SİLKÜ**

**İzmir-2015**

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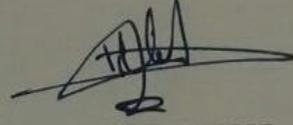
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Ege Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Müdürlüğüne sunduğum “The Industrial Novel: *Shirley*, *Hard Times* and *North and South*” adlı yüksek lisans tezinin tarafımdan bilimsel, ahlak ve normlara uygun bir şekilde hazırlandığını, tezimde yararlandığım kaynakları bibliyografyada ve dipnotlarda gösterdiğimi onurumla doğrularım.



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## INTRODUCTION

The Victorian era was a period of radical changes in terms of social, political and economic issues. It was characterized by industrial improvements, innovations, and capitalism, which defined social relations and caused prominent problems concerning working conditions in factories and class conflicts. Thus, industrialization has always been at the heart of the drastic changes in the nineteenth century. As a result of industrialization, the growing importance of economic power became one of the major factors of the social changes during the Victorian period. The middle class emerged in the eighteenth century; however, the power of the middle class increased in the nineteenth century; thus, the effects of its power were clearly observed in the Victorian period. Accordingly, the rise of the middle class, more promotion of businessmen to the peerage, marriages between the middle class and the aristocracy, and the retreat of agriculture caused a decrease in the power of the aristocracy (Brown 80).

Within the context of the change in the power of the middle class, it should be noted that the Industrial Revolution had an important role. The inventions, development of machinery, iron making, and the use of steam power provided the middle class with economic and social power in the first half of the nineteenth century. As a result of industrialization, factory owners needed little human strength to get the work done; thus, unemployment became one of the significant problems. In addition, industrialization was the main factor of urbanization which turned industrial cities into overcrowded, unplanned, smoky, black towns. Regarding the expanding impact of mechanization on the Victorian society, the lack of communication between the working class and the middle class increased. For this reasons, social unrest in society became one of the major problems in the Victorian period.

The fact that the middle class grew economically powerful brings forth The Reform Bill of 1832. Importantly, as Sally Mitchell states, “In the political realm, historians often date the beginning of the Victorian age from the Reform Bill of 1832 rather than Queen Victoria’s accession in 1837” (3). The aforementioned bill is considered as the most forceful bill which altered the structure of the society in the nineteenth century. Before The Reform Bill, the representatives in the House of Commons represented the cities through a system of ownership of land; therefore, each

city could not be represented in the parliament. This bill offered suffrage to middle class men so that new industrial cities could be represented in the House of Commons. Although middle class men gained the right to vote, the working class, which had played an important part in the reform, was denied to share political power resulting in the Chartist Movement. Within the Chartist Movement, the workers united to demand equal rights, which increased the atmosphere of social unrest in society.

In contrast to the growing power of the middle class, the working class was exploited and oppressed by their employers. The popular economic theories in the Victorian era enlarged the gap between the working class and the middle class. To illustrate, “laissez-faire” - the theory of minimal government involvement supported by Adam Smith in his work *Wealth of Nations* - is one of the exploitative approaches of capitalism. In this sense, in *The Victorian Frame of Mind*, Walter Houghton describes “laissez-faire” as a system in which “the manufacturer bought his materials in the cheapest market and sold them in the highest, and hired his labor wherever he likes, for as long as he pleased, at the lowest wages he could pay” (6). The theory was used by the middle class in their economic affairs against the working class. In addition, the theory of “utilitarianism,” which includes the idea of the “Greatest Happiness Principle” (Mill 41) was regarded as the philosophical justification of “laissez-faire” economics, because the search for “happiness” was used to make profit within the dynamics of the market.

As a consequence of the capitalist system and the rising lack of communication between social classes, the conditions of the working class were either unnoticed or ignored by the middle class. Upon suffering from unemployment, the working class experienced harsh working conditions which led to their desperate health conditions, alienation, and depression. Furthermore, the gap between the middle class and working class expanded. In this fashion, the poor were excluded by the class conscious Victorian society. Critics of the age protested against the working and living conditions of the workers deteriorated by industrialization. For instance, in *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, Friedrich Engels describes the industrial towns as containing “the worst houses in the worst quarters” (26). He also explains the conditions of the exploited workers adding that “at least twenty or thirty persons have died of simple starvation” (25). Another major critic, Thomas Carlyle, criticizes the economic theories

pointing out the “Condition-of-England Question” (*Chartism* 8). Carlyle explains that “utilitarianism” and “laissez-faire” are the causes of the “Condition-of-England.” He states that money became “the sole nexus between man and man” (52).

Furthermore, in *Das Kapital (Capital)*, Karl Marx discusses the idea that the workers are regarded as “slaves” in the system where money became the only connection among people. Likewise, William Cobbett, a Victorian English journalist, retorts that “the Blacks perish or even suffer for want of food. But it is notorious that great numbers of your ‘free British labourers’ have actually *died from starvation*” (qtd. in Gallagher, *The Industrial* 10; emphasis in original). In relation to the master-slave metaphor, some critics like Arthur Helps offered the “family model” to call for the reconciliation between the employers and the labourers. In *Claims of Labor*, Helps mentions that the relationship between the employer and the employed should be like that of a parent and a child: “I believe that the parental relation will be found the best model on which to form the duties of the employer to the employed; calling, as it does, for active exertion, requiring the most watchful tenderness, and yet limited by the strictest rules of prudence” (qtd. in Gallagher 11). He suggests that the factory owner should be like a loving but ruling father. On the other hand, the labourer is regarded as a dependent child. This analogy provides ample proof to show that the labourer is hierarchically inferior to the employer.

To lessen the gap between the classes in an atmosphere of social unrest, industrial novels emerged. The Corn Laws, Chartism, poverty, class conflict, capitalism, and the gap between the rich and poor were some of the significant problems in the Victorian period discussed in the framework of the “Condition-of-England Question.” Industrial novels elaborate on the above mentioned problems and inform the middle class reader about the conditions of the poor. The main purpose of industrial novels is to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor to reduce inequalities. Industrial novelists acted as activists to offer solutions to the social dilemmas:

The social-problem novel, in distinction to other contemporary works, shows us a group of writers using the resources of literary representation in order to try to resolve some large-scale problems in their society, problems which their politicians, economists and statisticians seemed to

them to be wholly unable or unwilling to address. (Guy, *The Victorian Social-Problem* 11)

On these grounds, New Historicism is one of the most appropriate critical approaches to analyze industrial novels which are discussed in this study. New Historicism regards each text as a “product” of the discourses in a particular period. In this regard, industrial novels are the “products” of the industrial discourse of the nineteenth century:

New Historicism located social-problem fiction [industrial novels] in relation to discourses about industrialism and the social body circulating in the culture. The movement critiqued the orientation of the 1960s’ and 1970s’ radical criticism in two important ways: it endeavoured to read the fiction’s intervention in Victorian political debates in a more complex way, and it did not see the failures of social-problem fiction to provide solutions to political difficulties as fault of individual novelists or a function of their middle-class biases. Rather, New Historicism considered that the contradictions and flaws of the novels were a reflection of problems in the whole nexus of discourses on industrialism. (O’Gorman 150)

In the light of the aforementioned quotation, it is evident that industrial novels can be analyzed to evaluate the social, political, and economic conflicts in the Victorian era. According to Josephine Guy, “these novels thus provide a special sort of evidence in a social or cultural history of the nineteenth century” (11). In other words, they are considered to be first-hand observations and historical documents of industrialism, urbanization, and labour relations from a New Historicist point of view.

To clarify the content of the “industrial discourse” the ideas of Catherine Gallagher should be stated. Firstly, Gallagher explains that the “Condition-of-England Question” was itself a discourse: “[T]he Condition of England Debate became a discourse unto itself, creating and absorbing new fields of inquiry in metaphysics, ethics, political economy, public administration, biology, medicine, religion, psychology, and aesthetics” (xi). She adds that the intellectual life and the cultural life are all affected by industrialism. Therefore, because industrial novels are a part of the

intellectual and cultural life, they are also a part of the industrial discourse: “narrative fiction, especially the novel, underwent basic changes whenever it; became a part of the discourse over industrialism” (Gallagher, *The Industrial* xi). In short, the industrial discourse can be defined as the ideas, the attitudes, and practices belonging to the industrial atmosphere of industrial England.

In this study, *Shirley* by Charlotte Brontë, *Hard Times* by Charles Dickens and *North and South* by Elizabeth Gaskell will be analyzed as social and cultural products of the Victorian era in order to enlighten the problems of industrialism. How these industrial novels are engaged with the “Condition-of-England Question” between 1845-1855 and how they employ sociocultural, political, and economic problems are prominent questions for a clear perception of the Victorian frame of mind. The focus of this study will be on class and labour relations of the nineteenth century. Because texts are regarded as social and cultural products of their own time according to New Historicists, it is obvious that these novels produced in the Victorian era represent the industrial ideology. Reading the novels with a historical awareness makes the novels themselves historical documents, which shed light on the conditions of Victorian England. What will also be explained in this study is how these novels dramatize, reflect and try to change the tensions between the rich and the poor, men and women, and the public and the private spheres.

Chapter I aims at explaining the effects of industrialization to demonstrate the importance of the role of the industrial discourse in the analysis of *Shirley*, *Hard Times* and *North and South*. Focusing on historical causes and consequences of industrialism, the general condition of Victorian England is reflected in this part. Thus, industrialization, mechanization, the capitalist ideology, urbanization, working conditions in factories, alienation of the workers, housing problems in industrial towns, social class problems, class discourse, the Chartist Movement are some of the major points that will be elaborated in this chapter. In order to explain the framework of the industrial discourse, drawing upon the ideas of critics such as Thomas Carlyle, Karl Marx, and Friedrich Engels is crucial. Because the industrial discourse is composed of such capitalist theories as “laissez-faire” and “utilitarianism,” the ideas of Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, and Thomas Robert Malthus are also of great

importance. The historical events will be exemplified in relation to important parliamentary acts such as the Reform Bill of 1832, the Poor Law and the Factory Acts for an analysis of social problems. In addition, the solutions to social problems by nineteenth century critics such as Arthur Helps will be pointed out. Furthermore, the role of women and the Victorian home will be explained to observe the resemblances between oppressed women and workers. Bridging the oppression of the workers and women, the last part of the first chapter explains the position of women to argue the role of the private and public sphere in the industrial society.

Chapter II will examine the characteristics of the industrial novel. Michael Wheeler describes the significance of the industrial novel as follows:

The most influential social-problem novels of the century were written between 1845 and 1855, by which time much of the very worst poverty experienced in the Hungry Forties had been at least partially relieved in a period of relative prosperity, itself the source of a complacency which provided Dickens and other reformist novelists with new subjects. An awareness, however, of living in a divided society and a consequent fear of revolution were to remain the legacies of this mid-century period. (53)

The second chapter offers an explanation of the aspects of the industrial novel in that it is engaged directly with social and political issues with a focus on class, labour relations, social unrest, and the gap between the rich and the poor. Then, the different definitions of the industrial novel are provided for a complete understanding. In this sense, the industrial novel is also called as the “social-problem novel,” “social novel” or “Condition-of-England Novel.” The term “industrial novel” will be taken as a unifying concept since the focus of the thesis is on the relation between industrialism and the novels. In addition, the historical background of the industrial novel and the difference between early industrial novels and the industrial novels of the 1840s and 1850s will be elaborated on. The ideology of the novels, the function of the author, the function of the plot, typical characterizations in industrial novels, and representations of working class men and women are issues which are explained in the second chapter.

Furthermore, synthesizing the views of critics such as Louis François Cazamian, Kathleen Tillotson, Raymond Williams, John Lucas, Arnold Kettle, and Catherine

Gallagher, the second chapter will explore the aim of and solutions suggested by industrial novels. While Williams, Lucas, and Kettle argue that the industrial novelist fails to offer adequate solutions to social problems, Gallagher opposes this view. Towards the end of this chapter the relation between Gallagher's theories of the industrial novel and its importance for New Historicism are reflected. Catherine Gallagher's theories of the industrial novel are important in that she is one of the first critics who analyzes industrial novels from a New Historicist perspective. Unlike former critics, Gallagher supports the idea that industrial novels are not failures but reflections of the contradictions in industrial England (Guy, *The Victorian Social-Problem Novel*).

The basic premise behind the third chapter is to explain the tenets of New Historicism. After the historical background of the theory, its principles are discussed in the widest sense. The main focus of this chapter is to elaborate on the aspects of New Historicism which does not aim to find the meaning of a text, but to expose the norms and standards of a particular period or culture to study the process of a text and to understand the web of discourses in a certain period as it is stated by Stephen Greenblatt in "Towards a Poetics of Culture." In this regard, the subjectivity of history, interrelation of literary and non-literary texts, major and minor discourses, powerful and suppressed voices are explained to mirror the aim of New Historicists.

For the revelation of the characteristics of New Historicism and shedding light on the ideas of major New Historicist critics such as Louis Montrose, Stephen Greenblatt, and Catherine Gallagher, firstly, the works of Michel Foucault, Clifford Geertz, and Louis Althusser will be discussed since their ideas had major influences on the tenets of New Historicism. The main point of the third chapter is to emphasize the importance of author-text-discourse interaction advocated by New Historicists. Foucault's author-text-discourse relationship, Geertz's "thick description" and "information gap," and Althusser's ideas about the effect of ideology will be highlighted in this chapter to explain their contribution to New Historicism. In addition, Montrose's "historicity of texts" and the "textuality of history" are other ideas which have to be explained. In this regard, Greenblatt's assumption that a work is the product of a complex web of discourses will also be described: "a work of art is the product of a

negotiation between a creator or class of creators, equipped with a complex, communally shared repertoire of conventions, and the institutions and practices of society” (“Towards a Poetics of Culture” 12). In brief, New Historicism “provides useful insights into how literature interacts with texts of all kinds, produced and shaped by the discursive practices and power relations which those texts in turn produce and shape” (Brannigan 151). As a result, to what extent the text reflects the discourses of its time and to what extent it challenges the discourses are the major aspects explained in the third chapter.

The fourth chapter covers the analysis of Charlotte Brontë’s *Shirley* as an industrial novel from a New Historicist perspective. There are three major issues that have to be explained in this chapter: firstly, the novel’s portrayal of the social problems; secondly, its representation of the contradictions in the industrial society; thirdly, its reformulation of the industrial discourse. These issues will be clarified through the analysis of *Shirley* along with historical documents such as certain acts, letters, and handbills. Furthermore, after describing Luddism and its connection to Chartism, the causes of and the probable solutions to Chartism suggested by the novel will be pointed out. In order to analyze the industrial discourse in *Shirley*, examining the representations of industrialization, mechanization, conditions of the workers, the “self-made” man, the effect of the Napoleonic Wars, attacks on the mills, the difficult economic conditions of the middle class hold great significance. Accordingly, the factory worker William Farren’s and the factory owner Robert Moore’s relationship is to be explored to comment on the above mentioned issues. In addition, within the context of the oppression by the patriarchal society, the mediators between the workers and employers will be focused on. Thus, Caroline’s and Shirley’s roles as mediators between the workers and the mill owners are functional in labour relations that have to be explained. Lastly, the novel’s solution to social and economic problems will be argued in terms of the industrial ideology. As a conclusion, how the novel portrays and challenges the industrial discourse is to be elucidated.

The main point behind the fifth chapter is to discuss Charles Dickens’s *Hard Times* through a New Historicist reading by considering the problems of the industrial society. How Charles Dickens tries to reform some aspects of the industrial discourse

and how he offers a probable solution will be the main questions of the fifth chapter. The critical parts in the novel are explained through comparisons with historical documents to uncover the key aspects of the industrial ideology. In order to understand the industrial ideology employed in the novel, firstly, Mr. Gradgrind's capitalist system will be explored to question the deformities of human relations corrupted by the industrial society. For instance, his obsession with "utilitarianism" is one of the major issues which has to be highlighted. Secondly, in *Hard Times*, the idea of the "Mechanical Age" belonging to the industrial discourse is portrayed and reshaped. As Carlyle puts forward, "Were we required to characterize this age of ours by any single epithet, we should be tempted to call it, not an Heroical, Devotional, Philosophical, or Moral Age, but, above all other, the Mechanical Age" ("Signs of the Times"). In this regard, the fifth chapter offers a study of the problem of "mechanization" of individuals which can also be grasped in the education system in the novel. In addition, Louisa Gradgrind's and Tom Gradgrind's corrupted human nature will be compared to Sissy's characteristics to reflect the humanitarian approach of Dickens towards social problems. Also, the failure of the "family model" as a solution to social problems has to be focused on considering the interaction between public and private spheres. Furthermore, the exploitation of the workers in the capitalist system will be analyzed through Stephen Blackpool's case. At the end of the fifth chapter, Dickens's aim as an industrial novelist is to be pointed out and understood.

In the sixth chapter, which aims to examine Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* in terms of its contribution to the industrial discourse, the questions of how and to what extent the novel contributes to the industrial ideology are discussed. After examining labour, class and gender relations in *North and South*, the novel's solutions to social problems will be scrutinized in order to grasp the negative consequences of industrialism in social and economic life. The events in the novel will be compared to the Preston Strike in the Victorian era since Gaskell was influenced by this strike. In the same section, firstly, the ideas about social problems will be extended through the exploration of the conditions of the workers in factories such as Bessy. Additionally, the lack of communication between the workers and the employers such as that of Higgins and Thornton, the economic difficulties experienced both by the workers and the

employers, the concept of the “new” gentleman and the issue of the trade unions are problematized in that they are related to the concepts of industrialism and class conflict. Furthermore, this chapter introduces the concepts of the “north” and the “south” to highlight the difference between the new industrial north and the old aristocratic south. Moreover, the importance of the role of the mediator is explained regarding the solution the novel offers to social problems. In this respect, Margaret’s role as a bridge between the angry workers and the ignorant employers will be one of the focal points of focus in this chapter.

In the final part, *Shirley*, *Hard Times* and *North and South* will be compared in the light of the industrial discourse – the ideas, the attitudes, and practices belonging to the industrial atmosphere of industrial England. Firstly, the common grounds of the novels will be explained, which is that they all reflect the industrial age. Then, the aspects of the industrial discourse the novels challenge are to be elaborated on. Next, the difference of the novels in terms of the industrial ideology will be stated to explore to what extent the novels reflect the industrial discourse and to what extent they try to reform this discourse. Their difference in terms of the solutions they offer to social problems, the issues they discuss as social problems and the attitudes they want to reform in the industrial society will be examined.

## CHAPTER I

### INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE VICTORIAN ERA

A New Historicist reading of *Shirley*, *Hard Times* and *North and South* as industrial novels requires a detailed knowledge of the historical events of the first half of the nineteenth century since New Historicists suggest that there is an interaction between text and history. Literary texts should be interpreted by a synchronic reading of text and history according to New Historicists. It is crucial to discuss the social, political, and economic issues of the Victorian era in order to analyze the industrial discourse in the novels of the mentioned period because both the novels and the industrial discourse are considered to be parts of the nineteenth century discourses. In this study, the effects of industrialization on labour and social relations will be explained to study the novels as “products” of their time. In short, the impact of industrialization on the Victorian society and culture will be explored in this chapter.

Three important events which took place before the Victorian era had a significant impact on Victorian life. Firstly, Duke Wellington’s victory over Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815 is considered to be one of the critical events which had a significant effect on Victorian life. The victory brought confidence to England and improved its economy: “England’s control of the seas at the end of the Napoleonic wars put the country in an unrivaled position to sell its manufactured goods on the world market” (Mitchell 2). As a result of this victory, the economic growth of England and its expansion made it one of the powerful countries. Secondly, the Industrial Revolution and thirdly the Reform Bill of 1832 are decisive events in the nineteenth century, whose historical importance and effects on Victorian life will be discussed in the forthcoming paragraphs.

The Industrial Revolution had a great impact on Victorian England for it affected each part of life. England is one of the first countries which moved from an agricultural economy to an industrial one. The inventions, development of machinery, iron making, the use of steam power and colonialism are the main aspects of the Industrial Revolution. The improvements in the fields of transportation, production, and communication are results of the innovations. Thanks to the use of steel, powerful steam engines and steel bridges were constructed, which made transportation of goods and

people, and communication faster. Another factor which made transportation and communication easier is the construction of rail lines. Improvement in the railways made it easy for people to visit or move to industrial cities from rural areas. Another improvement resulting in improved transportation is the fact that ships were being constructed from iron. The improvement of the qualities of ships made travelling overseas faster. As a result of the aforementioned improvements, communication and trade between cities and countries improved.

The innovations and improvement of machines used in factories had a great impact on Victorian life. The work which was done by people had begun to be done by machines. In *The Philosophy of Manufacturers*, Andrew Ure states that “It is in fact, the constant aim and tendency of every improvement in machinery to supersede human labor altogether, or to diminish its cost” (qtd. in Frader 49). Factory owners needed little human strength to do the work; therefore, they hired women and children since they had to pay less for them. In this sense, it is regarded that mechanization affected the working conditions of the working class and the middle class.

Consequently, mechanization led to the growth of factories in industrial cities. In this regard, urbanization became one of the important issues in industrial towns. Lower class people from rural areas moved to industrial cities such as Leeds, Manchester and Glasgow to work in factories: “In 1801 most people lived in villages or on farms; by 1851 more than half of the population was urban” (Mitchell 5). As a result of the huge migration from rural areas, industrial cities turned into overcrowded and unplanned places. The high population and rise in the number of factories caused a growing lack of fresh air. Therefore, industrial cities in the nineteenth century are usually described as black and misty places. In addition, loud “industrial” noises in the cities were also regarded as a problem. Carlyle mentions the condition of the industrial town of Birmingham in 1824 stating that “Torrents of thick smoke, with ever and anon a burst of dingy flame, are issuing from a thousand funnels ... You hear the clank of innumerable steam-engines, the rumbling of cars and vans, and the hum of men interrupted by the sharper rattle of some canal-boat loading or disloading” (qtd. in Sussman 244).

Industrialization also affected the economy in the nineteenth century since the capitalist middle class supported theories which would make them economically more powerful. The popular economic theory of the nineteenth century was the “laissez-faire,” which means “let them do,” coined by Adam Smith. In *Wealth of Nations* Adam Smith states that the market is self-regulating; therefore, he supports the idea of minimal government involvement stating that the freedom of trade will always supply the country with goods (346). This theory includes the idea of minimal government involvement; in other words, self-reliance and a free market were the main tenets of the “laissez-faire.” The middle class used the theory of minimal government involvement in their economic affairs against their own workers. In *The Victorian Frame of Mind*, “laissez-faire” is described as a system in which “the manufacturer bought his materials in the cheapest market and sold them in the highest, and hired his labor wherever he likes, for as long as he pleased, at the lowest wages he could pay” (Houghton 6). While the middle class supported this theory to make profit, the working class was against this capitalist theory for they were exploited by the factory owners.

“Utilitarianism” can be considered as the philosophical justification of “laissez-faire” economics. It was first coined by Jeremy Bentham and later developed by John Stuart Mill. The aim of “utilitarianism” according to Bentham “was to ensure a right or ‘good’ society where ‘good’ was defined in terms of the principle of utility or ‘the greatest happiness of the greatest number’” (Guy, *The Victorian Age* 16). Bentham supported the idea that each human being seeks pleasure which leads to his/ her happiness. Additionally, Mill emphasized that actions are right when they result in happiness. “What use is it?” is the basic question of this philosophy; in other words, it includes the idea of making decisions by considering the profits (Mill 41) The search for individual pleasure was compared with the dynamics of the market. The bourgeoisie sought for individual gain. In this respect, the concept of happiness for “utilitarian” middle-class people had a capitalistic aim. The middle class profited from these economic theories in the Victorian era while the working class gained less and less money.

Another economist who had a significant impact on the economic life of Victorian England is Thomas Robert Malthus: “Malthus claimed that while the

population was increasing geometrically, productive capacity increased only arithmetically- a discrepancy which he predicted would lead to widespread suffering and eventual starvation for a large sector of society” (Guy, *The Victorian Age* 12). He proposes solutions for this problem; however, he asserts that “no possible form of society could prevent the almost constant action of misery upon a great part of mankind” (qtd. in Ingham, *The Language* 13-4). While proposing to prevent famine, Malthus states that the exploitation of the working class could never be prevented totally.

The economic system which exploited the working class in the nineteenth century was criticized by critics such as Karl Marx and Thomas Carlyle. In *Chartism*, Carlyle criticizes the capitalist economy: “Ah, it is not a joyful mirth, it is sadder than tears, the laugh Humanity is forced to, at Laissez-faire applied to poor peasants, in a world like our Europe of the 1839!” (33). He considers “Cash Payment as the sole nexus between man and man” (52). In other words, Carlyle criticizes the capitalist economy asserting that money became the only connection between people. Similarly, in *Capital*, Marx states that “capital is not a thing, but a social relation between persons” (932). Both Marx and Carlyle suggest that money was perceived as the only connection between people and as the only aspect to judge people. They agree that the lower classes were exploited by the harsh capitalist system. It can be concluded that as a result of industrialization, money became the only aspect that brought power to a person, which enlarged the gap between the upper class and lower class.

The importance of “capital” made the difference between social classes more problematic. The rise of the middle class, more promotion of businessmen to the peerage, marriages between the middle class and the aristocracy, and the retreat of agriculture caused a decrease in the power of the aristocracy (Brown 80). Furthermore, there emerged a huge gap between the middle class and the working class, which led to a lack of communication between the rich and the poor.

To elaborate on class division, the aristocracy consisted of landowners. They were the ruling class in England since they had the titles, right and money to take part in the parliament. The members of this class had titles which made them members of the

upper class, so even if they were not economically powerful they could be in an important place owing to their title:

He [the head of an upper class family] was automatically a member of the House of Lords. He could not be arrested for debt. And if he were charged with a criminal offense, he would be tried by a *jury of his peers*- a jury made up of other noblemen, in a special court held in Westminster Hall rather than in an ordinary court. (Mitchell 22)

In other words, if a person was born in an upper class family, he would be economically and socially more comfortable than the lower classes.

The aristocracy had inherited both title and money from their families for centuries. However, a huge change in this system was made after the design of the Reform Bill of 1832 which gave also the middle class a place in the parliament. The middle class became more and more important in the Victorian period: “It made up about 15 percent of the population in 1837 and perhaps 25 percent in 1901” (Mitchell 19). This class consisted of manufacturers, bankers, merchants, factory owners and other kinds of professions related to industrialization. That is to say, the middle class included families who did not come from noble blood, but who became rich as a result of industrialization and not by manual labour or inheritance. The middle class “rose to political power through the revolutionary legislation of 1828-1835- the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, the Municipal Reform Act, and above all, the Reform Bill- owed their victory to the financial and psychological power they acquired from the Industrial Revolution” (Houghton 5). The Reform Bill is considered as one of the major factors which brought the middle class social and economic power.

The design of the Reform Bill of 1832 had a great impact on life in Victorian England; therefore, “[i]n the political realm, historians often date the beginning of the Victorian age from the Reform Bill of 1832 rather than Queen Victoria’s accession in 1837” (Mitchell 3). The Reform Bill was an important event since before the design of it only the upper class had the right to vote. Because the representatives in the House of Commons represented the cities through a system of ownership of land, each city could not be represented. Some big industrial cities had no representatives in the parliament while other small towns were represented. As a result of the effects of industrialization

on the growing economic power of the middle class, middle class people wanted to be represented in the parliament. The Reform Bill of 1832 gave voting right to middle class men so that new urban cities could be represented in the House of Commons. Thus, middle class men began to share power with upper classes.<sup>1</sup>

Another result of the growth of the power of the middle class and industrialization is the change of the meaning of the term “gentleman.” The term “gentleman” was associated to the gentry before the rise of the middle class. A man was born a gentleman if he belonged to the aristocracy. It should be highlighted that “In the Victorian period, a gentleman required today’s rough equivalent of £200,000 a year to live. Being a gentleman meant not having to work, dressing as a gentleman, and employing at least enough servants to receive and go into society” (Brown 76). Besides economic factors also education and manners were important aspects of being a gentleman. However, the concept of being a gentleman changed in the nineteenth century.

After the rise of the middle class, being a gentleman was not regarded as something earned by birth, but it became related to money and education. One of the results of industrialism was the “new gentleman,” also named as the “self-made man:”

England was the first industrial country- seemed to act out the script of the ‘self-made man’ promulgated by Samuel Smiles in *Self-Help* (1859), and widely accepted as Victorian gospel. That their power derived from wealth rather than from aristocratic birth, from the building of factories rather than the inheritance of land, created an entirely unprecedented form of power that challenged the traditional, hierarchical society into which most of them had been born. (Sussman 247-48)

The concept of the gentleman became less associated with birth and more with money. The change in the economic status of the middle class resulted in ambiguities in relation to the concept of the gentleman. Furthermore, “by 1862, a writer in *Cornhill Magazine*

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<sup>1</sup> Although middle class men were enfranchised, women had still not the right to vote; for instance “for the first time, the word *male* was specifically added to the description of eligible voters” (Mitchell 3). Furthermore, the working class had played an important part in the reform; however, The Reform Bill of 1832 denied them to share political power, which resulted in the Chartist Movement in the years between 1838-1848.

reported that there was ‘a constantly increasing disposition to insist more upon the moral and less upon the social element of the word’ *gentleman*. Birth mattered less and less” (Mitchell 270-71). While the middle class became economically and socially more powerful, the economic and social power of the aristocracy decreased.

In addition to the conflict between the middle and the upper class, there emerged also a clash between the working and the upper classes. Because their income depended on physical work, working class families earned less when they had children since a woman could not work fourteen hours a day and nurse her children at the same time. As a result, children had to begin to work at a very young age which means that child labour became an important problem. Factory owners preferred children because of their small bodies and because they were less expensive than adults. To illustrate, “children's small fingers enabled them to sew and to knot carpets effectively,- they could easily get under machines to fix broken threads/ their small bodies enabled them to work in narrow mine shafts” (Frader 65). Furthermore, children could do the same work as adults for the new machinery did not need any physical strength. Although, the government tried to prevent child labour, it was not put into practice.<sup>2</sup>

The working class had to confront terrible working conditions which were the main causes of poor health conditions, alienation and depression. For instance, fourteen hour long work with hardly enough periods for rest, polluted air in the factories, doing the same repetitive job for hours are some aspects of the labour problems of the working class. As Pinchbeck states, the noise of the machines was too high and the temperature in the spinning-mills went up to 35°C or even more. The air was full of fluff entering the lungs of the workers and there was no ventilation which worsened the effects of the unhealthy air (187). Similarly, in *Capital* the terrible working conditions in the factories are discussed: “Every sense organ is injured by the artificially high temperatures, by the dust-laden atmosphere, by the deafening noise, not to mention the danger to life and

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<sup>2</sup> The “Factory Acts” in 1802, 1833 and 1842 were designed to better the working conditions of children in factories and mines; however, child labour was still recognized. For instance, it is stated in “Second Report of the Commissioners on the Employment of Children” in 1843 that “from their long hours of work, and from the insufficiency of their food and clothing, their ‘bodily health’ is seriously and generally injured; they are for the most part stunted in growth, their aspects being pale, delicate, and sickly, and they present altogether the appearance of a race which has suffered general physical deterioration” (qtd. in Mitchell 42).

limb among machines” (Marx 552). Furthermore, in the *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories* published in 15 March 1844, it is stated that even the meals of the workers were unhealthy since “Meals were gulped down, the food often being covered in fluff” (qtd. in Basch 127). The fluff, the heat in the factories and dangerous working conditions affected the health of the workers in a negative way, causing for diseases and leading to loss of limbs.

Apart from confronting difficult working conditions in factories, the working class had to confront unemployment. Many factory operatives lost their jobs and encountered starvation because of the inventions and development of new machinery. A lot of workers were unemployed as a result of the invention of the steam loom: “The steam loom, introduced into England in the early 1820s and shortly thereafter in the United States, revolutionized textile production. It wove seven times as much cloth as the hand loom, and employers rushed to replace male handloom weavers by machines” (Frader 50). Factory owners preferred to buy machines rather than to employ workers. The reason for this is that the machines produced more products than the workers and they were less expensive than employing workers. Rather than teaching factory operatives how to do the work, factory owners preferred to use new machines. Accordingly, workers experienced starvation: “World history offers no spectacle more frightful than the gradual extinction of the English hand-loom weavers; this tragedy dragged on for decades, finally coming to an end in 1838. Many weavers died of starvation” (Marx 557-58).

Besides depression caused by unemployment, the workers experienced depression and alienation as a result of their working conditions. So, Adam Smith’s theory about the division of labour is considered to be another reason for the growth of factories in the nineteenth century. In *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, the importance of the division of labour is emphasized: “The greatest improvements in the productive powers of labour, and the greater part of the skill, dexterity, and judgment, with which it is anywhere directed, or applied, seem to have been the effects of the division of labour” (Smith 10). Workers should be specialized on one kind of job so that time and money could be saved. For instance, the assembly line technology can be considered as one of the results of the division of labour. Although,

more goods were produced in less time, the workers began to have dull working hours because of the monotonous repetition of only one job.

As a result of the division of labour, workers produced a single part of the product, which caused alienation from the total product. Furthermore, they had to work at a certain speed and in a certain position. The long working hours and the monotonous working conditions alienated the workers from the process. The workers had a “fixed working day,- supervisors and overseers made sure that workers remained at work except for the odd meal break until the evening factory bell rang. Factory hands had to keep up with the pace of the machine and the discipline of the clock, rather than work at their own pace” (Frader 43). In this regard, workers were considered just like machines, since the factory owners cared only for the product and the profit. The mechanization in production can be compared with the “mechanization” of the workers. The workers “rose for their shift to the mechanical time of the clock, the standardization of time being at the heart of the industrial system. Gas-lighting allowed work after dark; the working mill illuminated in the night became an icon of the unnaturalness of the age” (Sussman 245). Workers became only “hands” in the process of production which alienated them from the work. Ironically, they were addressed as “hands” because their only function in the production process was their physical force.

The migration of Irish workers to England because of the economic deterioration in Ireland was another important issue in the nineteenth century. The wages of the working class began to decrease more and more since Irish workers accepted to work for less wage. In *Chartism*, it is stated that the Irish worker “In his rags and laughing savagery, he is there to undertake all work that can be done by mere strength of hand and back; for wages that will purchase him potatoes”<sup>3</sup> (Carlyle 24). Though the English working class people were highly against the Irish workers -because they faced unemployment and the problem of less wage- factory owners preferred Irish workers

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<sup>3</sup> Carlyle mentions in *Chartism* that the migration of Irish people to England was the result of England’s mistreatment of Ireland: “We English pay, even now, the bitter smart of long centuries of injustice to our neighbor Island. Injustice, doubt it not, abounds; or Ireland would not be miserable” (23). Thus, it is significant to note that Carlyle considered the misery of the Irish to be the result of England’s faults in the past.

since they had to pay less for them. Consequently, an atmosphere of social unrest appeared because of the possibility of the mobs of the English workers.

As a result of unemployment and the increasing number of poor people, The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 was designed to provide “help” for the poor: “The New Poor Law was designed to separate the ‘deserving’ from the ‘undeserving’ poor, to withhold support from those who were not genuinely in need” (Reed 158). Workhouses were one of the solutions included in The New Poor Law. These workhouses offered terrible living and working conditions. There was not much choice left for poor people, so they either had to starve or live in a workhouse. The aim of the government in making these workhouses “prisonlike” was to make people not depend on the government. When poor people chose to live in a workhouse they encountered a harsh life, because families were separated, parents did not have the right to see their children and there was not enough food. Carlyle criticizes The New Poor Law in his work: “Let us welcome the New Poor Law as the harsh beginning of much, the harsh ending of much!” (*Chartism* 22).

Apart from the poor working conditions, the working class also experienced poor living conditions. There was a huge economic depression and many people were unemployed, especially in the period called “the hungry forties”: “In 1842, more than 15 percent of the population received public assistance; many more people were helped by private charities; and the crime rate was higher than any other time during the century” (Mitchell 5). The Corn Laws is one of the reasons of the “hungry forties” since the law made the price of food higher. It put a high tax on import of grain to support domestic agriculture and to protect the landowner’s income. English bread could not be made of cheap grain for the import of foreign grain required a high price. The landowners gained a huge benefit from this law, because they earned from their own lands. However, the high price of bread forced manufacturers to pay more for their workers to make them able to buy bread. Owing to the actions of middle class industrialists, the Anti-Corn-Law League was set up and it had its success in 1846.

The issue of poor housing conditions of the working class was another problem in the industrial society of Victorian England. Each industrial city had slums where the working class people lived. Workers were crowded together in those slums. The

conditions in the industrial city is criticized by Friedrich Engels. In *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, he states that “[t]hese slums are pretty equally arranged in all the great towns of England, the worst houses in the worst quarters of the towns” (26). Engels maintains that “[t]he streets are generally unpaved, rough, dirty, filled with vegetable and animal refuse” (26). Moreover, big working class families lived in houses with small rooms and not enough space. The place they lived in also led to the spread of diseases, which increased the death amount among the working class people. The health conditions of working class people are described in *The Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population* in 1842 as follows: “That the various forms of epidemic, endemic, and other disease caused, or aggravated, or propagated chiefly amongst the laboring classes by atmospheric impurities produced by decomposing animal and vegetable substances, by damp and filth, and close and overcrowded dwellings” (qtd. in Mitchell 213). The effects of industrialization are clearly observed in the living conditions of the poor. The gap between the working class and the middle class grew bigger as a result of the different living standards between the poor and the rich.

The exploitation of the working class by the middle class, the huge difference in their living and working standards, and the lack of communication were some of the main concerns in the nineteenth century. The huge difference of the living conditions of the working class and middle class created a big gap between these classes. Within this context, working class people were regarded as “hands” by the middle class since they used their physical power at work. Class consciousness became one of the main issues in the nineteenth century. Ingham asserts that “[i]t is observable that by the 1840s the subject of class was so volatile that those debating it seriously in books, journals and reports trod carefully to avoid not only *lower* but also, of course, the transparently reductive *hands*” (8). It is important to note that the workers’ individuality was ignored by the factory owners, because they were perceived only as a work force.

Working class people were regarded as less-advanced “creatures” by the middle and upper class. The Victorian society was class conscious; therefore, class discourse can be perceived as one of the important issues in this period. The lower classes were regarded as “less” civilized. For instance, it was considered that

the working classes are not self-reliant or in laissez-faire society they might have risen to the top; they are improvident in better times and so make bad times worse; they are too stupid or too unsophisticated to resist the temptation of political agitators who incite them to join trades and strikes; they are not capable of understanding their own long-term interest so far as their employers are concerned. They are also of a strong animal nature conducive to prostitution, crime and revolutionary impulses. (qtd. in Ingham, *The Language* 21)

The working class was seen as the “other;” in other words, as “less-human.”

Considering the working class as the “other” was one of the important issues and discourses related to the social and economic conditions in the nineteenth century.

Karl Marx points out the relationship between industrialization and class distinction. He discusses that the Industrial Revolution split the society into two groups: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. He criticizes the exploitation of the working class by the middle class. The factory system is perceived as a ground for slavery: “The slavery in which the bourgeoisie holds the proletariat chained is nowhere conspicuous than in the factory system. Here ends all freedom in law and in fact” (Marx 550). The factory owner is considered to be the “master” and the working class man to be a “slave.” In other words, “the employer is absolute law-giver; he makes regulations at will, changes and adds to his codex at pleasure; and even if he inserts the craziest stuff, the courts say to the working man: Since you have entered this contract, you must be bound to it” (550). It is clear that the industrial discourse includes the idea that the working class and poor are inferior and “less human.”

Some critics refer to the lack of communication between the social classes to emphasize the problems of the working class. For instance, as stated in *The Industrial Reformation*, William Cobbett compares workers to slaves by referring to them as “white slaves” (qtd. in Gallagher 9); as a result, he uses the master-slave metaphor to highlight the conditions of the working class. Cobbett mentions that “the Blacks perish or even suffer for want of food. But it is notorious that great numbers of your ‘free British labourers’ have actually *died from starvation*” (qtd. in Gallagher 10; emphasis in original). The conditions of the working class people are also mentioned by Engels.

Engels states that during his stay in England “at least twenty or thirty persons have died of simple starvation” (25). He asserts that the circumstances of the working class in industrial towns are neglected by the middle class and that the middle class did not dare to speak the truth about the starvation cases. He further points out that “The English working-men call this ‘social murder, and accuse our whole society of perpetrating this crime perpetually” (25). As a result of their terrible working conditions, working class people formed unions and the Chartist movement was carried out to defend their rights.

Chartism was the result of the capitalist economy which created a state of slavery for the working class people. Workers organized unions to defend their rights: “Nineteenth-century workers sought respect for their skills and abilities on the job, a decent and honorable standard of living, and the right to leisure for recreation and time with their families” (Frader 114). Gallagher asserts that the Chartists

often contrasted industrial capitalism with the earlier domestic system of production, claiming that workers had lost their freedom when they forfeited ownership of their tools. This nostalgia is balanced in their publications by frequent references to a future dominated by cooperative production. In both cases, industrial capitalism was depicted as a system of ‘wage slavery,’ which would only be ended by manhood enfranchisement. (*The Industrial* 32)

The Chartist Movement was carried out by workers who wanted to establish a democratic government; therefore, this movement was perceived not as an action to have more economic power but as an action to have democracy. The first step for a more democratic parliament was taken in 1839: “the Charter was represented to the House of Commons in July 1839 with 1,280,000 signatures- and was overwhelmingly rejected” (Mitchell 6). The demands of the Charter were not met.<sup>4</sup> Even though a lot of demands of the working class were met by the twentieth century, there was an atmosphere of social unrest during the Victorian era.

Carlyle’s *Chartism* written in 1839 reflects the condition of England during the social unrest. He argues that “Chartism means the bitter discontent grown fierce and

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<sup>4</sup> The demands of the Chartists included voting rights for all adult men, the end of property qualifications to be a representative in the House of Commons, a secret election, equal electoral districts and salaries for the parliament members without adequate property.

mad, the wrong condition therefore or the wrong disposition, of the Working Classes of England” (Carlyle 6). He continues stating that “The condition of the great body of people in a country is the condition of the country itself” (8). He is considered to be the first critic drawing attention to the “Condition-of-England Question” (8). According to Carlyle, the “Honourable Members,” the ruling class, are responsible for the poor; therefore, “Surely Honourable Members ought to speak of the Condition-of-England Question too” (8). Thus, according to Carlyle the government is responsible for the social problems in England.

As a solution to the problems between the social classes, the “family model” was suggested by Arthur Helps. Helps asserts that industrialism had negative effects on the bonds between people. In *Claims of Labor*, Helps mentions that the relationship between employer and employed should be like that of a parent and child:

I believe that the parental relation will be found the best model on which to form the duties of the employer to the employed; calling, as it does, for active exertion, requiring the most watchful tenderness, and yet limited by the strictest rules of prudence from entrenching on that freedom of thought and action which is necessary for all spontaneous development. (qtd. in Gallagher, *The Industrial* 11)

Within the context of problematic labour relations, Helps suggests that employers should act like fathers and workers like children. In this regard, the factory owner should be like a loving but ruling father. On the other hand, the labourer is regarded as a dependent child.

Besides having an impact on social class, industrialization and the capitalist mode of production had also a great effect on women’s role in society. Although the employer-worker relationship is one of the major aspects of the “Condition-of-England Question,” the positions of women also have an important place in the aforementioned “Question.” Especially the conditions of the oppressed workers which resemble to the conditions of women are of great significance in the industrial society. To understand the oppression of women by the patriarchal industrial Victorian society, the relationship between women and industrialism should be pointed out.

Before modernity and industrialization, women played important roles in production. The domestic and family industry required both men's and women's participation in manufacturing. However, women's work was unvalued after industrialization, especially in the nineteenth century. This means that capitalism changed women's role in the production (Clark 212-15). While the working class woman had to work to earn money which was not enough to support her family, the upper or middle class woman had no other choice than being the "ideal Victorian lady" belonging to the domestic sphere. In this sense, it was believed that women belonged to the private sphere while men belonged to the public sphere. Women lost their function as participators in production, which turned middle class women into domestic "slaves" and lower class women into employed "slaves" of the patriarchal capitalist society. Within the context of slavery, like the members of the working class, women were also oppressed by the industrial Victorian society.

The ideal Victorian woman was considered as the "angel in the house;" in other words, her place was the domestic sphere in the Victorian patriarchal society: "For the more secular nineteenth century, however, the eternal type of female purity was represented not by a Madonna in heaven but by an angel in the house" (Gilbert and Gubar 20). The woman as "the angel in the house" was considered the most important aspect of an ideal Victorian family and this idea was promoted by a lot of Victorian writers. According to Charles Kingsley, the woman is "the natural, and therefore divine, guide, purifier, inspirer of the man" (qtd. in Basch 6). Her job was to make the home a peaceful place for her husband and children so that they would not search for immoral entertainment outside. Furthermore, in the *The Women of England*, published in 1844, Sarah Ellis notes that a woman "is the least engaged of any member of the household" (qtd. in Gilbert and Gubar 24). So, she should devote herself to other members of the family according to Ellis. In short, Victorian middle class women were forced to be dependent daughters, wives or mothers. In this regard, they had to be submissive, pure, innocent and obedient. Given these facts, it can be concluded that women were dependent on the patriarchal Victorian society just like the labourers.

Furthermore, marriage is another construction which reflects the similarity of women's oppression to the oppression of the working class. Workers were perceived as

children as previously mentioned. Likewise, women had no independent existences in Victorian England. After marriage, a woman's social status was altered for it was regarded that she had no independent existence anymore. Everything a woman earned became her husband's property and she could not spend her own income; however, single and widowed women had the right to keep their property in their own names. Also, married women could not sign a contract independently since they had no separate existence before the law. They had also no right to have control over their own children. In *Eliza Cook's Journal*, published in 1851, it is stated that "He [the father] is the absolute master of her, her property, and her children" (qtd. in Basch 17). In addition, before The Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 divorce was difficult, rare and considered as shameful. The problem of divorce was also observed in working class marriages, since divorce was difficult and expensive for both working and middle class couples, as it could cost to £800 or £900 (Basch 23). On these grounds, it can be argued that the "father-figure" is the "master" of both women and the workers.

In addition, the exclusion of women from politics and not having the right to vote are other points which reflect the similarity of women's exclusion from state affairs to the workers' exclusion from politics. It was considered that women were represented by their fathers or husbands in the parliament: "Throughout the period, women were generally excluded from any active role in civic ceremonial, re-emphasizing their exclusion from the full privileges of citizenship" (Morgan 186). While the point of view of the capitalist patriarchal society has an important role to analyze texts, the "others" – women and workers- of the society are also significant while analyzing the industrial discourse.

The clash between the Victorian home and the industrial society is another crucial aspect of the industrial discourse which should be pointed out. Middle class women were raised to form a "peaceful home." In *Sesame and Lilies*, John Ruskin demonstrates the relation between home and gender: "[H]e [the man] guards the woman from all this [the world outside]; within his house, as ruled by her, unless she herself has sought it, need enter no danger, no temptation, no cause of error or offence. This is the true nature of home- it is the place of Peace; the shelter" (Ruskin 506). Home was a peaceful "haven" and the woman, the angel of that "haven." The home had a feminine

aspect as a “safe haven” in the corrupted and dangerous world: “the woman, the very ideal of mother and wife, source of all virtue and purity, appeared as the good conscience of Victorian society” (Basch 8). In short, women and the Victorian home were perceived as the symbols of purity in contrast to the world outside.

Conversely, the home of the working class family was not associated with a haven of peace. The reason for this is that the working class experienced housing problems caused by industrialization. Working class people could not find enough place to make their home the “ideal” Victorian home: “Its [the Industrial Revolution’s] worst symptom was the housing problem, which challenged the very idea of the ‘Home’, and the wife’s role as ‘Homemaker’” (Basch 48-49). Therefore, industrialization was considered to be the reason for the unsuccessful attempt of the working class women to construct a “home:”

[A] working woman employed in a factory from the age of nine did not have the time to learn housekeeping. Long working hours also ruled out its practice. Even after the institution of ten hour day in textile factories and successive adjustments of the timetable between 1850 and 1911, a working woman was out of the house from before six a.m. until nearly six p.m. (Basch 50)

In conclusion, the Victorian era was a period full of changes in economic, political and social areas. Results of the Industrial Revolution can be clearly observed in both the public sphere and the private sphere. The change in the working conditions of the middle class and working class are one of the major results of industrialization. Mechanization, “utilitarianism,” “laissez-faire,” alienation of workers and their strikes are significant issues of the Victorian era. These are the basic causes of the lack of communication between social classes, especially between the factory owners and the operatives. The lack of communication leads to a most worrisome social tension in the period. Moreover, the “new” gentleman or the “self-made” man is an important concept regarding the capitalist system. Within the context of mechanization, the conditions in the industrial cities are discussed as effects of industrialization. The separation of public and private spheres, the concept of the “angel in the house,” and the relationship

between marriage and money are also significant in the analysis of the relationship between the oppressed workers and women in the Victorian society.

## CHAPTER II

### THE INDUSTRIAL NOVEL

Industrial novels, also referred as “Condition-of-England” novels, social novels, or social problem novels, employ the social, political, and economic issues in England. These novels published in the nineteenth century portray social problems in terms of social class, industrialization, mechanization, labour relations, and gender. The 1840s and 1850s are the years when the best known industrial novels were published. *Shirley*, *Hard Times*, and *North and South* are among the best known industrial novels. In this chapter, the features and the importance of the industrial novel in relation to industrialism are explored.

Industrial novels are engaged directly with social and political issues focusing on class, labour relations, social unrest, and the gap between the rich and the poor. As stated in *The Victorian Social-Problem Novel*, the social and economic problems of the Victorian society are the subject matters problematized in these novels:

The terms ‘social-problem’ or ‘industrial’ novel are generally used to refer to a body of English fiction written in the late 1840s and 1850s which allegedly takes as its subject-matter large-scale problems in contemporary British society, problems which in turn were the product of changing demographic patterns and changes in works practices associated with the accelerating industrialization of the British economy.  
(Guy 3)

In the light of this quotation, industrial novels can be considered as “products” of the “Condition-of-England Question.” As a result of the problems in society caused by industrialization, the “Condition-of-England Question” became more and more crucial because social, economic, and political issues were discussed in an atmosphere of social unrest.

The industrial novel is described in different ways by different critics. In *The Novels of the Eighteen-Forties*, Kathleen Tillotson defines the industrial novel as “social” novel since it depicts social conditions of its time. On the other hand, Arnold Kettle preferred the term “social-problem novel” rather than the “social novel” or “industrial novel,” because the novels employ the problems of the poor (Guy, *The*

*Victorian Social-Problem* 29). In *Culture and Society*, Raymond Williams refers to the works which belong to this sub-genre as “industrial novels” (94). Furthermore, other critics name the industrial novel as the “Condition-of-England” novel. Although the aforementioned critics define the industrial novel in their own terms, it is clear that they all agree with the content of the industrial novel. These novels employ the social, political and economic issues related to social unrest in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

The changing social structure of Victorian England as a result of industrialization and the middle class’s ignorance of the conditions of the working class were issues of great importance in the emergence of the industrial novel. As it was discussed in the former chapter, the living and working conditions of the poor, urbanization, the New Poor Law and theories about poverty and population were the main discussions and concerns in the Victorian period. Carlyle’s *Chartism*, in which he mentions the “Condition-of-England Question,” is considered as a ground for industrial novels. The Corn Laws, Chartism, poverty, class conflict, capitalism and the gap between the rich and poor were some of the significant problems in this period discussed in the frame of the “Condition-of-England Question.” Industrial novels reflect the above mentioned problems and inform the middle class reader about the conditions of the poor. Furthermore, fiction in the Victorian period was also written for the lower classes. The general idea in the Victorian period was that,

Literature would rehearse the masses in the habits of pluralistic thought and feeling, persuading them to acknowledge that more than one viewpoint than theirs existed - namely, that of their masters. It would communicate to them the moral riches of bourgeois civilization, impress upon them a reverence for middle-class achievements, and, since reading is an essentially solitary, contemplative activity, curb in them any disruptive tendency to collective political action ... All of this, moreover, could be achieved without the cost and labour of teaching them the

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<sup>5</sup> Because the focus of this study is to analyze the aspects of industrialism and the industrial discourse, the term “industrial novel” is used rather than “social-problem novel” or “social novel.”

Classics: English literature was written in their own language, and so was conveniently available to them. (Eagleton, "The Rise" 22)

In this regard, it is clear that also the industrial novel teaches the working class that there are two perspectives of one point. In addition, employing the dialect of the workers in the novels, industrial novels draw the attention of both the middle class and the working class. However, it can also be argued that not the aim of industrial novels but their controversies matter regarding the industrial ideology, which will be explained in the last part of this chapter through Catherine Gallagher's ideas.

The "factory question" which refers to the debates about the conditions in factories was one of the social issues illustrated in industrial novels. The "factory question" was one of the main problems belonging the "Condition-of-England Question:" "As the deplorable working conditions in the factories were publicized, child labor in the mills, hours of work per day and week, the mistreatment and abuse of workers, diet education, and lodging all came under the rubric of the 'factory question'" (Simmons 338). The "factory question" which led to the actions taken to improve the working conditions of the working class provided a rich ground for industrial novels. The representation of the conditions in factories in industrial novels helped partially improve the conditions in factories.

The repeal of the Corn Laws is another important factor which affected the industrial novel. The repeal was a great victory against the government which put an end to the high price of bread. The end of the Hungry Forties led to other problems such as the "Two Nations" employed in industrial novels.<sup>6</sup> It is regarded that "The most influential social-problem novels of the century were written between 1845 and 1855, by which time much of the very worst poverty experienced in the Hungry Forties had been at least partially relieved in a period of relative prosperity" (Wheeler 53). The Chartist uprisings and the success of the actions against the Corn Laws prepared a ground for social unrest. The middle class was afraid of possible actions taken by the working class to improve their working and living conditions. Accordingly, industrial novels gained a lot of importance since "Reform was on the minds of all of England,

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<sup>6</sup> The term the "Two Nations" is used to reflect that the English society was divided into the rich and the poor. This phrase is taken from Benjamin Disraeli's work *Sybil* (1845) whose subtitle is *The Two Nations*. The term is used by many critics to define the condition of England in the Victorian period.

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” (Simmons 336-37). Hence, the industrial novel acted like a bridge between the “Two Nations” to reduce social tension.

The aim of the industrial novel is to demonstrate the problems in society, to offer solutions to the problems caused by industrialism, and to educate the middle class reader who had limited knowledge about the conditions of the poor. It is significant to note that “Social-problem novels are typically distinguished from earlier novels, and from other works contemporary with them, by their attempt to comment on, and stimulate debate about, matters of general public and political concern” (Guy 3-4). So, the difference of the industrial novel is that it tries to make the reader aware of social and political problems. When their non-literary aim to teach the reader about social problems was combined with realistic representations of the conditions of the poor, the novels attracted much attention in the Victorian era: “their factual detail was what really shocked the novel-readers of the eighteen-forties” (Tillotson 79). Wheeler highlights the spirit of the age by referring to Douglas Jerrold’s statement in 1845: “It will be our chief object to make every essay ... breathe WITH A PURPOSE. Experience assures us that, especially at the present day, it is by a defined purpose alone ... that the sympathies of the world are to be engaged, and its support ensured” (qtd. in Wheeler 56; emphasis in original). In the light of the above mentioned statement, industrial novels fit into the spirit of the age for they are texts with a clear “purpose.”

The main “purpose” of industrial novels is to interpose between the rich and the poor to reduce the gap. Tillotson asserts that industrial novels

were intended to open people’s eyes to certain evils of the time. The ignorance they enlightened was indeed widespread in the novel-reading public. Not only did wealth and poverty exist at this time in extremes, but they were sharply disconnected. Social classes were then stratified, even isolated, not only geographically but within the limits of a single town. (78)

The socioeconomic differences between the working class and the middle class resulted in the lack of communication between these classes. Industrial novels called for

reconciliation between the rich and the poor. As a result of the portrayal of the gap between the middle class and the working class, the middle class realized or was made to realize how less they knew about the conditions of the working class. Consequently, “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” (Simmons 336).

As a natural outcome of employing social problems, industrial novels suggested solutions to the problems. Kettle states that the industrial novel “includes among its definitive concerns a conscious attempt to solve what are seen as problems” (qtd. in Guy, *The Victorian Social-Problem* 32). Because the problems were overseen or regarded as unimportant by the middle class, novelists addressed these problems and offered solutions. The novels aroused sympathy in the reader and drew their attention to social problems and their solutions:

The social-problem novel, in distinction to other contemporary works, shows us a group of writers using the resources of literary representation in order to try to resolve some large-scale problems in their society, problems which their politicians, economists and statisticians seemed to them to be wholly unable or unwilling to address. (11)

While some critics regard that the novels were successful such as Catherine Gallagher, others such as Raymond Williams consider that they failed in reaching their “purpose.” Industrial novelists are criticized in that they do not offer satisfactory solutions to social and economic problems. In *The Victorian Social-Problem Novel*, it is stated that “[c]ritics have tended to castigate novelists for the incoherence of the solutions which they offer to contemporary problems in society” (Guy 10). It is significant to note that from a New Historicist point of view “the ‘solutions’ which Victorian writers prescribe are solutions to problems in society which they perceived and defined quite differently from the ways in which a modern social commentator would” (10). That is to say, the solutions industrial novels suggest should be analyzed within the frame of the industrial discourse in the nineteenth century.

To start with the historical background of the industrial novel, early industrial novels appeared during the 1830s. They differ from the novels of the 1840s and 1850s in that they include exaggerations of the conditions of the poor to arouse sympathy. John Walker's *The Factory Lad*, Caroline Bowle's *Tales of the Factories* and Caroline Norton's *A Voice From the Factories* are some examples of the first novels the subject matter of which was the working and living conditions of factory workers. However, their representations of the poor were not considered realistic because of their melodramatic aspects. For instance, "[t]hey overstate the evils they expose by focusing exclusively on extreme cases, sometimes giving the notion that factories were piled high with human limbs wrenched off by machines or ravenous overseers" (V.U. 2). It is regarded that "[w]hile these works emphasized the horrors of factory work with reform as the ultimate goal, their melodramatic plots allowed critics to dismiss them as the products of the overworked imaginations of their writers" (Simmons 340). As a consequence, non-literary works about the positive sides of the factory system were regarded as more realistic than the exaggerated representation of the plight of the poor in early industrial novels. *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain* by Edward Baine and *The Philosophy of the Manufacturers* by Andrew Ure, for example, are some of the non-literary works which gained much attention by the supporters of the factory system: "If there was a literary war over the factory system, up until 1839 it appeared that writers such as Ure, who obviously supported the system, were winning it" (Simmons 341). In short, the first industrial novels did not attract much attention or sympathy from the middle class reader.

Although early industrial novels were melodramatic and did not gain popularity in their age, it is significant that they took the first step to educate the middle and upper classes by notifying them about the conditions of the poor. After the first industrial novels, works which prepared the ground for the industrial novels of the 1840s and 1850s were published. Some of the examples include Elizabeth Tonna's *Helen Fleetwood*, Frederic Montagu's *Mary Ashley* and Frances Trollope's *The Life and Adventures of Michael Armstrong, The Factory Boy*. Among these Trollope's work is considered as the first "proper" industrial novel. *The Life and Adventures of Michael Armstrong* had a significant effect on its audience. In this regard, "[i]t was Trollope's

novel, *The Life and Adventures of Michael Armstrong, The Factory Boy*, published in 1840 that would bring the plight of the factory worker to mainstream Victorian audiences” (Simmons 341). Then, “[t]hough many critics savaged the book as being unrealistic ... the novel sold well and gained support among factory reform advocates, and particularly among the chartists” (342). It is clear that Trollope’s work can be regarded as the first industrial novel which established the ground for the industrial novels of the 1840s and 1850s.

The industrial novels of the 1840s and 1850s were the ones which drew much attention:

While novelists such as Stone, Trollope, Montagu, and Tonna were all marginally successful, few of them are well known today, and the same might be said of their works. However, by the late 1840s more serious and better-known novelists began to address the condition of England in their novels, and as a result the works that best represent industrial fiction and that are best known today were all published a decade or two after the subgenre originated. (Simmons 345)

For instance, Benjamin Disraeli’s *Sybil*, Charles Kingsley’s *Alton Locke*, Brontë’s *Shirley*, Dickens’s *Hard Times*, Gaskell’s *Mary Barton* and *North and South* are among the best known industrial novels. The main reason for their popularity is that the issues employed by these industrial novels had changed since the industrial novels of the 1830s.

Above all, the failure of the improvement of the working conditions despite the design of the “Factory Acts,” unemployment, the Hungry Forties and the Chartist uprisings were the main issues which affected the change of the subject matter of the industrial novel. These social and economic issues drew the attention of society to the working conditions of the poor in general. Unlike the first industrial novels which focus on the working conditions of children or women, the novels of the 1840s and 1850s emphasize the working conditions of adults in general. Rather than representing only the plight of a poor child or woman, these novels employ issues related to the condition of England in detail: “the industrial novels of this later period were more complex and significant as works of literature, because they aimed at portraying and understanding

the condition of England question in all its complexity” (Simmons 344). It was more complex and difficult to represent the living and working conditions of an adult than to represent a poor child worker, because the representation of an adult includes complex political, social and economic relations.

It is significant to note that the industrial novel lasted only for a few decades and its most productive times were the 1840s and 1850s. Because the industrial novel had a “purpose” to better the conditions and to educate the readers about the social problems in these years, the sub-genre came to an end when most of the problems were solved to a certain extent. Thus, after the conditions of the working class in factories began to improve and after the acts were partially put into to practice, the need for industrial novels decreased. Because of the improvement of the conditions in factories, “[t]he ways in which factory workers were perceived was undergoing a change, and by the 1860s the melodramatic factory novel was seen as *passé*” (Simmons 349). To illustrate, in the beginning of the era working class people preferred working as servants to working in factories, however this changed after the 1850s. As stated in *Edinburgh Review* in 1862: “Servant-girls rarely may marry, while factory-girls probably may, whether they do or not ... Public opinion among the class is in favour of the independence of factory and other day-work” (qtd. in Simmons 349-50). The independence of the workers in factories was considered to be the positive aspect of working in a factory. Although there were still issues to be concerned about, employment in factories became normalized. For this reason, “the condition of England novel became a victim of its own success, because as legislation enacted reforms and the working class enjoyed improving conditions” (350-51).

Since historical issues have always had a great impact on the formation of the industrial novel, the novels have all some common historical subject matters. It is agreed that

The industrial novels all share some common characteristics: the detailed documentation of the suffering of the poor, the reproduction of working class speech through dialect, criticism of the effects of industrialism, the discussion of contemporary reform movements like Chartism and

Utilitarianism and some attempt at a solution to social problems. (V. U. 2)

Furthermore, most industrial novelists used reports and other non-literary texts to form their novels: “[n]ovels turned to the ‘record of industrialism,’ for example to parliamentary reports and the press, for the details of everyday life that came to characterize their narratives” (Childers 78). The use of records made the novels become themselves “records” of the results and problems of industrialism. Also, by representing the early and mid-Victorian era, industrial novels had a great impact on the middle class reader about the social, economic, and political problems in Victorian England. Within this context, the industrial novel is a “product” of the industrial discourse and at the same time it has an effect on the industrial discourse.

Furthermore, the ideology of the author plays a significant role in the study of an industrial novel. The industrial novelist aims to lessen the gap between the rich and the poor in the frame of his/her ideology. Consequently, “A strong authorial presence in the narrative is, of course, characteristic of Victorian fiction, but here [in industrial novels] it is of special significance, where novelists write as teachers, guides and even prophets ... But dialogue can also be weighted in such a way that the author’s viewpoint emerges very clearly” (Wheeler 57). The presence of the ideology of the author in industrial novels reveals aspects of the industrial discourse of the Victorian age.

Additionally, the plots of industrial novels are constructed in a certain way to demonstrate or to criticize the industrial ideology: “Counterpointed against the narrator’s satire on contemporary economic and social theory are the events of the plot and the significance given to them. In industrial novels strings of events are linked in such a way as to confirm or deny that society is exploitative (and possibly anomic)” (Ingham, *The Language* 84-5). However, the expression of a certain ideology is sometimes not the case in industrial novels for they portray the tension in society which also includes controversies of different ideologies: “the tensions within their [the industrial novelists’] novels betray the difficulties they faced as they analyzed the Condition of England Question” (Wheeler 57). The plot which reflects the social tension is one of the significant aspects discussed and problematized by critics.

Besides the plot, the characters in industrial novels demonstrate the industrial discourse in the era. The characters in industrial novels belong to different social classes, since these works were written to represent the labour relations between the rich and the poor. The relationships between these characters represent the problems of industrialism in the Victorian society for most of the plots end with a call for reconciliation between the characters. Because the characters represent different social classes, they are regarded as simplified rather than complex. Moreover, their relationships could be considered sentimental according to the present day reader. However, “the primary function of these scenes is rather to exhibit the constancy and universality of human nature, for it is only from such a redescribed human nature (and not from individual difference) that a new form of social life will be possible” (Guy, *The Victorian Social-Problem* 121). The focus point is the human nature and the relation of it to the industrial society. Briefly, to represent relations of the working class and middle class in general is more important than to focus on the relation between individuals according to industrial novelists, because their aim is to offer a solution between the two classes and not to represent individual problems of people belonging to different classes.

Apart from the conditions of working class men the conditions of women in factories are also employed in industrial novels. Although early industrial novels give importance to factory girls, such as *Helen Fleetwood*, “by 1845, however, when ‘the industrial novel’ proper appears, the female factory worker is relegated to the margins” (Johnson 2). Women workers are mentioned in the novels after 1845 yet they have minor roles in the novels. The reason for this is that the industrial issues were generally discussed through male relations:

How long this erasure of working-class women lasted is indicated by a 1981 historical study of the Preston Strike of 1853-54 – a strike which influenced both Dickens and Gaskell. The study describes the all-male strike leadership in detail and frequently employs the phrase ‘masters and men’ to describe class relations. Yet tucked into the study is this revealing statistic: of the 18,000 workers who struck in Preston, 11,800 were women and girls. (4)

The representation of women's freedom and the problems of their working conditions were regarded as threats against the patriarchal society. Johnson discusses the contradictions in the illustration of working class women: "On the one hand, she is seen as merely sentimental, a pathetic victim, who becomes politically significant only if she inspires action. On the other hand, images of degraded factory women are part of a larger pattern that uses monstrous, sexualized working-class women as emblems of ultimate social chaos" (3). As a result, the contradictions in the representation of working class women reflect the contradictions in the patriarchal industrial society.

To start with the criticism of industrial novels, it is significant to begin with Cazamian's work. Louis François Cazamian's *Le Roman Social en Angleterre: 1830-1850 Dickens, Disraeli, Mrs Gaskell, Kingsley* is the first work which includes an analysis of the industrial novel as a sub-genre. Cazamian states that this sub-genre is produced by "a new emotional and intellectual response to the subject of social relations on the part of English society in general, and the middle class in particular" (qtd. in Guy, *The Victorian Social-Problem* 41). According to Cazamian there are two kinds of novels: "utilitarian novels," characterized by the rationalist intellectual trend, and "interventionist novels," which defend interventionism. Cazamian regards the latter as "rich" since interventionism is a "positive attempt by the individual or the community to improve social relations" (43). It is evident that industrial novels are "interventionist novels" that try to solve the social problems in society. Cazamian's analysis is considered still to be one of the important sources of the subgenre.

In addition, in *The Novels of the Eighteen-Forties*, Kathleen Tillotson discusses the aspects of industrial novels. Industrial novels represent the change in society according to Tillotson. Specifically, "Interest in working- and lower-middle-class lives, seriousness of purpose, settings in the unfamiliar geography of the industrial northern towns and a preference for the techniques of realism" are the main factors affecting industrial works (qtd. in Guy, *The Victorian Social-Problem* 48). Tillotson suggests that documentary detail became an important aspect of the novel in the 1840s, which she calls "exactness." Furthermore, she asserts that in terms of industrial novels the literary value has to be unrelated to the historical references of the novel, so the historical aspects should only be used to define the features of these novels and not to

comment on their literary value (qtd. in Guy 49). However, Guy argues that there occurs a paradox. Guy states that to analyze those works one should know about the historical circumstances: “If literary history is to matter- if it is to be an area of enquiry distinct from history proper- then it *must connect* historical knowledge with literary value” (49; emphasis in original). Briefly, Tillotson agrees that industrial novels include historical details, but she supports that their literary value should be taken into consideration.

Furthermore, Raymond Williams made important contributions to the analyses of industrial novels. He studied literary works in relation to ideology and history. Williams discusses two terms to analyze the industrial novel: the “structure of meanings” and the “structure of feeling.” In *Culture and Society*, Williams discusses that industrial novels are characterized by the change of the “structure of meanings.” He explains that five key terms define the change of the “structure of meanings:”

Five words are the key points from which this map can be drawn. They are industry, democracy, class, art and culture. The importance of these words, in our modern structure of meanings, is obvious. The changes in their use, at this critical period, bear witness to a general change in our characteristic ways of thinking about our common life: about our social, political and economic institutions; about the purposes which these institutions are designed to embody; and about the relations to these institutions and purposes of our activities in learning, education and the arts. (xi)

The change in the social standards as a result of industrialism is crucial in that it affected the ideology and the discourse of the Victorian period. The second term “the structure of feeling,” is another factor which Williams uses to analyze industrial novels. In *The Long Revolution*, Williams explains that “the structure of feeling is the culture of a period: it is the particular living result of all the elements in the general organization. And it is in this respect that the art of a period, taking these to include characteristic approaches and tones in argument are of major importance” (qtd. in O’Connor 79). “The structure of feeling,” or the ideology, of a period is depicted in industrial novels, because the industrial ideology is what forms the industrial culture. Each generation

experiences its own “structure of feeling” since the values experienced at a distinct time and place vary. The industrial novel reflects the “structure of feeling” of industrialism.

Williams continues arguing that industrial novelists failed to represent the real conditions of industrialism and that they failed to offer satisfactory solutions. In *Culture and Society*, he states that “Recognition of evil was balanced by fear of becoming involved. Sympathy was transformed, not into action, but into withdrawal” (Williams 118). He criticizes the industrial novelists because of their retreat from the difficulties they experienced. Accordingly, the novelists fail to solve the evils of industrialization.

Arnold Kettle is another critic whose contributions to this sub-genre are considered significant. He mentions that the representation of social and economic problems can be found in many works in different eras; “However, in Kettle’s eyes, what distinguishes the attention given to the poor by some mid-Victorian novelists is the *quality* of their insight, and he coined the term ‘social-problem’ to try to capture this quality” (Guy, *The Victorian Social-Problem* 29). Thus, the observations and judgments of the industrial novelists that distinguish their works from their peers are important aspects which separate them from other works. He uses the terms “abstraction” and “concreteness” to discuss the industrial novel.<sup>7</sup> Kettle continues to argue that if there is not a certain amount of concreteness or abstraction, the novels fail as social-problem novels (31). Less critique of the situation or less observation results in the failure of the industrial novel for him, because it destroys the balance of reality and imagination.

In addition, in his article “Mrs Gaskell and Brotherhood,” Johns Lucas discusses the important features industrial novelists should have. He states that “there are two ways to approach problems in society- one via the imagination or literary conscience, and the other via the political” (qtd. in Guy, *The Victorian Social-Problem* 32). By approaching problems via “imagination” he means the rejection of the ideology. By “political” he means the ordinary political attitudes. Lucas highlights that the “failure” of these novels is the result of the aspect that the “political” takes over the “imaginative.” To put it simply, he explains that the ideology of the period prevents the novelist to focus on the details of social problems. Lucas asserts that the later the retreat

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<sup>7</sup> For instance, the concrete parts may include the realities about industrialization, the Reform Bill of 1832 or Chartism. The abstract part of the industrial novel is the criticism and analysis of the concrete parts.

the better the industrial novel is for there will be more individual ideas separate from the ideology.

On the other hand, Josephine Guy discusses Williams's, Kettle's and Lucas's theories about the industrial novel from a New Historicist point of view. Guy criticizes Raymond Williams's thoughts emphasizing that the industrial discourse in the Victorian period may have prevented the novelists to see the "facts" of industrialism:

In this sense it is simply unhelpful to criticise the Victorians for their 'fear of becoming involved' (with the facts) and their subsequent 'withdrawal' (from the facts), when the whole domain of what are to count as facts (and how those facts are to be interpreted) will be contested because of the non-identical value-systems by which Williams and Victorian novelists identify different facts. (*The Victorian Social-Problem* 29)

She continuously challenges Kettle's ideas that "Kettle takes the documentary detail in the social-problem novels to be evidence of 'reality', without realising that 'reality' for the Victorians (that is, their understanding of the kind of social problem poverty gave rise to) might be different from Kettle's 'reality'" (31-2). In addition, Lucas's are also criticized through stating that "It might be the case that the Victorians, like Lucas, possessed a concept of 'class-consciousness', but it is quite possible (and indeed likely) that to employ such a concept in the intellectual climate of the 1860s meant something very different from employing it in the 1960s" (37).

In this regard, Guy states that the concepts in industrial novels may still exist in our time, however these concepts do not have the same features as in the nineteenth century. According to Guy the differences of discourses should be considered to analyze the novels. It is highlighted that "Rather than trying to be proto-Marxist and failing, the social-problem novelists might have had very different ambitions which they pursued in ways which were successful in terms" (Guy, *The Victorian Social-Problem* 38). When the critic considers the industrial discourse, it might be the case that the solutions of industrial novelists and their representations in the novels were no failures but achievements.

Catherine Gallagher is one of the significant critics who discusses industrial novels from a New Historicists perspective. In *The Industrial Reformation of English Fiction*, certain works within the framework of the industrial ideology are analyzed: “narrative fiction, especially the novel, underwent basic changes whenever it became a part of the discourse over industrialism. The works most immediately affected were those we now call the ‘industrial novels’” (Gallagher xi). Gallagher further explains that “Industrialism gave not only a new content but also a new shape to English cultural and intellectual life, creating, merging, and rearranging its constituents” (xi). Gallagher points out the difference between “industrialism” and “the discourse over industrialism.” She explains that “industrialism” is the actual process and the “discourse over industrialism” includes the ideology of this process. As a result, she indicates that analyzing the discourse is significant in that this analysis will reflect the change of the state of the novel between the first and the second reform bill. The industrial discourse affects and is affected by industrial novels. The novels are a part of the discourse and narrate the discourse through the paradoxes they include according to Gallagher. Unlike the ideas of the critics stated in the previous paragraphs, who thought that the industrial novels were failures, Gallagher regards that they are not failures but reflections of the contradictions in industrial England.

In *The Industrial Reformation of English Fiction*, Gallagher suggests that there are three aspects of the discourse over industrialism. The first aspect is the contradiction of nature and the possibility of human freedom. She exemplifies that the “master-slave” metaphor which belongs to the radicals “became a fuse that set off philosophical speculations on the nature of freedom, particularly in the industrial novels of the 1840s, which often focus on the Chartists’ demands for political freedom” (Gallagher 6). It is clear that the right of the working class was discussed under this metaphor. As an example to the contradictions of the master-slave metaphor, Gallagher puts forward that “working-class radicals maintained on one hand that workers were enslaved and degraded by industrial capitalism, and on the other that workers were ready for franchise. (34) In the light of the above mentioned quotation, Gallagher emphasizes the controversies in the industrial discourse in the Victorian society. She explains that the industrial novel employs a tension between freedom and determinism: “The tension can

be felt variously as a contradiction between plot and character, narrator and character, or the beginning and the end of the story” (34). Briefly, the tension and the controversies included in industrial novels are the characteristics which make them unique.

Moreover, Gallagher argues the contradiction between the family and society as the second controversy depicted in industrial novels. As stated in *The Industrial Reformation*, “Many industrial novelists tried to overcome the discontinuity between freedom and determinism in their work by shifting the location of the novel’s action from the public, social world to the private world of family” (Gallagher 114). If free will cannot be practiced in public life, it may be exercised in family life so that the family can act as the incentive for social change. For instance, the parent-child model for master-worker relationship was supported by some industrial novelists. While making a connection between family and society, industrial novels emphasize that the family as a model for social reform should be protected from the society. However, “if the family is to function as either a model or a school of social reform, it must, paradoxically, be separated from and purged of the ills infecting public realm. While trying to obliterate the separation of public and private life, therefore, these novels reinforce that separation” (114-15). In short, the contradictions experienced in terms of public and private life in society are also represented in industrial novels.

Gallagher discusses the nature of representation as the third controversy in industrial novels. The nature of representation includes the controversy of facts and values. The facts are associated to “what is;” in other words, the industrial world and the public life. The values are associated to “what ought to be;” that is to say, the family and private life (Gallagher, *The Industrial* 187). In this regard, Gallagher represents the contradiction between the capitalist world and the private domain of the family through the controversy of facts and values. The discussion about the interrelation of the industrial world and private life affected by industrialization is a significant issue reflected in industrial novels.

To conclude, industrial novels illustrate the condition of England in the first half of the nineteenth century. They emphasize the effects of industrialization and urbanization with a focus on the working conditions of the poor and their relationship with the middle class. By addressing social, political, and economic problems, they

offer solutions to these dilemmas. Also, the social tension in society is demonstrated in industrial novels. Industrial novels can be considered as historical documents when analyzed from a New Historicist point of view because New Historicists advocate that literary and non-literary texts are similar since both are considered to be subjective and to be the portrayal of historical issues.

### CHAPTER III

#### NEW HISTORICISM

New Historicism is a critical approach which focuses on the relation between history and texts. It appeared in the late 1970s and early 1980s as a reaction against New Criticism. New Historicism is a reaction against New Criticism's principle which is to regard texts as artifacts separated from the author, historical time, the environment and the reader. New Historicists suggest that a text should be analyzed in relation to its author, historical time and each discourse present at the period of its production. To analyze the text in relation to each discourse of its time is impossible according to New Historicists since each discourse can never be known so that they support that the meaning of a text cannot be fully uncovered. Furthermore, they argue that literary and non-literary texts are similar, since both are produced by the ideology of a particular period and both are subjective. It is evident that each text is considered to be a cultural artifact by New Historicists and this leads to the understanding of the culture and society of the period in which the text was produced. The importance of culture in this critical approach indicates why New Historicism is also referred to as "Cultural Poetics."

To begin with, the principles of New Historicism are discussed in Greenblatt's work *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Through his work, Stephen Greenblatt announces the major aspects of New Historicism or Cultural Poetics. He explores the ways in which identity was formed in the sixteenth century regarding the ideology, politics, religion and culture of the century. He highlights that the social subject or the text is a "product" of the period and that it is interrelated with other discourses such as the ideas and attitudes of other people or institutions in a certain period.<sup>8</sup> A few years later, Greenblatt mentions in *Genre* that a "new historicism" has emerged. In "The Forms of Power and the Power of Forms in the Renaissance," the introduction part of *Genre*, Greenblatt states that "[t]he critical practice represented in this volume challenges the assumptions that guarantee a secure distinction between artistic production and other kinds of social production" (6). He

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<sup>8</sup> It should be noted that Greenblatt states that analyzing a text from a single critical point of view cannot uncover each discourse hidden in the text. Hence, New Historicism should not be regarded as a school of criticism, but as a reading practice (Bressler 216).

points out that history and other “texts,” such as minor works or literary works, should be considered similars.

After the publication of *Genre*, another journal named *Representations*, which includes D. A. Miller’s essay, was published. Miller discusses two major aspects of New Historicism in his essay “Discipline in Different Voices: Bureaucracy, Police, Family and *Bleak House*.” To summarize, according to Miller literary texts interact with social and political discourses, and power has a major role in literary texts (“Discipline”). The interrelation of discourse and the effect of power on texts are emphasized by D. A. Miller. Miller’s emphasis is similar to Greenblatt’s thesis that the text and other forces in a society interact with each other. Both agree that texts should be studied in relation to society, culture and other factors which were present during the production of the text.

To continue with the principles of New Historicism, it should be highlighted that New Historicism is a reaction against New Criticism which was the dominating theory during the mid-twentieth century. Unlike New Historicism, New Criticism suggests that a text’s meaning lies in the text itself; thus, the critic is able to find the meaning of the text by analyzing it as an autonomous object. In addition, New Critics support the idea that the real meaning of a text can be found. However, New Historicists argue that a text’s meaning cannot be found, because it is impossible to unearth each discourse which contributed to the production process of a text. That is to say, New Historicists emphasize that a text is not an autonomous being but a social and cultural product. This theory’s aim is not to find the “meaning” of a text, but to explore the social, cultural and political forces embedded in the process of a text.

Furthermore, the approach of “old” historicism is another aspect which New Historicists have reacted against. “Old” historicism advocates that the historical context sheds light on the literary text. According to “old” historicists, history is objective and a literary work represents its time and culture. As stated in *Practicing New Historicism*, New Historicists, however, argue that a text is both influenced by the discourses and influences the discourses of its time. In addition, they are against the idea that history should be regarded as a “context” of a literary work for they support the subjectivity of history. Unlike “old” historicism which claims that a historian can write objectively

about a historical era, New Historicism indicates that the objective truth cannot be found. History is a “text” just as any other discourse. Because the past cannot be represented accurately, there is not one truth but different variations of the truth. Thus, history is regarded as a discourse, which is similar to other kinds of discourses, such as literary texts, culture and ideology.

In addition to “history” written by historians, historical documents are also not regarded as objective accounts of a particular period or event. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Michel Foucault states that “[t]he document, then, is no longer for history an inert material through which it tries to reconstitute what men have done or said, the events of which only the traces remains; history is now trying to define within the documentary material itself unities, totalities, series, relations” (8). Rather than the representation of a single material, New Historicists prefer to research the relation between various materials from the past. In this sense, the interactions of different materials, or discourses, reveal the norms of a culture or the ideology of a particular period.

Stephen Greenblatt, one of the important critics of New Historicism, argues that New Criticism and “old” historicism are based on “high culture,” since the subversive voices are not taken into consideration by these two approaches. Greenblatt explains that,

Traditional formalism and historicism, twin legacies of early nineteenth century Germany, shared a vision of high culture as a harmonizing domain of reconciliation based upon an aesthetic labor that transcends specific economic or political determinants. What is missing is psychic, social, and material resistance, a stubborn, unassimilable otherness, a sense of distance and difference. New Historicism has attempted to restore this distance; hence its characteristic concerns have seemed to some critics off-center or strange. (“Resonance and Wonder” 2157)

In the light of the above mentioned quotation, Greenblatt argues that a critic should not observe only the major discourses in a text, but also the voice of the minority, the “othered” and the subversive to understand the mental system of that society.

Accordingly, subversive voices and “minor” works should be analysed as grand narratives: “[w]orks that have been hitherto denigrated or ignored can be treated as major achievements, claiming space in an already crowded curriculum or diminishing the value of established works in a kind of literary stock market” (Gallagher and Greenblatt, *Practising* 10). In this regard, both major and minor works are parts of the network of discourses of their time. This allows the critic uncover the hidden relations between literary works, historical documents and subversive texts. The importance of the polyphony of a text is portrayed, because the theory introduces the idea that a text includes more than one voice.<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, the studies made during the developing years of New Historicism deal mostly with texts produced in the Renaissance. The first reason for this is that literary works produced in this period employ the relationship among history, literature and culture. Renaissance, when regarded as a “text,” is perceived differently in different periods. The difference of perception in varied centuries supports the New Historicist idea that a text is a process (İşçi 203). Another reason for why New Historicists analyzed texts written in the Renaissance is their criticism of Eustace Mandeville Wetenhall Tillyard’s work *Elizabethan World Picture*. Tillyard’s analysis of literary works of the Renaissance represents his view of a monolithic Renaissance society and culture, which contradicts the New Historicist principle that a culture includes both the submissive and subversive (205). The relationship of ideology and literary works in the Renaissance is another aspect which interests New Historicists. As Brannigan states, “[t]he fact that a queen worried about the public performance of a play, possibly Shakespeare’s, reveals that there are powerful political stakes in the effects which literary texts and performances can have” (7). Thus, the importance of the theatre in this period illustrates the significance of the interrelationship of power, authority and literary texts:

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<sup>9</sup> New Historicists are influenced by Mikhail Bakhtin’s argument that a text is polyphonic. According to Bakhtin “The novel can be defined as a diversity of social speech types (sometimes even diversity of languages) and a diversity of individual voices, artistically organized” (Bakhtin 262). Bakhtin discusses the idea that a text is a dialogue of many different discourses. For him, it is improbable that the text can or should represent just one authoritative voice. For further reading, see Mikhail Bakhtin’s “Discourse in the Novel.”

Thus, the relationship between literature and ideology is one of the important aspects of New Historicism. This relation owes much to the ideas of Louis Althusser. He claims that literature is one of the tools that participate in the representation and forming of ideology, and that it represents the norms and thought system of the authority. He situates literature in the cultural Ideological State Apparatus.<sup>10</sup> The relationship of power, ideology and literary works is also highlighted by Louis Montrose, who is one of the major critics of New Historicism:

The 'symbolic formation' of pastoral provided an ideal meeting ground for Queen and subjects, a mediation of her greatness and their lowness; it fostered the illusion that she was approachable and knowable, lovable and loving, to lords and peasants, courtiers and citizens alike. What was ostensibly the modest and humble of poetic kinds lent itself effortlessly to the most fulsome of royal encomia. The charisma of Queen Elizabeth was not compromised but rather was enhanced by royal pastoral's awesome intimacy, its sophisticated quaintness. Such pastorals were minor masterpieces of a poetics of power. ("Eliza, Queene" 189)

As a natural outcome of this, texts in the Renaissance were used as tools of ideology. Literary texts are produced by the power of the authority, in this case that of the Queen. This leads to the fact that texts made a significant contribution to the formation of the ideology of a certain period.

New Historicism's assumption of the relationship between power and text owes much to Marxism. Marxism evaluates literature in relation to society, just as New Historicism. According to Marxist critics the base forms the superstructure; in other words, the economic system shapes the ideology. Because the culture is determined by economic factors: individuals, literary works and other cultural artifacts are constructions of a particular economic discourse. Both approaches identify literature in relation to society and its culture. However, New Historicism differs from Marxism in that it does not relate a text only to the economic structure, but it perceives the text as a

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<sup>10</sup> Althusser explains the Ideological State Apparatus, ISA, as "a certain number of realities which present themselves to the immediate observer in the form of distinct and specialized institutions" (Althusser 1341). The cultural ISA includes literature, arts, sports etc. For further reading, see Louis Althusser's "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses."

part of the network of discourses of its time. In *Marxism and New Historicism*, it is stated that “The new historicist, unlike the Marxist, is under no nominal compulsion to achieve consistency. She may even insist that historical curiosity can develop independently of political concerns; there may be no political impulse whatsoever behind her desire to historicize literature” (Gallagher 46).

Furthermore, New Historicism differs from Marxism in that it argues that history is not only constructed by the ones in power, but also by the “weak,” oppressed and “othered.” New Historicists analyze the “voice” of the oppressed, because they “go against the grain” through analyzing the text’s “transgressive sexualities, anti-colonial sentiments, feminist and post-Marxist politics” (Brannigan 23). In addition, Stephen Greenblatt and Catherine Gallagher explain the significance of the anecdote, or the subversive, in *Practicing New Historicism*, which will be clarified towards the end of this chapter. In short, the subversive voices are crucial in the formation process of a text. By uncovering subversion and contradictions in a text the power relations in that period can be discovered according to New Historicists.

Because New Historicism is influenced by Foucault’s theories, his ideas about text-discourse relationship will be explained in this part of the study. In *The Archeology of Knowledge*, Foucault states that history is the complex interrelationship of discourses. He claims that the possibility of a “total history” is beginning to disappear for the “new history” is not trying to represent a general and linear history. “New History’s” aim is to “determine what form of relation may be legitimately described between these different series [divisions in history]; what vertical system they are capable of forming; what interplay of correlation and dominance exists between them; what may be the effect of shifts, different temporalities, and various rehandlings” (Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge* 12). In this sense, history is not linear, but it is the interaction of different discourses.

Within the context of the “new history,” each period has its own standards, concepts of good and evil and values, which form the mental system. Foucault claims that each era forms its own episteme and this episteme controls the point of view of social subjects when they perceive reality. The episteme is the “system of concepts that defines knowledge for a given intellectual era” (Gutting 9). It is the “space” in which

the discourses of a particular period may form; so, the episteme affects the society, the culture, texts and each cultural product in a period. Because the episteme is formed according to the standards of a particular period, it can be neither moral nor immoral but amoral. To illustrate, Foucault notes that there are two major epistemes of Western culture: one from the Classical age until the seventeenth century and one from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present. In *The Order of Things*, it is stated that “[t]he order on the basis of which we think today does not have the same mode of being as that of the Classical thinkers” (Foucault xxiv). Therefore, to understand the sociocultural aspects of an era the episteme should be taken into consideration according to Foucault.

In fact, Foucault relates his method to uncover the episteme of a period with the methods of archaeology. He compares an archaeologist with a historian since both try to reveal the layers to unearth aspects of the past (*The Order* xxiv). The mental set of a certain society differs from that of the period of the historian; therefore, the historian should put the discourses together to look from a different point of view regarding the episteme of that period. Foucault illustrates his idea stating that “[h]istorians want to write histories of biology in the eighteenth century; but they do not realize that biology did not exist then, and that pattern of knowledge that has been familiar to us for a hundred and fifty years is not valid for a previous period” (Foucault, *The Order* 139). The principle that a text is a process and not a fixed object is also an important tenet of New Historicism influenced by Foucault’s ideas: “The frontiers of a book are never clear-cut: beyond the title, the first lines, and the last full stop, beyond its internal configuration and its autonomous form, it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network” (Foucault, *Archaeology* 26). So, the text is not a fixed artifact, but it “indicates itself, constructs itself, only on the basis of a complex field of discourse” (27).

Furthermore, Foucault questions the interaction between the author and discourse. In “What is an Author?” he discusses that the author’s function “does not refer purely and simply to a real individual, since it can give rise simultaneously to several selves, to several subject positions that can be occupied by different classes of individuals” (216). He further claims that the author’s function “is not defined by the

spontaneous attribution of a discourse to its producer but, rather, by a series of specific and complex operations” (216). The author is considered both a social subject affected by the discourses and another kind of discourse because it contributes to the web of discourses of its period. The author is affected by the discourses in that time, should be considered as a discourse, and also may be the creator of a new discourse according to Foucault. For instance, he mentions that Freud and Marx are not just the authors of their work, but they are also the creators of discourses, such as Psychoanalysis and Marxism (217). New Historicists are influenced by Foucault’s idea about the author-discourse-text relationship, since they argue like Foucault that each discourse is interrelated with other factors.

Similarly, in “Resonance and Wonder,” Stephen Greenblatt argues the involvement of the author in the production of a text. He discusses that the text is not a creation of a single individual but a creation of the time, place, and the environment of a particular period. In this sense, New Historicism “does tend to discover limits or constraints upon individual intervention. Actions that appear to be single are disclosed as multiple; the apparently isolated power of the individual genius turns out to be bound up with collective, social energy” (Greenblatt, “Resonance” 2153). Therefore, a text is inseparable from other forces which were interacting during its creation process. Thereupon, the concept of “genius” makes New Historicists reconsider the originality of a work. Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt question the “genius” in *Practicing New Historicism*: “New Historicism helps raise questions about the originality in art and about the status of ‘genius’ as an explanatory term” (10). It is evident that a work of art can never be an original product of a single individual, since it is a creation of the discourses present at its period.

In addition to the text-author function, also culture is regarded as a discourse and as a product of its time. New Historicists claim that texts are not related to culture but they are a part of the mental system like culture. Hence, culture and literary texts can be both read and analysed, because “everything is culture, and culture can be read and picked like a literary text” according to New Historicists (Bertens 144). Their principle to consider culture as a discourse and human beings as products of this discourse owes much to the ideas of Clifford Geertz, an American cultural anthropologist. Geertz

claims that human beings are cultural artifacts since there exists no human being separate from culture. He asserts that,

there is no such thing as a human nature independent of culture. Men without culture would not be the clever savages of Golding's *Lord of the Flies* thrown back upon the cruel wisdom of their animal instincts; nor would they be the nature's noblemen of Enlightenment primitivism or even, as classical anthropological theory would imply, intrinsically talented apes who had somehow failed to find themselves. They would be unworkable monstrosities with very few useful instincts, fewer recognizable sentiments, and no intellect: mental basket cases. ("The Impact" 49)

Without culture there exists no human being; that is to say, "Our ideas, our values, our acts, even our emotions, are, like our nervous system itself, cultural products" (50).

New Historicists associate Geertz's idea to the study of texts: "for the New Historicists, the historical context is the 'cultural system'" (White 294).

Geertz further discusses the relationship between history and objectivity. He claims that each person's point of view of society is unique; therefore, there exists an "information gap." We live in an "information gap." There is a gap between what our body tells us and what we have to know in order to act, as a result we fill in this gap with information obtained by culture (Geertz, "The Impact" 50). Likewise, society has also an information gap and it fills in this gap, because it cannot know what each person has experienced. Thus, "it is this information gap, both within people and society, that results in the subjectivity of history" (Bressler 221). New Historicists are influenced by Geertz's theory that there cannot be an objective history since society does not know exactly what has happened to each individual.

Furthermore, Geertz's notion about "thick description," has also affected New Historicists. By "thick description," Geertz suggests that we should consider even the unimportant details while analysing a material from the past, because each detail is a part of the network of discourses. Within the context of "thick description," "[w]e must, in short, descend into detail, past the misleading tags, past the metaphysical types, past the empty similarities to grasp firmly the essential character of not only the various

culture but the various sorts of individuals within each culture, if we wish to encounter humanity face to face” (Geertz, “The Impact” 53). Through a study of the details the contradictory forces can be uncovered, which will clarify the interactions of different discourses in a period.

In the light of Geertz’s “thick description,” Gallagher and Greenblatt state that Geertz’s theory “strengthened the insistence that the things that draw us to literature are often found in the nonliterary, that the concept of literariness is deeply unstable, that the boundaries between different types of narratives are subject to interrogation and revision” (*Practicing* 30). It is evident that according to them literary and non-literary texts interact with each other. In *Practicing New Historicism*, Gallagher and Greenblatt state that

The greatest challenge lay not simply in exploring these other texts- an agreeably imperial expansion of literary criticism beyond its borders- but in making the literary and the non-literary seem to be each other’s thick description. That both the literary work and the anthropological (or historical) anecdote are texts, that both are fictions in the sense of things made, that both are shaped by the imagination and by the available resources of narration and description helped make it possible to conjoin them. (31)

Literary and non-literary texts are each other’s thick description for both should be used to uncover the mental set of a period. This reflects one of the major principles of New Historicism that each text, literary or non-literary, is a product of the world in which they are created.

In addition, while considering the study of literary texts along with non-literary texts, Gallagher and Greenblatt emphasize the significance of the “anecdote.” Anecdotes are authentic texts such as personal diaries, letters and notes are anecdotes which are not altered or edited by publishers or by certain authorities. The anecdote is accepted as a “tool with which to rub literary texts against the grain of received notions about their determinants, revealing the fingerprints of the accidental, suppressed, defeated, uncanny, abjected, or exotic- in short, the nonsurviving” (Gallagher and Greenblatt 52). Therefore, the voice of the subversive or the “othered” may be

represented in anecdotes. The aspect of the anecdote is taken from Geertz's theory of "thick description," since he argues that the details are significant to reveal the logic and the forces in a society (Veesser, *The New* xi). Anecdotes may form counter histories; therefore, studying them in relation to other texts can reveal the connection which are not found in "conventional" histories. As Geertz states, anecdotes are the "raw" materials which help the critic or the historian examine the interactions of the discourses in a society ("Thick Description" 9).

Accordingly, Stephen Greenblatt uses anecdotes as a base for the study of a literary text. Reading an anecdote together with a literary text presents the critic the thought system or the standards of a society or culture: "One of the methods of beginning a new historicist analysis, preferred by Stephen Greenblatt, is to recount an anecdote which contains a microcosmic image of the power relations which the critic seeks to elaborate in relation to the main text of discussion" (Brannigan 133). The microcosmic aspect of an anecdote supports the idea that both non-literary and literary texts are formed by the same network of discourses. Because the system includes also the subversive voices, the representations of the majority and minority can be found in texts (141). In short, by using the anecdote while analysing a literary text, the subversive and hidden discourses can be uncovered.

Consequentially, the assumptions of New Historicism can be summarized in six major aspects. The first principle is that New Historicists analyse each kind of text equally, such as historical documents, journal narratives, travel narratives, diaries and literary works. In this regard, the "historicity of texts," that all texts reflect certain historical aspects, and the "textuality of history," that a total knowledge of the past is impossible (Montrose, "Professing" 20) are emphasized since fictional and nonfictional texts can be both interpreted and be documents of certain historical issues. In other words, this significance of "equal weighting" demonstrates that a historical document can include fictional elements, while a literary work may include non-fictional elements. The study of different kinds of texts is carried out to explore the network of discourses, which is the second principle of New Historicism: "The New historicist critics, for the most part, intent on using literary texts as equal sources with other texts in the attempt to describe and examine linguistic, cultural, social and political fabric of

the past in greater detail” (Brannigan 12). The study of literary and non-literary texts is performed to analyse the forming process of a text and to uncover the mental system of a society in a particular period. Thus, New Historicists do not aim to find the “correct” interpretation of a text, but they try to reveal the interaction of the forces during the formation process.

Thirdly, the subjectivity of history is another issue of significance. History is considered as a narrative, because historians can write only through the discourses of their time. Therefore, they can never be objective or give an accurate account of what happened in the past. As Montrose states, we can have “no access to a full authentic past” (“Professing 20). New Historicists support the idea that meaning can be found by analyzing the interaction of discourses. The original meaning of a text can never be found according to New Historicists, since the text takes part in the web of discourses which can never be totally uncovered. This gives rise to another assumption which is the idea that even the suppressed voices during the formation of a text should be examined to uncover the mental system of a society. That is to say, the powerful discourses and the contradictory forces in a society should be regarded to uncover the ideology.

Moreover, regarding culture as a textual construct and as a complex network of sociocultural aspects is another aspect of New Historicism. Culture is another discourse or another “text” which is shaped by the whole mental system of a society. In other words, New Historicists consider each sociocultural representation as a discourse. They suggest that a work of art or a “text” is a product of the discourses and that it also is itself a discourse. As a result, a work of art is not only shaped by the discourses, but it also shapes the discourses of its time.

**CHAPTER IV**  
***SHIRLEY* BY CHARLOTTE BRONTË**

[S]omething real, cool and solid lies before you;  
something as unromantic as Monday morning ...

– Charlotte Brontë, *Shirley*

*Shirley*, written by Charlotte Brontë, was published in 1849. Brontë's work, which is identified as an industrial novel, portrays the social, political and economic issues of the nineteenth century. As a typical industrial novel, it reflects the problems of industrialization such as labour and class relations. For this reason, the novel is considered a historical document from a New Historicist perspective. Thus, in this chapter, how the novel portrays the social problems, the contradictions in the industrial society and how it tries to reshape some aspects of the industrial discourse will be explored through a New Historicist reading.

Firstly, it should be noted that *Shirley* was written during the Chartist uprisings in 1849. However, the fictional world of the novel is set between the years 1811-12 during the Luddite attacks. Brontë compares the problems of the social unrest between 1848-49 to the social unrest in the beginning of the nineteenth century: "The Luddite events, then, relate as both promise and warning to the moment of Chartism; *Shirley* selects a period of class-conflict which is known, retrospectively, to have a 'good' outcome, and demonstrates how that resolution may be re-achieved in the turbulent conditions of contemporary England" (Eagleton, "*Shirley*" 47). In *Shirley*, the gap between the working class and the middle class in the mid-nineteenth century is compared to the lack of communication between the two classes during the Luddite attacks.

As a natural outcome of this, the novel draws attention to the working and living conditions of the working class and middle class. Being an industrial novel it tries to reduce the tension between the two classes. From a New Historicist perspective, the "text" is a product of the society and the author. To uncover the "purpose" of the novel, it is significant to know Brontë's ideas about the Luddites and Chartists to reveal the

ideology of the novel. Brontë wrote that it would be “the right time ... to examine carefully into their [the Chartists’] causes of complaint, and make such concessions as justice and humanity dictate” (qtd. in Ingham, *The Language* 34). Brontë indicates that the problems of the Chartists should be considered carefully. Evidently, she aims to demonstrate the right solutions to social problems. By demonstrating the causes and results of Luddism, *Shirley* explores to examine the causes of and the probable solutions to Chartism.

To analyze the interacting forces in the Victorian society dramatized in the novel, the emergence of Luddism should be made clear. The workers were unemployed because of new machinery bought by factory owners in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The new machinery gave the opportunity of cheaper and more production; therefore, the workers experienced starvation because they were left unemployed. The factory owners were left almost no other choice than to buy machines and dismiss the workers since the trade restrictions because of the Napoleonic Wars put the factory owners in difficult economic positions. Between 1811 and 1816, textile workers in cities such as Yorkshire and Lancashire began to attack the factories to destroy machinery. They were called “Luddites,” because their leader was thought to be “General Ludd” or “Ned Ludd”.<sup>11</sup> Luddites threatened factory owners and their families, and even murdered some of the factory owners. Their aim was to dissuade the employers from buying machinery so that the workers could get work. After the increase of the number of the attacks and murders, the government designed acts which made machine breaking illegal, such as the Frame Breaking Act and the Malicious Damage Act of 1812.

Brontë used the files of *Leeds Mercury* to collect information about the Luddite attacks to write *Shirley*. Brontë’s research on Luddism indicates the idea that she is an exemplary industrial novelist, because “the [industrial] novelists did not act alone; they were often following up the evidence disclosed by Royal Commissions on factory

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<sup>11</sup> Ned Ludd was a weaver who broke the frames in the factory he was working because he experienced a fit of passion. So, he is considered the first weaver who acted against injustice. However, it is regarded that Ned Ludd was an imaginary person and did not exist in reality since there is no evidence of Ned Ludd and his act against injustice. Although he may not have existed, he was a spiritual leader among the Luddites.

labour, health towns, and so on” (Tillotson 81). *Shirley* dramatizes historical events of the Luddite assaults, and it sheds light on the problems caused by Chartist uprisings, which will be examined later in this chapter.

The novel begins with the description of the probable attack of the Luddites and Robert Moore’s decision to protect his machinery from the attack. When the narrator points out the results of the attacks on machinery, it is significant to examine the suppressed voices – the voice of the working class- to uncover the interaction of social forces from a New Historicist viewpoint. The narrator explains that,

When a food-riot broke out in a manufacturing town, when a gig-mill was burnt to the ground, or a manufacturer’s house was attacked, the furniture thrown into the streets, and the family forced to flee for their lives, some local measures were or were not taken by local magistracy ... As to the sufferers, whose sole inheritance was labour, and who had lost that inheritance – who could not get work, and consequently could not get wages, and consequently could not get bread- they were left to suffer on, perhaps inevitably left. (Brontë 23)

The conflict between the factory owners and the workers is recognized in the aforementioned quotation. The narrator criticizes the insufficient measures of the government, because the lack of effective solutions leads to more suffering. Both the factory owners and the workers are affected negatively by the inadequate measures taken by the government. Brontë emphasizes the idea that the upper class is responsible for the social unrest. Similar to Carlyle’s idea that “Honourable Members ought to speak of the Condition-of-England question” (*Chartism* 8), *Shirley* demonstrates that the ruling class should solve social and economic problems. The novel elaborates on the idea that “If the ruling class was able to unite in the face of Luddism, then, confronted with the Chartist threat, it can do so once again” (Eagleton 47).

An article in *Leeds Mercury* in 1812 describes one of the attacks of the Luddites as follows: “On Saturday the scribbling belonging to Mr. Walker, of Mirfield, was discovered on fire, and the whole of the machinery, & c. was totally destroyed before the flames could be extinguished” (“Luddites”). Similarly, Robert Moore’s mill and machinery were attacked by the workers. The social unrest between 1811 and 1812 was

caused by the same reasons as the social unrest during the Chartist movement. Industrialization, mechanization and the gap between the workers and employers are the causes of both Luddism and Chartism. The gap between these classes caused by industrialization and mechanization, both in the early and mid-nineteenth century, is demonstrated in *Shirley*. Within the context of the above mentioned article, it is clear that *Shirley* fits into the New Historicist principle about the “historicity of texts.”

In *Shirley*, Brontë points out the cause of the social unrest which aroused a fear of revolution in society. It is stated in the novel that during the economic crisis, caused by the trade restrictions as a result of the Napoleonic Wars, “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” (Brontë 23). Wellington’s campaign to defeat the French which was supported by the ruling class is the cause of the trade restrictions which made new machinery more and more preferable among employers.

Similarly, mechanization and industrialization are also the reasons of the Chartist uprisings in 1848, which in fact shows the novel’s sensibility to deploy such problems as it was published in 1849. Workers faced unemployment and starvation during both the Luddite attacks and Chartism. In the context of mechanization, Andrew Ure states in 1835 that machines will replace men: “It is in fact, the constant aim and tendency of every improvement in machinery to supersede human labor altogether, or to diminish its cost, by substituting the labor of women and children for that of men” (qtd. in Frader 49). Likewise, in the *Communist Manifesto*, published in 1848, Marx and Engels claim that “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” (Marx and Engels 39).

Based on the historical aspect of the problems of mechanization, the assault on Robert Moore’s mill mirrors overtones of the attack on Cartwright’s mill in 1812. The assault on Cartwright’s mill reflects the social unrest in society, which is dramatized by the attack on Robert Moore’s mill. In *Leeds Mercury*, an article narrates the assault on Cartwright’s mill in 1812: “the attack was made by fire-arms, hammers, mauls, and hatches: all the windows on the side of the attack were broke in almost instantaneously,

the lower windows by the instruments before mentioned, and the upper stories by discharges of ball and slugs” (“Luddites Black Bull”). Similarly, Robert Moore’s mill is also attacked by the angry workers: “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” (Brontë 257-58). Regarding the above mentioned descriptions of the attacks, it is evident that *Shirley* aims to notify the reader about the factors of social unrest.

However, when the “historicity of a text” and the “textually of history” are considered, the “insignificant details” in the novel demonstrate the subversive voices in the industrial discourse in Victorian England from a New Historicist perspective. The subversive voice is the voice of the factory operative William Farren. William Farren, as a member of the working class, is the only major character who stands for the lower class in *Shirley*.<sup>12</sup> Ironically, the chapter in which Farren’s ideas and his living conditions are narrated is entitled as “Which the Genteel Reader is Recommended to Skip, Low Persons being here Introduced” (Brontë 239). This “insignificant detail” is the criticism of Brontë of the oppressive industrial discourse. Although it is stated that the reader should skip the part about poor people, their conditions are depicted in the rest of the novel, which supports the idea that Brontë criticizes the ignorance of the problems of the poor. For instance, that “The Briarfield poor are badly off” and that “there are some families almost starving to death” (199) are some of the expressions which inform the reader about the difficult conditions of the lower class. While Robert Moore represents the factory owners, William Farren is the voice of the poor in society. Farren laments that working class families are suffering: “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 nought to do; we can earn nought” (104). As a result of Farren’s description and his dialect, the middle class reader gets a realistic portrait of the conditions of the poor. While informing about the conditions of the workers and the reasons for their attacks on mills, the novel criticizes the ignorance of the middle class.

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<sup>12</sup> As it was stated in Chapter II of this study, the focus point of an industrial novel is human nature and its relation to industrial society. This is the reason why certain characters stand for certain classes.

Although the problems in the mill and the working conditions of the workers are not reflected explicitly, the details in the novel are sufficient to understand the workers' difficult working conditions. For instance, it is explained that "neither Mr Moore nor his overlooker ever struck a child in their mill" (Brontë 46). The narrator states that Robert Moore treated his child workers well, which is a criticism of the fact that child labour was still going on. After mentioning Robert Moore's "good" behaviour towards his child workers the narrator goes on describing the breakfast of the workers: "the signal was given for breakfast; the children, released for half an hour from toil, betook themselves to the little tin cans which held their coffee, and to the small baskets which contained their allowance of bread. Let us hope they have enough to eat; it would be a pity were it otherwise" (46). In this fashion, the working conditions of child workers are reflected negatively. The narrator criticizes child labour, starvation, and unemployment. Despite the "Factory Acts" designed to prevent child labour, child workers were still exploited. For instance, a child worker lost her fingers because of the reason she was too tired: "About 6.45 a.m. on Monday last I was at the back of the wheel house putting some bobbins in, when a giddiness came over me, and my hand slipped between the driving and the man douser wheels of the self acting Mules" ("Report of Martha Appleton's Accident"). In the light of the aforementioned document, it is evident that the novel exposes the exploitation of child workers to draw attention to the labour problems discussed in the Victorian period.

Besides the working conditions of children in factories, the reader also does not catch a sight of the working conditions of the mill-girls. Therefore, the voice of oppressed women workers in the novel ought to be analyzed to understand the industrial discourse and social unrest in the Victorian period. As stated in the previous chapter, the subtle details should be studied to expose the norms of a certain period according to Greenblatt, who is influenced by Geertz's "thick description:" "We must, in short, descend into detail, past the misleading tags, past the metaphysical types, past the empty similarities to grasp firmly the essential character of not only the various culture but the various sorts of individuals within each culture" (Geertz, "The Impact" 53). The conditions of the mill-girls are reflected through Hortense's and Robert Moore's conversation. When Hortense complains about the maid, Robert Moore suggests her to

take a mill-girl as a servant. He thinks that “she should have her choice of an attendant amongst all the girls in the mill. Only he feared they would scarcely suit her, as they were most of them, he was informed, completely ignorant of household work” (Brontë 65). In the light of this conversation, the work of the mill-girls in his factory, their inadequate knowledge of housework and their position contrasting the “ideal” Victorian women are made explicit.

Furthermore, unemployment and social unrest in the Victorian period are also related to working class women. Employers preferred women and child workers for they paid less wage to them. As a result, unemployment among working class men increased, which led to discomfort among people:

When working-class men marched to protest unemployment, they sometimes carried washing tubs or other household items to demonstrate their belief that the natural order of things was being reversed by industrialism: women had jobs outside their homes, and men were in danger of being reduced to performing housework. (Johnson 28)

In addition to the unemployment of men workers, *Shirley* points out that women and children are still preferred as workers by mill owners because they cost less. In this sense, the details about working class women and children make *Shirley* a historical document of the miseries of the poor.

Importantly, economic theories such as “laissez-faire” and “utilitarianism” are perceived as the main reasons of the behaviour of factory owners towards working class people. The employers’ “individualism” and the improvement of machinery and science support the fact that their ideology clashed with that of the working class. A lack of communication between these two classes was the main problem. Because the factory owners advocated minimal involvement of the government and because they believed that profit was more important than the conditions of the workers, they could not communicate with their workers. As an “anecdote,” a handbill printed in March 1812 in Manchester reflects the conflict between the factory owners and the workers, which exposes the industrial discourse:

Who is injured by machinery ... Spinners and Weavers, are ye injured?  
Least of all persons are ye entitled to complain. For four times your

number are employed since the invention of machinery: - and why? because your little children, by the help of machinery, can earn their own livelihood ... So if the weaving is cheaper, there will be a greater demand for thread, and more work for spinners. What right then has any man, because his branch of work is made cheaper, to riot and put others out of employ? ("Fellow Weavers")

This handbill was signed by an "old weaver." However, it represents exactly the ideas of the middle class and it tried to persuade the Luddites to end their attacks. In contrast to the unemployment in society, this handbill demonstrates that there will be more employment thanks to the new machinery. This is not the case in *Shirley*, since the trade restrictions force the factory owners to buy machinery which is cheaper than to employ workers. Hence, when the aforementioned handbill is compared with the situations of the workers in the novel, it is evident that the workers were not better off with the new capitalist system.

On the other hand, Robert Moore, who stands for the capitalist factory owners, is also affected by the trade restrictions. Being a typical factory owner, he gives importance to economic individualism; in other words, he is a "self-made man." As a last chance to prevent his bankruptcy, he buys machinery: "Now Mr Moore loved his machinery. He had risked the last of his capital on the purchase of these frames and shears" (Brontë 24). As a classic factory owner influenced by "laissez-faire," Moore's only aim is to get profit from his mill; thus, he does not care about the workers who are unemployed because of his new machinery. In addition, "As the novel's primary type of industrial capitalism Moore is suitably stateless, owing allegiance to profit rather than social piety (Eagleton, "*Shirley*" 55). His individualism is emphasized because of his foreignness. Moore's capitalistic acts against the workers are in a way related to his being stateless: "Not being a native, nor for any length of time a resident of the neighbourhood, he did not sufficiently care when the new inventions threw the old workpeople out of employ" (Brontë 22). He chooses to fight against the angry workers and says that "if I know myself, I should stand by my trade, my mill, and my machinery" (18). It is evident that Moore's self-reliant trait is expressed by his act to defend his machinery. Moore "scarcely ever took a meal in the house; he lived in the

countinghouse” (130-31). As a capitalist middle class man, Moore prefers working and defending his factory rather than spending time at home. However, his self-reliant character is the cause for the increase of the gap between him and the Luddites.

In addition, as a “self-made man,” Robert Moore is against the war since he cannot gain any profit from his mill because of the trade restrictions: “Moore confessed at heart that a power was with the troops [Wellington’s troops] ... meantime he, Moore, as an individual, would be crushed, his hopes gone to dust. It was himself he had to care for, his hopes he had to pursue; and he would fulfil his destiny” (Brontë 128). The historical events employed in the novel provide the reader to understand the position of the factory owners. Robert Moore experiences difficult economic conditions for “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 woollen trade, and brought it consequently to the verge of ruin” (22-3). The trade restrictions, which cause Moore to behave more self-reliant, are reflected as one of the reasons for the social unrest in society.

However, it should be noted that Moore’s more humanitarian character is also illustrated in some of his speech. For instance, he criticizes the results of the trade restrictions and explains that he cannot sell the cloth, run the mill and employ the hands (Brontë 17). It is clear that Moore cares about the “hands,” which is a reference for the factory workers, but the economy plan of the government prevents him from hiring the workers. In *Shirley*, the industrial discourse which portrays that only the working class is affected negatively is reshaped. Thus, the novel elaborates on the unnoticed ideas in the industrial discourse, which is that the workers and the employers are both the victims of the Orders in Council and the capitalist system.

The gap between the working class and the factory owners was enlarged as a result of the economic and political conditions of England during the Napoleonic Wars. This gap increased the lack of communication between the angry workers and the capitalist mill owners. The Luddites grew angrier after the mill owners bought more machines and they began to threaten the employers, which is reflected in a letter the Luddites sent to a factory owner in 1812:

SIR,

Information has just been given in, that you are a holder of those detestable Shearing Frames, and I was desired by my men to write to you, and give you fair warning to pull them down, and . . . if they are not taken down by the end of next week, I shall detach one of my lieutenants with at least 300 men to destroy them . . . if you have the impudence to fire at any of my men, they have orders to murder you and burn all your Housing . . .

Signed by the General of the Army of Redressers

NED LUDD

Clerk. (qtd. in Frader 116)

Because the workers did not know the economic situations of the employers and because the employers did not know the conditions of the poor, both sides ignored each other; thus, social unrest increased. Similar to the threats in the above mentioned letter, *Shirley* also dramatizes the threat from the workers:

To the Divil of Hollow's Miln . . .

Your Hellish machinery is shivered to smash on Stilbro' Moor, and your men are lying bound hand and foot in a ditch by the roadside. Take this as a warning from men that are starving, and have starving wives and children to go home to when they have done this deed. If you get new machines, or if you otherwise go on as you have done, you shall hear from us again. Beware. (Brontë 25)

The workers prefer to take the risk to destroy and murder rather than taking the risk to die of starvation. Both letters which describe the oppressed and exploited individuals in society expose the standards of the capitalist ideology which lead to social unrest. Within the context of the threats of the workers, *Shirley* demonstrates explicitly the challenging social atmosphere in Victorian England.

Although most of the historical documents in the Victorian era illustrate the middle class point of view, *Shirley* takes account of both the mill owners' and the workers' points of view. Reflecting both sides, the novel dramatizes the lack of communication and the power relations between them. To exemplify, Robert Moore is determined to protect his mill and not to care about the angry workers. He states that his

mill is his “castle” (Brontë 18) and “it perhaps rather agreed with Moore’s temperament than otherwise to be generally hated, especially when he believed the thing for which he was hated a right and an expedient thing; and it was with a sense of warlike excitement he, on this night, sat in his counting-house” (Brontë 23). Evidently, Robert Moore perceives the conflict between the workers and himself as a kind of war. Because he does not sympathize with the workers, he seems as if he is not interested in William Farren’s terrible living conditions. Farren says that “invention may be all right, but I know it isn’t right for poor folks to starve .. Willn’t ye gie us a bit o’ time? Willn’t ye consent to mak your changes rather more slowly” (104). However, Robert Moore answers him back that “I will have my own way. I shall get new frames in tomorrow. If you broke these, I would still get more. *I’ll never give in*” (105; emphasis in original). This lack of communication and empathy are the causes of the attack on Moore’s mill and Moore himself. By describing the positions of Farren and Moore, the novel elaborates on the gap between the rich and the poor.

As a consequence of the lack of communication, Robert Moore is punished and struck down. His situation resembles the murder of William Horsfall in 1812. Because Brontë studied the *Leeds Mercury* and the articles about the Luddites, it is evident that she was influenced by the attack on Horsfall while writing the novel. The article about Horsfall’s murder was published in *Leeds Mercury* in 1812: “Mr. William Horsfall, a very extensive Woollen Manufacturer, at Marsden about seven miles from Huddersfield, was returning from the market ... four men, each armed with a horse pistol, appeared in a small plantation ... they all four fired, and inflicted four wounds” (“Atrocious Murder”). Like Horsfall, Robert Moore is also shot. In other words, Brontë punishes him by ignoring the workers; thus, the novel subverts the power relations between the classes. However, different from the middle class comments on Horsfall’s attack, Moore does not blame the workers for the attack on his mill but accuses their leaders. The leaders “were strangers- emissaries from the large towns. Most of them were not members of the operative class. They were chiefly ‘down-draughts,’ bankrupts, men always in debt and often in drink” (Brontë 287). When the attacks on Horsfall and Moore are compared, evidently, *Shirley* suggests that not the angry miserable workers are to be blamed but their leaders.

Accordingly, Robert Moore does not think that the workers can plan the attack themselves, which reflects the aspect of the industrial discourse that the workers are incapable of planning sophisticated actions. Again the power relation between the employer and the workers is recognized through Moore's idea about the incapability of the workers to plan the attack. The parent-child relation belonging to the industrial discourse is described through Moore's actions: "The 'operatives' are now represented as a set of gullible and childlike men evidently in need of a kind of parental guidance" (Ingham, *Authors in Context* 116). Like a father, who is first mad at his subversive child and wants to do the best thing for his child, Robert Moore first acts against the Farren's wish to be employed; however, later Robert asks Mr. Yorke to "Let him [William Farren] have work" (Brontë 124). Robert behaves like a responsible father towards William Farren by both helping him and trying to control him. It can be concluded that *Shirley* supports the parent-child model as the ideal way to reduce the tension between the worker and the employer. *Shirley's* solution to the lack of communication may seem inadequate to the present day reader since the novel does not propose an adult-to-adult labour relation. However, it offers an "ideal" solution according to the industrial discourse for the novel uses the family model, which is one of the popular theories in the Victorian society.<sup>13</sup>

Also, the fear of revolution is portrayed in the novel. The social unrest in the fictional world of *Shirley* during the Luddite attacks mirrors the social tension during the Chartist uprisings. The novel examines the causes of Luddism, which shed light on the causes of Chartism. Therefore, class struggle becomes an important factor in both Luddism and Chartism since both movements are caused by the oppressed lower classes. For instance, the attacks on the factory owners during Luddism are similar to the mobs of the Chartist Movement since they are both described as terrifying and they both aroused a fear of revolution in the middle class. An article describing the Chartist mobs in the *Preston Pilot* in 1842 reveals the danger of a revolution as follows:

Mr. Banister the superintendent of police, endeavoured to persuade the mob to retire for fear of consequences, and while so engaged one of the

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<sup>13</sup> According to Arthur Helps, "the parental relation will be found the best model on which to form the duties of the employer to the employed" (qtd. in Gallagher, *The Industrial* 11).

rioters aimed a stone so surely at Captain Woodford that it felled him to the ground, and while there they had the brutality to kick him. Immense bodies of stones were now thrown at the police and soldiers, many of the former being much hurt. (“Dreadful Riot”)

These Chartist mobs should be examined on the same level like the Luddite attacks because Luddism can be regarded as the beginning of social unrest in society in terms of industrialism. The fear of middle class characters from Luddite attacks resembles the fear of middle class people during the Chartist uprisings due to the fact that both situations are caused by the negative results of industrialization and lack of communication.

Within the context of the lack of communication, *Shirley* includes women characters as mediators between the workers and employers. The reason for this is that women and workers are both the “others” of society since they are oppressed and excluded by the patriarchal Victorian ideology. Brontë compares her worries about the condition of women to other social problems in society in her letter to Elizabeth Gaskell in 1850: “They say- however- and to a certain extent- truly- that the amelioration of our [women’s] condition depends on ourselves. Certainly there are evils which our own efforts will best reach- but as certainly there are other evils – deep rooted in the foundations of the Social System” (Smith, *Selected Letters* 173). In the novel, Caroline and Shirley act as mediators between the classes because they are oppressed by the patriarchal society as the workers are, and belong to the class of the oppressors. In other words, they belong both to the class of the employers and to the side of the oppressed. This gives them and the reader a more objective point of view to understand social problems.

Evidently, both workers and women depend on the patriarchal capitalist society. The workers can participate in public life only when the capitalist middle class men allow them. Similarly, women are not allowed to participate in public life and they cannot step out the domestic sphere because of the patriarchal ideology. For instance, Mr. Helstone does not allow Caroline to work as a governess and the general thought is that “hard labour and learned professions, they say, make women masculine, coarse, unwomanly” (Brontë 171). Furthermore, Robert Moore’s character reflects the norms of

the patriarchal capitalist society. Brontë links through Moore's character "the exploitation of the workers with the unemployment of women, she further indicates that the acquisitive mentality that treats both women and workers as property is directly related to disrespect for the natural resources of the nation" (Gilbert and Gubar 379). Because women are exploited like the working class, they can understand the sufferings of the workers. This is the reason why Caroline and Shirley can communicate with William Farren.

Firstly, to understand Caroline's function as a mediator between workers and employers, it is significant to examine her oppression by the patriarchal society. Caroline cannot leave the domestic sphere since she is not allowed to do so by the oppressive society. She states that "I should like an occupation; and if I were a boy, it would not be so difficult to find one. I see such an easy, pleasant way of learning a business, and making my way in life" (Brontë 53). In this sense, Caroline cannot even imagine herself working as a woman for she has to imagine herself as a man before she imagines about having a job. Her only choice to get a job is to be a governess which is regarded to be an immoral duty by her uncle. Losing the opportunity to marry Robert Moore, the man she loves, and the chance to be a governess, Caroline thinks that she will be like the "old maids" who are excluded from society: "Caroline, Charlotte's mouthpiece, comes to see single women as a sacrificed class, 'like the houseless and unemployed poor' for whom a fabricated ideal of life has been made up wholly, in the shape of sacrifice to others, to hide the fact that they are *a priori* deprived of a reason for living" (Basch 158). So, Caroline realizes that both the old maids and workers are excluded from active life.

Oppressed by the patriarchal society like the workers, Caroline acts as a mediator between Robert Moore and the workers. She is the moral agent who tries to restore peace in society. Caroline tries to transfer the concept of home as a "shelter" or a safe "haven" from the domestic sphere to the public sphere. She tells Robert that he should change his behavior against the workers: "you must not be proud to your workpeople; you must not neglect chances of soothing them; and you must not be of an inflexible nature, uttering a request as austerely as if it were a command" (Brontë 70). It is evident that she supports the parent-child relation between the workers and the

employers. She continues mentioning other aspects of the paternal relation: “I know it would be better for you to be loved by your workpeople than to be hated by them, and I am sure that kindness is more likely to win their regard than pride. If you were proud and cold to me and Hortense, should we love you? When you are cold to me, as you *are* sometimes, can I venture to be affectionate in return?” (71). Caroline compares herself to the workers who are deprived of love and understanding. Within this context, *Shirley* reflects the controversy of the industrial discourse which is that the family model belongs to the domestic sphere and that the family model should be an example for the public sphere.

Robert, however, rejects Caroline, the woman he loves, because he wants to marry Shirley to save his mill. His romantic and economic choices are intermingled, which reveals his capitalist mind. He does not put Caroline’s suggestions about loving his workers into practice; in other words, he chooses neither to marry Caroline, nor to understand his workers. Ingham asserts that

In his penniless cousin, Caroline, he perceives the prospect of English domesticity and is tempted to marry her, but hardens his heart against her as against his employees. One rejection figures the other: both illustrate the same indifference to everything but profit. Both woman and workers suffer through his rejection: Caroline pines and wastes, the workers starve. (*The Language* 37)

The aforementioned quotation indicates that Robert Moore is affected by “laissez-faire” and “utilitarianism,” which makes him choose Shirley as a wife, and not Caroline. In short, Caroline, like the workers, is both oppressed and rejected by the capitalist patriarchal ideology, which demonstrates the idea that she is the ideal mediator, because she can sympathize with both the workers and the employers.

In addition, Shirley is another character who is the mediator between the rich and the poor. She is the opposite of the typical Victorian lady as she is economically independent and strong. She owns her own money and acts against the marriage opportunities dictated by her uncle. Shirley is the only woman in the novel who is not dependent on the patriarchal society: “They gave me a man’s name; I hold a man’s position. It is enough to inspire me with a touch of manhood; and when I see such

people as that stately Anglo-Belgian- that Gérard Moore- before me, gravely talking to me of business, really I feel quite gentlemanlike” (Brontë 153). Furthermore, she reads “just what gentlemen read” (245) in the newspapers about politics. Like Caroline, Shirley belongs to both the group of the oppressed and the oppressors. She is oppressed by her uncle, Joe Scott and Mr. Helstone. On the other hand, she is the oppressor because she is a middle class member owning a mill. However, the Victorian society tries to oppress her, just like it tries to oppress the workers.

Acting as a bridge between the poor and the rich, Shirley decides to help the poor through charity. Her aim is to prevent any conflict between the poor and the factory owners. Thus, her humanitarian approach suggests the ideal solution to the sufferings of the workers: “For those who are not hungry, it is easy to palaver about the degradation of charity, and so on; but they forget the brevity of life, as well as its bitterness. We have none of us long to live. Let us help each other through seasons of want and woe as well as we can” (Brontë 200). Shirley can empathize with the poor, because they both are tried to be excluded from active life. Strikingly, while the workers are “hungry” for food, Shirley is “hungry” for freedom, since she wants to act and be free like a “gentleman.”

On the other hand, Shirley also belongs to the side of the factory owners for she has invested her money in Robert Moore’s mill. Although she helps the poor and believes that the problems of the workers should be taken into consideration, she mentions that she will not accept any kind of violence against her property. Shirley tells Caroline that “if political incendiaries come here to kindle conflagration in the neighbourhood, and my property is attacked, I shall defend it like a tigress ... If once the poor gather and rise in the form of the mob, I shall turn against them as an aristocrat” (Brontë 200). As the shareholder of the mill; in other words, like a typical middle class “man,” Shirley understands the problems of the mill owners. She is represented as the ideal employer, because her aim is to prevent disagreement between the workers and the employers. As Shirley explains, “However, it is not yet come to fighting. What I want to do is *prevent* mischief” (200).

Importantly, as a typical industrial novel, *Shirley* reflects the problems in society through conversations between the mediators and the oppressed. The novel challenges

the aspects of the industrial discourse in which the poor are immoral, greedy, selfish, and subversive. Caroline and Shirley are the mediators, since they communicate with the worker William Farren, who is excluded from public life by the capitalist society. They are able to communicate with Farren because they experience a gap between themselves and the patriarchal society: “Both the ladies liked William; it was their delight to lend him books, to give him plants; and they preferred his conversation far before that of many coarse, hard, pretentious people immeasurably higher in station” (Brontë 243). Interestingly, Caroline tells William Farren that “When you were out of work, you were too proud to get anything on credit. But for your children, 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” (243). Again, the worker is perceived as a dependent child, which is a typical feature of the industrial discourse. However, another aspect belonging to the industrial discourse is reshaped, which is the idea that the poor are immoral. Regarding the description of the character traits of Farren, Brontë reformulates the Victorian mental system.

In addition, the discourse about the inferiority of the workers is challenged in the novel through the conversation of the “inferior” women and workers. The oppressed workers can be described only through their communication with other oppressed women characters. It is clear that “in *Shirley* Brontë parallels the powerlessness of workers under laissez-faire capitalism and the powerlessness of women under patriarchal relations” (Flint, *The Cambridge Companion* 184). It should be noted that the mediator between employer and men is usually a middle class woman:

While she is socially the master’s equal and therefore able to influence him, she can also stand in as a representative of the workers for, like them, she stands in a subordinate position to him, as a member of the inferior sex. Before she can accomplish her mission of bringing him to take a more compassionate view she has to be placed in a position of estrangement from the master to complete the parallel with the work people. (Ingham, *Authors in Context* 114)

In this fashion, Caroline sympathizes with the workers only when she is rejected by Robert Moore and when she is not allowed to be a governess. Furthermore, Shirley also

sympathizes with the poor for she experiences an estrangement since the society does not allow her to participate fully in the public life. For instance, her uncle forces her to marry in order to make her belong to the domestic sphere. Both women are estranged from their own class, which makes them understand the problems of the workers.

Besides persuading Robert Moore to understand the needs of the poor, Caroline and Shirley also try to save Robert and his mill from the Luddite attack, which is significant in that Caroline and Shirley as the opposite sex try to save Robert. They act against the norms of the society and enter the public sphere in which men confront each other: “We are going for Moore’s sake- to see if we can be of use to him, to make an effort to warn him of what is coming” (Brontë 254). They are too late to warn him and they can only watch the attack on the mill. It should be pointed out that “When the workers, their ‘doubles,’ break down gates and doors, hurling volleys of stones at the windows of the mill, Caroline and Shirley divided in sympathy between the owners and workers and effectively prevented from any form of participation” (Gilbert and Gubar 384). Thus, the reader is given the opportunity to look from the sides of the workers and employers, which is unconventional in the Victorian society. The article titled “Luddites Black Bull” about the attack on Cartwright’s mill in *Leeds Mercury* includes only witnesses who are middle class men; in other words, the attack is examined through the eyes of the patriarchal society. However, the description of the attack by Caroline and Shirley gives the reader an objective point of view of the social unrest, since the women watch the assault from neither the domestic nor the public sphere, but they watch it from an unbiased perspective.

As a result of the attack, Caroline and Shirley grieve both for Robert Moore and for the workers who are wounded. Shirley laments that “‘This is what I wished to prevent,’ she said, in a voice whose cadence betrayed the altered impulse of her heart” (Brontë 260). The reader can sympathize with both the workers and the employers. There are six wounded workers and one “human body lay quiet on its face” (260); furthermore, Robert Moore is seriously wounded. Brontë compares the deadly Luddite attacks with the dangerous Chartist mobs. The Chartist mobs ended also terribly- like the attack on Robert Moore’s mill. As it is stated in the *Preston Pilot* in 1842, the following are the names of the individuals in the House of Recovery: “William Pilling,

aged 21, steam-loom weaver, and worked at Dawson's. Has lived 12 months in Preston. Shot through the knee: leg amputated. Wm. Lancaster, aged 23, a ringleader; came from Blackburn "last week." Shot through the body, and will probably die" ("Newspaper Accounts of Riots"). Within the context of the dead and wounded in Chartist uprisings and Luddism, *Shirley* reinforces the idea that not only the middle class people but also the working class people suffer from the attacks.

*Shirley* calls for reconciliation between workers and employers. Narrating the oppression of women by the patriarchal capitalist ideology, the novel draws attention to the oppression of workers. Women were pushed to rise in social class ladder or to get richer; in other words, marriage was a "market" in the Victorian period. Money became the most important tool in society, both in the marriage "market" and in the financial market. Money became the "sole nexus" as Carlyle states in *Chartism*. In addition, Marx states in the *Capital* that money became the only connection between people; that is to say, it became the tool of communication between employer and worker.

Drawing addition to the importance of money in the Victorian society, the narrator criticizes the role of money in labour relations through gender relations. Like Shirley, Robert does not think of marriage in the beginning of the novel: "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 rich, who live at ease, and have no need to take thought for the morrow" (Brontë 125). Interestingly, Shirley does not marry because she did not find the man she could love; however, Robert does not marry because his economic position does prevent him. When he thinks of marriage, he decides to marry Shirley since he "should be rich with her and ruined without her" (396). Shirley, knowing that he wants to marry her because of her money, rejects him. Shirley resists against the norms of the Victorian society by rejecting Robert Moore's proposal and all the other proposals from men who are approved by her uncle. It is evident that she has much in common with William Farren in terms of her subversive nature. Similarly, William Farren does not accept his fate and acts against the oppressive mill owners, like Shirley who acts against the oppressive patriarchal capitalist society.

After he is rejected by Shirley, Robert Moore realizes the lack of communication between his workers. Patricia Ingham highlights that when Robert learns that love should be the reason for marriage, he also begins to perceive the invisible causes of the troubles in the country (*The Language* 38). After Shirley rejects him, he goes to Birmingham to save his business:

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 went where there was want of food, of fuel, of clothing; where there was no occupation and no hope ... Something there is to look to, Yorke, beyond a man's personal interest, beyond the advancement of well-laid schemes, beyond even the discharge of dishonouring debts. (Brontë 403)

Robert gets out of his capitalist identity and adopts a more humanitarian point of view when he visits Birmingham and London. Thus, Shirley and Caroline, as mediators between the workers and Robert Moore, achieve their aim. Caroline's speech about loving his workers and Shirley's rejection make Robert realize the poor living conditions of the workers. Brontë offers a humanitarian approach to the problems between the two classes as a solution. *Shirley*, as a typical industrial novel, to demonstrate the solution to social tension reflects the aspect that the capitalist factory owner can change his views about his workers and become an "ideal" employer.

The novel's solution to social and economic problems indicates that the ruling class or the government should take action to solve the problems in society. The number of the Luddite attacks decreased as a result of the Frame Breaking Act and the Malicious Damage Act in 1812 designed by the government. For instance, The Frame Breaking Act included harsh punishments: "That if any Person or Persons shall, by Day or by Night, enter by Force into any House, Shop or Place, with an Intent to cut or destroy any Framework knitted Pieces, Stockings or Lace, or other Articles or Goods being in the Frame ... shall be adjudged guilty of Felony, and shall suffer Death ..." ("Frame-Breaking Act"). The death penalty prevented most of the angry workers from participating in the Luddite attacks. The idea that the government should do something to prevent the Chartist uprisings is reflected by the solution to the Luddite attacks. The

aspect that the government should take precautions against the leaders of the attacks is portrayed through Moore's attitude: "These persons Moore hunted like any sleuth hound" (Brontë 287). This is the reason why Robert Moore does not punish Hartley, his attacker: "Mr Moore knew who had shot him, and all Briarfield knew. It was no other than Michael Hartley ... Robert gave his wretched widow a guinea to bury him" (Brontë 473). The workers are portrayed as innocent or insane and the leaders of the attacks are represented as the ones who are responsible for the attacks. *Shirley* suggests that the government should interfere with social and economic problems.

Furthermore, the romantic and economic problems which are solved in the end are solved through the efforts of the ruling class. The repeal of the Orders in Council; in other words, the end of the trade restrictions, brings prosperity to mill owners and as a result the workers can get enough work. Consequently, "The conflicts of the novel seem to end on a grand note of harmony, a coming together of the national history of England and the regional history of Yorkshire, of the public and the private, of the middle class and the working class" (Johnson 126). The marriages of Shirley and Louis, and Caroline and Robert occur when the trade restrictions are repealed. The harmony in society is restored as a result of the actions the government took. Robert states that "Now I can take more workmen, give better wages, lay wiser and more liberal plans, do some good, be less selfish. *Now*, Caroline, I can have a house-a home which I can truly call mine- and *now* ... I can seek a wife" (Brontë 477-78; emphasis in original). The novel dramatizes the thought that the economic problems can be solved with the help of the government. In this regard, Brontë adopts Carlyle's view that the upper class is responsible for the exploitation of the workers by the capitalist employers: "A Reformed Parliament, one would think, should inquire into popular discontents before they get the length of pikes and torches" (Carlyle, *Chartism* 7). By relating the marriages to the economic conditions, *Shirley* proposes the idea that social harmony will not be restored until both the public and the private spheres interact with each other.

To illustrate, the influence of the ruling class on society is portrayed through Robert's escape from bankruptcy owing to the repeal of the Orders in Council. For instance, he marries Caroline, decides to hire more workers and earns money for

Shirley. The most significant aspect is that Moore's lack of communication with the "oppressed" ends because he can communicate with Caroline and he chooses to help the workers: "Caroline, the houseless, the starving, the unemployed shall come to Hollow's Mill from far and near; and Joe Scott shall give them work, and Louis Moore, Esq., shall let them a tenement, and Mrs Gill shall mete them a portion till the first pay-day" (Brontë 481). He tells Caroline that "if I succeed as I intend to do, my success will add to his and Shirley's income. I can double the value of their mill property. I can line yonder barren Hollow with lines of cottages and rows of cottage-gardens" (480). As the consequence of the repeal of the trade restrictions, both couples become prosperous and happy.

In conclusion, *Shirley* not only portrays the industrial discourse but also tries to challenge some aspects of the industrial discourse. The labour relations depending on money and power relations are criticized through the conflict between Robert Moore's and William Farren's relationship. As a solution to the conflict between workers and employers, the novel offers the parent-child model, which is a popular theory in the Victorian period. The novel teaches the middle class reader that both the employers and the workers are the victims of the difficult economic conditions. The idea that the middle class is responsible for unemployment is reformulated through the solution the novel offers, since the efforts of the government solve the economic and social problems in the end of the novel. Regarding poor as immoral and inferior is another aspect of the industrial discourse which is deconstructed in the novel through the descriptions of William Farren's character. Furthermore, as a result of Caroline's and Shirley's actions to solve the social conflict in the public world, the novel reshapes the idea that women belong only to the domestic sphere.

*Shirley* is the "product" of the industrial discourse in the nineteenth century. The Luddite attacks which are employed to emphasize the Chartist mobs demonstrate that the novel is the "product" of the interactions of different forces in society from a New Historicist perspective. Labour, class and gender relations are depicted in the novel through historical events examined by Brontë. Although the solution to the problems may be inadequate for present day readers, since for instance it does not propose equal rights for workers, it should be noted that the novel's solution are satisfactory from a

Victorian frame of mind. The family model offered as a solution for the lack of communication between employers and workers, the rejections of the interference between private and public sphere, and class consciousness are all controversies belonging to the industrial discourse employed in the novel. All in all, *Shirley* as a product of the industrial discourse is a historical document for it both mirrors and challenges the norms of the industrial Victorian society.

**CHAPTER V**  
***HARD TIMES BY CHARLES DICKENS***

[N]ever wonder. By means of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division settle everything somehow, and never wonder.<sup>14</sup>

– Charles Dickens, *Hard Times*

*Hard Times* was published in serials from 1 April to 12 August in 1854 in *Household Words*. Charles Dickens criticizes the economic theories of his age in his industrial novel. The criticism and the effect of the economic theories on society provide a portrait of the industrial discourse in the Victorian period. A New Historicist reading of *Hard Times* uncovers the social, political, and economic problems of the age. After analyzing the problems of the industrial society, how Charles Dickens tries to reform some aspects of the industrial discourse and how he offers a probable solution will be examined in this section.

It should be made clear that unlike most industrial novels, *Hard Times* does not focus on the conditions in factories, the living conditions of the poor or the enfranchisement of the workers. As it is stated in *The Victorian Social-Problem Novel*, “Dickens’s main concern in *Hard Times* is rather with a particular set of attitudes- a particular view of social life, which had been developed to explain (but which were not coterminous with) industrialization: utilitarianism and political economy” (Guy 127). Rather than dramatizing certain historical events, Dickens emphasizes the frame of mind of individuals affected by the industrial ideology.

It is interesting that Dickens dedicated *Hard Times* to Carlyle. He wrote to Carlyle that “I know it [*Hard Times*] contains nothing in which you do not think with me, for no man knows your books better than I” (qtd. in Humpherys 397). Both Dickens and Carlyle were opposed to “utilitarianism” and “laissez-faire,” which were the dominating theories of the Victorian Era. As stated in the first chapter of this study,

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<sup>14</sup> These are Mr. Gradgrind’s ideas about the importance of “reason.” The defects of the industrial ideology are criticized through the importance he gives to rationalism (*Hard Times* 43).

“laissez-faire” includes the idea that the free-market should be supported which is elaborated on in Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations*. In addition, “Utilitarianism” includes the idea of the “Greatest Happiness Principle” (Mill 41). In this sense, “Utilitarianism” supports the doctrines of “laissez-faire” in that it proposes the “greatest happiness for the greatest number;” in other words, “profit” should be the only aim of individuals according to these theories. Carlyle criticizes these theories and points out how these theories exploit the poor of England in *Chartism*. Like Carlyle, Dickens criticizes the industrial discourse which praises the capitalist economic theories in *Hard Times*.

Although most industrial novels portray the harsh working conditions in factories or the terrible states of the economic conditions of the factory owners because of striking workers, *Hard Times* does not discuss any of these issues. It criticizes the capitalist theories which appear to be the main causes of the social problems in society. The novel presents “utilitarianism” and “laissez-faire” as theories which are put into practice in each part of life. In this sense, it questions the deformities of human relations which were corrupted by the industrial ideology. Mr. Gradgrind, a retired merchant, is the representation of the economic theories in the Victorian period. He is described as “A man of realities. A man of facts and calculations. A man who proceeds upon the principle that two and two are four, and nothing over” (Dickens 2). The most important thing is “Fact, fact, fact!” (6) according to him. He is obsessed with his “system” (81) which transfers “utilitarianism” into social life. In other words, he practices the “rationality” of the theories in his private life. For instance, Gradgrind thinks that he acts “rational” when he buries his wife in a “business-like manner” (184).

Dickens criticizes Thomas Robert Malthus’s and Adam Smith’s theories through the actions of Mr. Gradgrind. Mr. Gradgrind is so faithful to his “system” that his sons are named after “Adam Smith and Malthus” (Dickens 18). In this regard, his obsession with the most popular theoreticians is explicit. Adam Smith’s theory of minimal government involvement and Malthus’s theory that population may exceed food supply are embodied and criticized in the character of Mr. Gradgrind. It is obvious that *Hard Times* describes the failure of the theories of Adam Smith and Malthus, because Mr. Gradgrind’s “system” fails after his son, Tom, robs a bank and his daughter, Louisa, experiences an unhappy marriage.

Although the bourgeoisie supported “utilitarianism and “laissez-faire,” some were opposed to the capitalist state of mind. The criticism of the “scientific system” of Mr. Gradgrind can be perceived in the article entitled “Railways Dynamics.” The ironic conversation between a son and a mother is described as “An Unscientific Dialogue.” After the son questions his mother about the reasons of the railway accidents, she answers him that they cannot predict the occurrence of railway accidents and that his father, who is a railway-director, knows better. The son concludes that “Ah! I see: papa is a student of Malthus, and he thinks that railway accidents are useful, like war, and vice” (“Railway Dynamics”). The article criticizes Malthus’s theory that population is reduced by certain “factors” such as war and accidents. This “Unscientific Dialogue” is similar to Gradgrind’s “unscientific” attitudes linked to love, literature, and childhood. Both the article and *Hard Times* discuss the theories of the industrial ideology. Likewise, Carlyle asserts that “Were we required to characterize this age of ours by any single epithet, we should be tempted to call it, not an Heroical, Devotional, Philosophical, or Moral Age, but, above all other, the Mechanical Age” (“Signs of the Times”). The “mechanization” of individuals is criticized by both Carlyle and Dickens.

In *Hard Times*, the idea of the “Mechanical Age” as an indicator of the industrial discourse is portrayed and reshaped. The “mechanization” of individuals is illustrated through the characters in the novel. The “Mechanical Age” affects almost each character. The “metallic laugh” (Dickens 12) of Mr. Bounderby, a manufacturer, proves that he is one of the members of the capitalist society. Furthermore, when Mr. Gradgrind prohibits his son from watching the circus, Tom “gave himself up to be taken like a machine” (11). In this sense, “for Dickens, industrial culture threatens to turn all of society into a kind of large factory, churning out fact while devouring beings who have lost the capacity for feeling and human connection, not to say imagination” (Childers 87). Louisa who is brought up like a “machine,” blames her father later in the novel: “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?” (Dickens

193). The “mechanized” individuals reflect the clash between industrialization and human nature, and thus, hypocritical Victorian society is criticized in the novel.

The contradictions in the industrial society reflected through Mr. Gradgrind’s “system” and the failure of it resemble the controversies in Victorian England. This contradiction can be perceived via the events in Hyde Park. The Great Exhibition, which was held in London’s Hyde Park in 1851, promoted a celebration of the products of industrialism as an article in the *Guardian* describes: “They [the visitors] proceed steadily from point to point, inspecting minutely the long array of varied trophies in arts and industry there gathered together ... The number of visitors was not less than 16,000, upwards of 1,000 of whom paid the admission money of one sovereign each” (“The Great Exhibition”). It is ironic that after only a few years The Great Exhibition was celebrated in Hyde Park, the poor protested the high bread price in the same park: “Soars thousands of persons assembled in Hyde Park last Sunday, to obtain a diminution of the price of bread” (“Bread-Riots, and the Winter”). The same park was home to both the celebration of industrialism and the protest of it.

Similarly, *Hard Times* portrays Coketown as the home for both industrial improvements, like Mr. Bounderby’s factory and Mr. Gradgrind’s “system,” and the protests against these improvements like the workers’ union. In this regard, the novel illustrates the clash between the industrial ideology and human nature. In his article about the Preston Strike in 1853, Dickens writes that “into the relations between employers and employed, as into all the relations of this life, there must enter something of feeling and sentiment; something of mutual explanation, forbearance, and consideration; something which is not to be found in Mr. M’Culloch’s dictionary” (“On Strike”). Dickens comments on the idea that individual relations are based on the aspects of industrialism. Mr. M’Culloch’s dictionary, a dictionary of commerce published in 1846, is referred to reflect how mechanic human relations and life were in the Victorian era. The narrator in *Hard Times* judges the industrial life in the Victorian Era: “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” (Dickens 20). The problem in the Victorian society is that the individuals become themselves

“industrialized.” Like the contrast between the Great Exhibition and the protest of the workers in Victorian England, *Hard Times* contrasts the industrial ideology and the “loss” of human goodness. The characters in the novel are “mechanized” and displayed like the innovations in the Great Exhibition.

In *Hard Times*, Dickens points out that the education system is the main factor of the “mechanization” of individuals. Education was one of the most debated issues in the Victorian period. After industrialization, education was perceived as a means to improve the economic and political conditions of the country. Rather than giving importance to education about the classics, the bourgeoisie and the state gave importance the scientific education. *The Spectator* includes an article written in 1853 about the aim of education in Victorian England:

It [the lack of education] underlies that ignorance which begets supineness and leaves the active causes of cholera unremoved. It prevents the Englishman from commanding the franchise, or from using it effectually when he has got it. It operates on both sides in industrial disputes like that at Preston; and, preventing reconciliation on the basis of ascertained and understood facts, it ends in calamity. Nay, more, it weakens this country in the competition with better-educated countries ... (“Coming Home”)

In this regard, the industrial outcome of education is emphasized. For instance, franchise, the strike in Preston and industrial competition are the key aspects of the aim of education according to the article.

Correspondingly, the education system in *Hard Times* parallels with the tenets of the education system in the aforementioned article entitled “Coming Home.” The outcomes of education demonstrate the clash between “fact” and “fancy” in the novel. Mr. Gradgrind does not approve of the circus because the circus is not based on facts but on fancy. He warns his son about the “fancy” circus: “you couldn’t go and look at the shells and minerals and things provided for you, instead of circuses” (Dickens 15). Mr. Gradgrind’s “system” kills the imagination and emotions in Tom and Louisa since according to Gradgrind “reason is (as you know) the only faculty to which education should be addressed” (16). He believes that education should include only scientific

facts, which is the reason why he does not understand people who read fiction: “Mr. Gradgrind greatly tormented his mind about what the people read in this library ... They took De Foe to their bosoms, instead of Euclid, and seemed to be on the whole more comforted by Goldsmith than by Cocker” (44). The education system includes the “facts” of the capitalist ideology; therefore, imagination and emotions do not have a place in the industrial society. Dickens evaluates that “in order to be good one must give up all ‘fancy,’ ‘wonder,’ passion, identity, and humanness and become a good apprentice, as Bitzer has, to the machines that rule society” (Palmer 143). However, such an education system is represented as a failure, since Bitzer, who is the only “good” student, tries to betray Mr. Gradgrind’s son in order to act according to the “reasons” and “facts” of the system.

The education system based on capitalism and “utilitarianism” was one of the main issues in the Victoria Era. An article in *The Spectator* reveals the industrial aspects of education:

Lord Ellenborough fears that labour and literature are mutually destructive, and he would not sacrifice the labour of the country to make a literary peasantry. Who would? But education is not learning. The people of the United States are better taught than ours: the persevering labour of the Whites has set going a White colonization of some Slave States. (“Minister of Education”)

Like Mr. Gradgrind, Lord Ellenborough finds a destructive aspect in literature. Education is praised only when it contributes to the capitalist system. Education is perceived as useful when it results in new products and inventions. The doctrines of industrialism, like “utilitarianism” and *laissez-faire*,” are included in the education system to “produce” industrial individuals whose only standards are their “reasons.” Thus, while reason is praised, human nature is degraded in the industrial society.

To illustrate, the capitalist education system can be observed through Sissy’s education. Sissy, whose father is a clown in the circus, is adopted by Mr. Gradgrind. He tries to raise her according to his “facts.” However, Sissy is not successful in school because of her experiences as a lower class member:

Then Mr. M'Choakumchild said he would try me again. And he said, This schoolroom is an immense town, and in it there are a million of inhabitants, and only five-and-twenty are starved to death in the streets, in the course of a year. What is your remark on that proportion? And my remark was- for I couldn't think of a better one- that I thought it must be just as hard upon those who were starved, whether the other were a million, or a million million. And that was wrong, too. (Dickens 51)

Sissy cannot think like the “mechanized” individuals. For the reason that she has grown up in a circus, which represents “fancy.” Sissy’s failure to be successful in school demonstrates that the economic theories destroy human nature. The right answer to the question of the instructor in the aforementioned quotation is that the percentage of the ones who starve is not much since the death of twenty five people is nothing compared to a million inhabitants. This answer which the instructor wants to hear is the outcome of the theories of Malthus. Malthus asserts that “no possible form of society could prevent the almost constant action of misery upon a great part of mankind” (qtd. in Ingham, *The Language* 13-14). He supports that although the population may increase, starvation or suffering are problems which can never be solved totally. Through Sissy’s “wrong” answer, Dickens criticizes the corruption of human nature as a result of industrialization. *Hard Times* reshapes the capitalist industrial discourse, and informs the reader about a more humanitarian view that should be adopted to solve social problems.

Also, *Hard Times* dramatizes the conflict between the workers and their employers. Charles Dickens visited the industrial town of Preston to observe the Preston Strike in 1853, one year before he wrote the novel. It should be pointed out that he was influenced by the strike. Dickens states that “this strike and lock-out is a deplorable calamity. In its waste of time, in its waste of a great people’s energy, in its waste of wages, in its waste of wealth that seeks to be employed” (“On Strike” 558). It is evident that Dickens does support neither the worker nor the employer in this strike. The union meeting in *Hard Times* demonstrates that the gap between the workers and factory owners increases as a result of those strikes.

Within the context of the union meeting, Stephen Blackpool, a worker in the factory, is the only worker who does not join the strike. In addition, he is the only character from the working class who talks with Mr. Bounderby about the strike. As a result, he is an “outsider,” which makes his observations more objective. Stephen comments on the gap between the workers and employers: “Look how this ha’ grown an’ grown, Sir, bigger an’ bigger, broader an’ broader, harder an’ harder, fro year to year, fro generation unto generation. Who can look on ‘t, Sir and fairly tell a man ‘tis not a muddle?” (Dickens 134). The lack of communication between the workers and employer has increased in time according to him. Stephen’s rejection to join the strike reveals that the striking workers are not totally right. Accordingly, Mr. Bounderby’s rejection to let Stephen work shows that the employers are not totally right. Stephen’s situation mirrors the problems of the power relations between the workers and the employers in the Victorian era. So, not only does the social class but also the individual matters in the novel. As Dickens states “He [a man] may be a friend to both [workers and employers]” (“On Strike” 553).

Furthermore, the stubbornness of both classes is discussed during the Preston Strike. The article entitled “Cotton, Wages, and Emigration” recounts the standpoint of both classes:

It appears to be generally presumed, and on grounds that cannot be controverted, that the masters will conquer in their war of strikes with the men in the factory-districts; but a further question already suggests itself, of more importance even to the masters than to the men—What will the masters do with their victory when they have got it? At present both sides are firm; the masters adhering to their general combination until the men yield in a body and abandon their union; the men sticking to their ten per cent. (“Cotton, Wages, and Emigration”)

Similarly, for Dickens neither the workers nor the employers would get any gain of this strike. In *Hard Times*, the stubborn workers cannot get the raise in their wage and Mr. Bounderby does not achieve anything by ignoring the strikers. The union and Mr. Bounderby are depicted as “anarchists” in the novel. As a result, the only character who suffers because of the strike is Stephen Blackpool. Both exclude Stephen: “You are

such a waspish, raspish, ill-conditioned chap, you see,' said Mr. Bounderby, 'that even your own Union, the men who know you best, will have nothing to do with you. I never thought those fellows could be right in anything; but I tell you what! I so far go along with them for a novelty, that I'll have nothing to do with you either'" (Dickens 136). In this respect, *Hard Times* reflects the Preston Strike from the workers' and employers' points of view; however, it does not support any of the sides. The novel reshapes the industrial discourse and proposes the idea that the strike of the workers and the capitalist mind of the employers are the aspects which destroy humanity, symbolized through Stephen's death in the end.

Accordingly, the organization of the unions during the Preston strike influenced Dickens during the writing process of his novel. His observations of the striking workers mirror the industrial discourse in the age. It is significant that the lack of communication between the workers and the employers is not caused by the factory owners but by the workers themselves, because Mr. Bounderby does not participate in any act against the workers. The unionization of the factory operatives is the main reason for the conflict between the classes in *Hard Times*: "In the text Bounderby is certainly monstrously domineering socially, though he is not seen in action at the mill. But this defect is not linked casually with the central episode, which figures the alienation of the workers from their employer by their decision to become unionized" (Ingham 86).

In regard to the portrayal of the workers, it should be noted that the power relations between the workers and the employers had a significant role in the construction of the industrial discourse. The workers who join the union are assumed as simple minded, because Stephen is the only worker who does the right thing by not joining the union. The negative characteristics of the workers parallel the description of the striking workers in the Preston Strike: "The strike in Lancashire has advanced to a new stage; it has reached one of those results which are natural to such movements -a considerable riot. The Beene of the tumult was Wigan, where a factory population is combined with a large proportion of working colliers—usually a robust, an uneducated, and an ill-controlled class" ("The Strike in Lancashire"). Likewise, the workers in the novel are portrayed as a "mass" of hopeless people. However, the novel reforms the

idea that they strike because they are uneducated. The workers join the union because “every man felt his only hope to be in his allying himself to the comrades by whom he was surrounded” (Dickens 124). Slackbridge, the union agitator, is the only hope of the workers. However, he is a hypocritical man, since “He was not so honest, he was not so manly, he was not so good-humoured; he substituted cunning for their simplicity, and passion for their solid sense” (124). He is just like the devil seducing the operatives with his speech. In *Hard Times* it is argued that not the workers but the leaders of the strike are the ones who should be blamed.

Moreover, the provoking speech of the union leaders is problematized in the novel, which mirrors the power relations within the Union. For instance, a handbill in Preston during the Preston Strike reveals the working class discourse: “This system of giving everything to the few, and nothing to the many, has lasted long enough, and we call upon the working people of this country to be determined to establish a new and improved system—a system that shall give to all who labour, a fair share of those blessings and comforts which their toil produce” (“On Strike” 555). This “motivating” discourse of the strike leaders is criticized through Slackbridge’s attitude towards the workers. Slackbridge is not described as a leader on the side of the workers: “the comparison between the orator and the crowd of attentive faces turned towards him” (Dickens 124). Slackbridge’s motivating speech resembles the typical attitude of the union leaders in the Victorian era.

*Hard Times* casts doubts upon the leaders of the unions by dramatizing the dishonesty of the union orator. Although the workers trust in Slackbridge, they do not realize his dishonest attitude. The exaggeration in his speech unearths his character traits: “the slaves of an iron-handed and a grinding despotism! Oh my friends and fellow-sufferers, and fellow workmen, and fellow-men! I tell you that the hour is come, when we must rally round one another as One united power, and crumble into dust the oppressors” (Dickens 123). In the light of the above given quotation, it is evident that Slackbridge provokes the workers. He does not aim to call for reconciliation between the employers and workers, but he aims to anger the workers to make them use violence and strike, which increases the gap between the rich and the poor. It is ironic that the only honest worker, Stephen Blackpool, is accused of robbery by his employer Mr.

Bounderby and as a result he is announced as “dishonest” (222) by Slackbridge. In *Hard Times* it is argued that both sides are wrong, since a radical social change, desired by the workers, is impossible and the capitalist point of view of the employers will not provide any advantage. So, total enfranchise is not a solution according to the novel, yet a “mechanic” society which serves the capitalists is also not offered as a solution.

Stephen Blackpool is illustrated as the only “good” example of the working class. In most industrial novels, the working class experiences a conflict with the employer. However, in *Hard Times*, Stephen has a disagreement with both his employer and the working class. Guy states that “the commercial link between Slackbridge and Bounderby reminds us that the form of selfishness which dominates Coketown is not class-based” (*The Victorian Social-Problem* 130). The “mechanization” of individuals makes the workers and employers ignorant of the realities of human nature as seen through Stephen. For instance, Stephen insists that he will only “borrow (Dickens 143) the money Louisa gives to him. In this sense, he has no commercial profit from anyone, unlike Slackbridge and Mr. Bounderby.

Within the context of the representation of Stephen, it is significant that Dickens gives voice to the oppressed workers in his fiction. As a typical industrial novel, *Hard Times* fictionalizes the conditions of the “silenced” part of the society. Stephen “falls into the Old Hell Shaft and disappears from the world for four crucial days, days when he might have influenced its history. In a sense, this is Dickens’s metaphor for what happens to the disenfranchised, the ‘other’, of society as horizontal traditional history pushes its implacable linear progress toward the future” (Palmer 4). Stephen’s fall represents the exclusion of the oppressed by the society. Stephen Blackpool’s characterization demonstrates the “purpose” of the industrial novel, which is that it gives voice of the ones who are “excluded” from society.

Furthermore, the monotonousness of the “mechanized” society is easily recognized in the description of Coketown, “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 yesterday and to-morrow, and every counterpart the last of the next” (Dickens 19). The depression of the workers is related mainly to the “mechanical” life they lead. In this sense, *Hard*

*Times* criticizes the alienation of the workers. The industrial discourse in which the workers are the “others” is exposed in the novel: “‘the Hands,’ – a race who would have found more favour with some people, if Providence had seen fit to make them only hands, or, like the lower creatures of the seashore, only hands and stomachs” (56). The workers are perceived as objects rather than subjects in the industrial society. They experience such harsh conditions that their class is described as another “race.”

Apart from the conditions of the poor in the industrial city of Coketown, Coketown itself is described as a typical industrial town in Victorian England. Industrial towns were overcrowded, misty, filthy and noisy, as the result of industrialization. For instance, *The Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population* in 1842 reflects an industrial town: “damp and filth, and close and overcrowded dwellings prevail amongst the population in every part of the kingdom, whether dwelling in separate houses, in rural villages, in small towns, in the larger towns- as they have been found to prevail in the lowest districts of the metropolis” (qtd. in Mitchell 213). Furthermore, Carlyle describes Birmingham as a typical industrial town: “Torrents of thick smoke, with ever and anon a burst of dingy flame, are issuing from a thousand funnels ... You hear the clank of innumerable steam-engines, the rumbling of cars and vans, and the hum of men interrupted by the sharper rattle of some canal-boat loading or disloading ...” (qtd. in Sussman 244). In the light of the descriptions of the Victorian industrial town, it is assumed that the results of industrialization, urbanization and mechanization had a huge effect on the living conditions of the people in industrial cities. Similarly, the depression and unhealthy atmosphere of industrial towns is recognized in the description of Coketown: “It was a town of red brick, or of brick that would have been red if the smoke and ashes had allowed it ... It was a town of machinery and tall chimneys ... the piston of the steam-engine worked monotonously up and down like the head of an elephant in a state of melancholy madness” (Dickens 19). Besides the description of the filthiness of Coketown, Dickens draws attention to the “mechanization” of the town. The elephant metaphor exposes the cruelty of the madness of industrialization. Rather than demonstrating the effects of industrialization in cities, Dickens emphasizes the “monotonousness;” in other words, the corrupted “mechanical” life in the industrial cities.

Also, the working conditions of the workers are criticized in the novel. As stated in the first chapter of this study, the high temperature of the working places was discussed in the Victorian period. For instance, in *Political Register* in 1824 William Cobbet writes about his observations of the labour conditions: “Some of these lords of the loom have in their employ thousands of miserable creatures. In the cotton-spinning work these creatures are kept, fourteen hours in each day, locked up, summer and winter, in a heat of from EIGHTY TO EIGHTY-FOUR DEGREES” (qtd. in Frader 60; emphasis in original). Likewise, Dickens dramatizes the heat in factories in *Hard Times*:

The whole town seemed to be frying in oil. There was a stifling smell of hot oil everywhere. The steam-engines shone with it, the mills throughout their many stories oozed and trickled it. The atmosphere of those Fairy palaces was like the breath of the simoom: and their inhabitants, wasting the heat, toiled languidly in the desert. But no temperature made the melancholy mad elephants more mad or more sane.” (Dickens 99)

Despite the heat, the workers go on working and the machines continue to produce. Again, Dickens emphasizes the exploitative system in the industrial society, which is that nothing is valuable except mechanization and production. The heat does not affect the “mad elephants” positively or negatively since “madness” is the outcome of the “mechanized” society. Nobody acts against this “madness” because all of the workers and employers have ‘absorbed’ the ‘madness of mechanization.’ Rather than offering an agreement between workers and employers as most industrial novels do, *Hard Times* emphasizes the reconciliation between individuals and human nature.

Dickens’s fiction criticizes another aspect of the industrial discourse which is the “self-made man.” The “self-made man” is the “new” gentleman, a member of the middle class whose economic and social status changed as a result of his increasing economic power. The article published in *The Spectator* in the Victorian era explains the features of a self-made man: “the self- made man, of the great captain of industry who was once a poor workman, of the speculator,—the roving adventurer whose millions give him entrance into a society with which he never dreamed in his earlier days of coming into personal contact. The self-made man is not only conspicuous in

industry and commerce, he is well known in politics” (“Two Types”). Mr. Bounderby is described as a “self-made man” in the beginning of the novel. Bounderby, a rich factory owner, boasts of his terrible childhood to foreground his rise in power: “I hadn’t a shoe to my foot. As to a stocking, I didn’t know such a thing by name. I passed the day in a ditch, and the night in a pigsty. That’s the way I spent my tenth birthday ... I have been a determined character in later life, and I suppose I was then” (Dickens 13). Bounderby tells how his mother left him when he was a child and how he worked hard to become a factory owner. The novel expostulates the concept of the “self-made man,” because the reader learns through the end of the novel that Bounderby’s mother did not leave him and that he actually had a happy childhood including education and the love of his mother. Bounderby was the one who left his mother to rise in social class ladder. Dickens reshapes the concept of the “self-made man” belonging to the industrial discourse through the character of Bounderby.

On the other hand, while Bounderby leaves his mother to rise in class, Mr. Jupe, a clown in the circus, leaves her daughter, Sissy, to provide her a better future. The contrast is recognized easily. The poor Mr. Jupe thinks that his existence prevents Sissy’s future chances, so he leaves her for her own good. Although he is a hard-working clown in the circus, he cannot earn enough money. On the contrary, Mr. Bounderby is less honest and less hardworking than Mr. Jupe; however, he earns more than him. The clash between the hardworking circus clown and the hardworking factory owners is explained in the article, “Two Types of Self-Made Men,” published in the nineteenth century:

On the one hand was an Anglo-Jewish adventurer, kind-hearted but vulgar, sordid in aim, an “average sensual man,” the ex-clown of a circus ... On the other hand is a man who began industrial life at ten, a hard worker, sober, religious, wakened to a new life by Methodism, scrupulously clean-handed, successful in all his effort ... Each was what we call a self-made man, each had a keen eye to business ... and yet what a contrast! ... In either case you are reading of the self-made man of business; but they might, in every other respect, be inhabitants of different planets ...

The contrast between the circus clown and the industrialist parallels the contrasts between Mr. Jupe and Mr. Bounderby. Mr. Bounderby is the self-made man because he is a “captain of industry.” Individuals like Mr. Jupe cannot survive in the “mechanized” industrial society; thus, he commits suicide, since he cannot earn enough money because of the industrial society who “wouldn’t laugh” (Dickens 52). Mr. Jupe has no place in a “utilitarian” society in which people are like machines and in which people have forgotten to laugh.

Importantly, in *Hard Times*, Dickens delineates and reshapes the industrial discourse pointing out the clash between “reason” and sentiment. The distinction between the circus and the real world refers to the corruption of the industrial society. While the circus is associated with imagination, fancy and fun, life in the industrial Coketown is related to “mechanization,” fact and reason. The circus is full of people who “cared little for plain Fact” (Dickens 33) according to Bounderby and Gradgrind. Furthermore, Bounderby tells the circus people 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” (26). The middle class members like Mr. Gradgrind and Mr. Bounderby despise the circus people. The lack of communication between the two classes is narrated in the novel. This lack of communication is the product of transferring the theories of industrialism like “utilitarianism” from the public sphere into the private sphere.

To highlight the impact of “utilitarianism” on society, Dickens’s work can be compared to an article published in 1855. The passion to give more and more importance to “science” is emphasized in the article entitled “Scientific Ignorance.” The reason why the article is entitled as above mentioned is because it narrates the ignorance of the engineers:

Is it only the ignorant classes who are ignorant? ... No, your scientific men are cut off from large fields of science; and there is no man makes such gross blunders as your practical engineer ... If there is a man who ought to know the properties of iron under manual treatment, it should be a great iron manufacturer—a Nasmyth. The two classes remain comparatively useless to each other—the workman, ignorant of the

reasoning of his craft, the reasoner ignorant of the substance and working of the craft. (“Scientific Ignorance”)

The lack of communication between the workers and engineers is depicted in the above given quotation. However, such a lack of communication is associated to the fact to produce better products. The “ignorance” is the ignorance of the scientific man who does not know how the machines work. The workers and engineers are narrated as “useless” to each other since they do not help each other in terms of mechanization. *Hard Times* criticizes that every aspect of life, the relationship between the workers and the employers and the “use” of the individuals are evaluated on the basis of industrial “profit.”

Unlike the above mentioned article entitled “Scientific Ignorance,” *Hard Times* proposes that the ignorance of the workers and employers leads to a lack of communication in terms of human relations. For instance, Mr. Bounderby mentions that “Show me a dissatisfied Hand, and I’ll show you a man that’s fit for anything bad, I don’t care what it is” (Dickens 165). On the other hand, the workers think that each factory owner wants to exploit them. The gap between the two classes is questioned in the novel: “Are the two so separated in this town, that there is no place whatever for an honest workman between them” (142). The ignorance and the prejudice of the industrial discourse are embodied through the titles of two chapters in the novel. In the chapter entitled “Men and Masters” (130), Bounderby rejects Stephen’s honesty. However, it is very ironic that in the part entitled “Men and Brother” (123), the workers- the “brothers”- exclude Stephen because of his honesty. The lack of communication between the two classes causes Stephen’s death. The novel foregrounds that the two classes need each other. Dickens in the *Morning Chronicle* in 1842 wrote that “these two great divisions of society each of whom, for its strength and happiness, and the future existence of this country, as a great and powerful nation, is dependent on each other” (qtd. in Cunningham 166).

Furthermore, the “ideal” family model, which was one of the most significant aspects of the Victorian society, is enquired in *Hard Times*. As mentioned previously, the family was perceived as the “ideal” model on which labour relations should be based. The paternalist solution to labour problems was one of the popular issues of the

century. The employer-worker relationship should be based on the parent-child relationship according to Arthur Helps's work *Claims of Labour*: "I believe that the parental relation will be found the best model on which to form the duties of the employer to the employed" (qtd. in Gallagher, *The Industrial* 11). However, *Hard Times* challenges the idea that the family is the "ideal" model for the industrial society. The novel reconstructs and deconstructs the idea that the family and society are separated, and that the private life is unaffected by the public life. The Gradgrind family is "mechanized" since it is affected by the industrial theories of the age like "utilitarianism" and "laissez-faire." For example, the Gradgrind children are emotionless, just like machines. The narrator compares the children to the workers: "Is it possible, I wonder, that there was any analogy between the case of the Coketown population and the case of the little Gradgrinds?" (Dickens 21). Mr. Gradgrind's family is like the microcosm of the industrial society. Instead of applying family values to social relations, he applies industrial values to his family relations. His son, Tom, turns into a 'perfect' example of "utilitarianism." Tom's actions are totally related to profit. To illustrate, he wants his sister to marry Mr. Bounderby because he wants a more comfortable life: "she didn't marry old Bounderby for her own sake, or for his sake, but for my sake" (158).

Louisa is another member of this "industrial family." She is raised by her father as a "machine" without emotion. Later in the novel she blames her father for his "system" to raise "perfect" children: "You have been so careful of me, that I never had a child's heart. You have trained me so well, that I never dreamed of a child's dream" (Dickens 90). Gradgrind's "utilitarianism" is demolished in the end when Tom robs a bank and Louisa turns into an unhappy divorcee. The Gradgrind family does not have the aspects of the ideal Victorian family. As Gallagher states, "Instead of presenting us with an ideal family on which society should model itself, he [Dickens] depicts a family that is itself no more than a mirror of the exploitative society" (*The Industrial* 153).

Significantly, Carlyle's article "Signs of the Times," written in 1829, exposes the contradictions in the industrial discourse. In contrast to the advocates of "utilitarianism," Carlyle is against the idea that this philosophy should be practiced in all parts of life, unlike Gradgrind. Carlyle's article can be regarded as a historical

document which uncovers some parts of the industrial discourse: “Not the external and physical alone is now managed by machinery, but the internal and spiritual also. Everything has its cunningly devised implements, its pre-established apparatus; it is not done by hand, but by machinery”<sup>15</sup> (“Signs of the Times”). His ideas about the ‘mechanization’ of the spiritual resemble the deformities of the Gradgrind family model. *Hard Times* is a comment on the “mechanical” age. Thus, the failure of Mr. Gradgrind represents the failure to apply the “mechanical genius” to family life.

On the other hand, the corrupted family of Gradgrind is compared to the familial relations between the circus members. The circus is regarded as a big family. Mr. Sleary, the proprietor of the circus, tells Sissy that if she chooses to stay in the circus and not to move to Mr. Gradgrind’s home to get education, they will treat her as a family member: “Emma Gordon, in whothe lap you’re lying at prethent, would be a mother to you, and Joth’phine would be a thither to you”<sup>16</sup> (Dickens 34). Although the circus does not embrace the “facts” of the industrial society, it manages to raise happy members like Sissy. Unlike the Gradgrind family, Sissy is the one who has a big happy family in the end: “happy Sissy’s happy children loving her” (267). It is evident that the circus, representing fancy, imagination and love, is a more ideal family than the real “mechanic” family of Gradgrind.

Apart from the “ideal” family model, the representation of the “ideal” Victorian home is also problematized in the novel. The Victorian home was perceived as holy place which was kept peaceful by the “angel in the house.” The industrial discourse of the age in terms of the relation between the domestic sphere and the public sphere can be perceived in the documents written on the subject of “home.” As was previously mentioned, John Ruskin’s *Sesame and Lillies* exposes the Victorian concept of home: “This is the true nature of home- it is the place of Peace; the shelter, not only from all injury, but from all terror, doubt, and division” (qtd. in Mitchell 268). The concept of the peaceful home is challenged in *Hard Times* since the novel discusses that there cannot be a peaceful home as long as people’s mentality in the “mechanical age” does

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<sup>15</sup> Carlyle criticizes the “mechanical genius” in his article. He states that philosophy, science, art, literature and human relations all depend on machinery. This “mechanization” will result in failure according to him.

<sup>16</sup> Mr. Sleary is lipping when he is speaking. Read the “th” sound as a “s.”

not change. Instead of describing warm, cozy and peaceful homes, Dickens represents the homes of the characters in the novel as cold, mechanic and peaceless. For instance, “life at Stone Lodge [Mr. Gradgrind’s home] went monotonously round like a piece of machinery which discouraged human interference” (Dickens 50). Stephen Blackpool thinks that it is “Better to have no home in which to lay his head, than to have a home and dread to go to it” (72), because he lives with his drunk, corrupted and loveless wife.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, Louisa’s and Mr. Bounderby’s home mirrors their loveless marriage and their “machine-like” characteristics: “Cheerless and comfortless, boastfully and doggedly rich, there the room stared at its present occupants, unsoftened and unrelieved by the least trace of any womanly occupation” (114). The cold mechanical Victorian society reverberates in the cold atmosphere of the characters’ homes; in other words, “Men are grown mechanical in head and heart” (Carlyle, “Signs of the Times”). The domestic sphere is corrupted by the public sphere. In this sense, *Hard Times* is not a typical industrial novel in which the values of the domestic sphere are transformed into the public sphere because it reflects that the public life corrupts relations in the private life so that the family becomes the microcosm of society in a negative way.

Also, the oppression of the “others” in the industrial society is observed through the similarities of the oppression of the workers and of women. Paternalism was a popular issue in the Victorian period. It is interesting that both Stephen and Louisa are oppressed by the same patriarchal capitalist society. They are both perceived as helpless “children.” While Mr. Gradgrind gives Louisa advice about marrying Bounderby, Bounderby gives Stephen advice about his marriage. Louisa asks her father if she should obey him and marry Bounderby: “Do you think I love Mr. Bounderby?” (Dickens 86). Similarly, Stephen asks Mr. Bounderby how he can get a divorce: “I ha’ coom to ask yo, Sir, how I am to be ridded o’ this woman” (65). Once more, the cold-

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<sup>17</sup> Stephen’s wife is reflected as a drunk woman who does come home sometimes and makes Stephen’s life miserable. However, the novel does not explain the reason of her behaviour. Although Stephen loved his wife in the beginning of their marriage, he hates her because she turned into a “fallen woman.” It should be noted that probably the change of her wife is due to the effects of industrialization, such as starvation or alienation. Within this context, “Mrs. Blackpool is the blue book stereotype of the factory girl writ large: undomestic, unattractive, aggressive, loud-mouthed, drunken, sexually uncontrolled” (Johnson 148).

hearted industrial society is observed in the advice of Gradgrind and Bounderby. Gradgrind directs Louisa that not love but reason should be the aim of her marriage and Bounderby advises Stephen that he cannot divorce his immoral wife: “Both Gradgrind and Bounderby discount the emotional reality of marriage” (Gallagher, *The Industrial Reformation* 151). Both Stephen and Louisa are forced to live according to the rules of the “mechanic” industrial society. Evidently, *Hard Times* challenges the paternalist discourse for neither Stephen nor Louisa experience happiness as a result of the advice of their “fathers.” Stephen has to endure an unhappy marriage and dies because of the ignorance of Bounderby, and Louisa experiences an unhappy marriage and has to endure a life without love because of Mr. Gradgrind.

Accordingly, the issue of marriage leads to another problem debated during the writing process of *Hard Times*: divorce. It was difficult to get a divorce in the first half of the century. To get a divorce, one had to go to the parliament and get an Act of Parliament. Furthermore, it was too expensive for the middle class; thus, the working class had no chance to get a divorce.<sup>18</sup> In 1853, a Royal Commission recommended that divorce should be transferred from the parliament to the courts, which would make it easier. This topic was discussed until 1857. The article entitled “Woman’s Rights,” summarizes the debates about divorce in 1856:

The real cause of the evil, says Mr. Muntz, is the difficulty for the poor to obtain a divorce although they may hate each other ... The right is partially recognized among the wealthy, who use "marriage-settlements"; but it is chiefly needed among the middle class and the working class. Now the middle class, the constituents, will regard any man as a revolutionary fool that would give separate property to the wife, teaching her not to know her place. Among the working class, the drunken husband often dissipates his wife's earnings as well as his own ...

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<sup>18</sup> The design of the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 made divorce easier. As a result of this act, the husband had to prove his wife’s adultery to get a divorce. However, it was not so easy to get a divorce for women because the wife had to prove adultery and incest, bigamy etc. In short, this act made it easier for men than for women to get a divorce. The significant point is that people did not have to get a private parliament act any more, but they could apply to a court.

It is clear that the divorce for poor people was discussed heavily in the parliament. Furthermore, the position of the wife in the industrial discourse is made explicit through the statement that a wife should know her place. The Victorian woman is oppressed both economically and psychologically in the nineteenth century. The statements in the article support the aspects of the “marriage-market” in the Victorian era.

Revealingly, *Hard Times* demonstrates the problems of the divorce in the industrial society. For instance, Bounderby tells Stephen that he cannot afford the cost of a divorce: “But it’s not for you at all. It costs money. It costs a mint of money ... I suppose from a thousand to fifteen hundred pound” (Dickens 67). Stephen, who could not get a divorce because of his economic conditions, stands for the poor with their miserable marriages. The article evidences the drunken husband of the working class who spends the money of his wife. However, *Hard Times* confronts this view and dramatizes a drunken wife, Mrs. Blackpool, who makes her husband’s life miserable. In addition, the importance of the “property” of the capitalist middle class men in the aforementioned article is mirrored by the marriage of Bounderby and Louisa. Their wedding is described as a business: “The business was all Fact, from first to last” (95). After the wedding, Bounderby visits the factories with Louisa as a “honeymoon:” “Shortly after which oration, as they were going on a nuptial trip to Lyons, in order that Mr. Bounderby might take an opportunity of seeing how the hands got on in those parts” (97). Mr. Bounderby gives importance to his “property” rather than to his marriage. His divorce is also an example of the issues debated in the nineteenth century. Unlike Stephen, Mr. Bounderby has the chance to get a divorce when Louisa elopes. Dickens was influenced by the Acts about divorce debated in 1853. The representation of the characters illustrate that divorce should be made easier for the poor. However, the novel emphasizes the loveless marriages of the industrial ideology. *Hard Times*’s main discussion is that “mechanism” is even noticed in marriages.

Unlike most industrial novels, *Hard Times* does not include a mediator. The reason for this is that the novel does not suggest or elaborate on the reconciliation between the workers and the employers. It does not emphasize the gap between the workers and their employers. The point which is discussed in the novel is that both the working class and the middle class are parts of the capitalist “utilitarian” society. The

novel suggests that there should be reconciliation between individuals and human nature. Therefore, Sissy can be analyzed as a kind of mediator in the novel because her humanitarian attitude towards the “mechanic” society solves the social problems. Sissy saves Louisa by making Mr. Harthouse, the aristocrat who tries to seduce Louisa, believe that “There is no hope” (Dickens 207) that he will see Louisa again. Moreover, Sissy helps Tom escape the police. It is ironic that Tom is saved by Sissy’s former “family,” the circus members. Although she knows that Tom has robbed a bank and that Louisa was partly deceived by Harthouse, she does not change her mind to help the “mechanic” Gradgrind Children. Sissy’s humanitarian approach to the problems is what saves the Gradgrinds. Dickens supports the idea that the goodness of human nature could save the society from the industrial way of life. In this regard, Dickens “might be characterized as a realist evolutionary humanist, a social historian of the marginalized who is capable of existing in the current of constant flux and embracing progressive change while never losing sight of the importance of the individual’s power for good” (Palmer 170). In *Hard Times* he discusses that industrial progress should not be mixed up with human relations.

As an industrial novel, *Hard Times* does not propose a solution for the worker-employer conflict. It is indicated in *The Victorian Social-Problem Novel* that “We should therefore not look to *Hard Times* to provide a fully worked out, practical solution to current problems in society; nor should we expect to find a particularly acute analyses of them. As I suggested, Dickens is primarily interested in what we might loosely call an ‘ideology’ of industrialism” (Guy 126). The novel criticizes the lack of goodness in humans in the industrial society. Dickens believed that “into the relations between employers and employed, as into all the relations of this life, there must enter something of feeling and sentiment; something of mutual explanation, forbearance, and consideration” (qtd. in Cunningham 161). The only character who has a satisfactory future is Sissy because she is the only character who has sentiment: she tries “to beautify their [her children’s] lives of machinery and reality with those imaginative graces and delights” (Dickens 267). All other characters have lonely and miserable lives until their death. Rather than seeking solutions for the industrial problems, Dickens challenges the industrial ideology in his novel.

In conclusion, *Hard Times* both portrays and reforms the industrial discourse. The novel employs the idea that the paternal model to the worker-employer conflict is insufficient. It advocates that the family relations are corrupted by the industrial ideology, so the family model cannot be a good example for the problems in public life according to the novel. Dickens exposes the contradiction in the industrial discourse in terms of the paternal model. First, the family itself must be reshaped according to Dickens. The novel notifies the reader that neither the working class nor the middle class is totally right as they are both affected by the industrial ideology of the “mechanical age.” Both classes think and act according to the “utilitarian” ideas. Dickens’s work defies the general idea in society that the social problems will be solved when the workers and the employers are reconciled. He informs the reader about the reconciliation between humans and human goodness is the only solution to the problems of the industrial society. *Hard Times* mirrors that “scientific” education should not be applied to personal relations. Unlike most industrial novels, Dickens’s work discusses that the victims are neither the working class nor the middle class but the individuals who adopt the industrial ideology.

Consequentially, it is evident that *Hard Times* is a “product” of the industrial discourse. The novel illustrates gender, labour and social relations of the Victorian period. The industrial theories, “utilitarianism” and “laissez-faire,” emphasize the corrupted “ideal” Victorian family and society. Marriage, divorce and the role of women are also other issues employed in the novel. It is significant that the “self-made man” is reformed and questioned. Although the novel does not suggest a solution to industrial problems to the present day reader, it offers a humanitarian viewpoint to the deformities in society, which may be an adequate solution to the opponents of “utilitarianism” in the nineteenth century. In short, *Hard Times* is a historical document, because it exposes the values and the contradictions in the Victorian period.

**CHAPTER VI**  
***NORTH AND SOUTH BY ELIZABETH GASKELL***

He and they had led parallel lives- very close, but  
 never touching ...

– Elizabeth Gaskell, *North and South*

Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South*, published in Charles Dickens's magazine-*Household Words* from September 1854 to January 1855- which is an industrial novel, employs issues related to industrialization. From a New Historicist perspective, it is regarded that *North and South* is a historical document of its period since it portrays the social, political and economic problems in the 1850s. In this chapter, how and to what extent the novel contributes to the industrial discourse will be analyzed. After exploring labour, class and gender relations in *North and South*, the novel's solutions to social problems will be examined in order to discuss to what extent it contributes to the industrial discourse.

It should be pointed out that Gaskell's personal experiences she underwent in the writing process of her novel are significant, because the discourses that form her ideology can be traced in *North and South*. The reader recognizes both Gaskell's ideology and the ideology of other classes of the Victorian society in the novel.<sup>19</sup> The industrial environment of Manchester affected Elizabeth Gaskell while she was writing *North and South*. When Gaskell was living in Manchester, she longed for the old days. She missed the times when she was living in the country house: "I was brought up in a country town, and my lot is now to live in or rather on the borders of a great manufacturing town, but when spring days first come ... I feel a stirring instinct and long to be off into the deep grassy solitudes of the country" (qtd. in Foster 20). It should be noted that although Gaskell desired to name the novel "Margaret Hale," however, Dickens suggested that she should name it "North and South" since the novel narrates the conflicts between the North and the South.

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<sup>19</sup> As was explained in Chapter III of this study, Foucault states that the author's function "does not refer purely and simply to a real individual, since it can give rise simultaneously to several selves, to several subject positions that can be occupied by different classes of individuals" ("What is an Author?" 216).

Elizabeth Gaskell was the wife of a Unitarian minister, so she had contact with poor people. Her husband gave lectures to working class men. These events had a great impact on Gaskell's works. She knew the life of both the lower class and the middle class; as a result, it was not so difficult for Gaskell to write about the problems between the rich and the poor: "no one can feel more deeply than I- Gaskell wrote to a friend in 1848- how wicked it is to do anything to excite class against class" (Dainotto 77). Gaskell's comments on the conditions in factories received much negative criticism by factory owners. She comments on the negative criticism stating that "I wanted to represent the subject in the light in which some of the workmen certainly consider to be true, not that I dare to say it is the abstract absolute truth"<sup>20</sup> (qtd. in Foster 37).

The "factory question," which led to the actions taken to improve the working conditions of the working class, provided a rich ground for industrial novels like *North and South*. As a typical industrial novel, *North and South* employs characters who represent their social class.<sup>21</sup> For instance, Higgins and his daughter Bessy are the major representations of the working class, and Mr. Thornton stands for the middle class. The conflict between Higgins and Mr. Thornton reflects the conflict between the working class and the middle class. As a person who does not belong to the industrial town of Milton, Margaret Hale is the one who solves their disagreement. She acts as a bridge between these two classes, which will be explained later in this chapter.

In *North and South*, the issues which are included in the "Factory Acts" yet not put into practice are portrayed in order to shed light on labour problems like the accounts of the inspections of factories in the nineteenth century. For instance, as an inspector reports in 1836:

I took the evidence from the mouths of the boys themselves. They stated to me that they commenced working on Friday morning, the 27th of May last, at six A.M., and that, with the exception of meal hours and one hour at midnight extra, they did not cease working till four o'clock

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<sup>20</sup> For further reading, see *The Letters of Mrs. Gaskell*.

<sup>21</sup> It should be pointed out that because each character represents his/her social class, most of the characters in the novel are not considered as complex. The reason for this is that industrial novels do not aim to examine individualistic traits, but they aim to represent the general problems of each social class.

on Saturday evening, having been two days and a night thus engaged. Believing the case scarcely possible, I asked every boy the same questions, and from each received the same answers. I then went into the house to look at the time book, and in the presence of one of the masters, referred to the cruelty of the case, and stated that I should certainly punish it with all the severity in my power. (“Extract from a Factory Inspectors Report”)

Similarly, the long working hours and poor conditions of Bessy and Higgins, which lead to depression, are criticized in the novel. For instance, Higgins’s excessive smoking and the workers’ excessive drinking are all related to their depression as a result of their working conditions. Bessy’s explanation of her father’s excessive smoking highlights the monotonous life of the workers: “I sickened at the thought of going on for ever wi’ the same sight in my eyes, and the same sound in my ears, and the same taste i’ my mouth, and the same thought ... And father – all men- have it stronger in ‘em than me to get tired o’ sameness and work for ever” (Gaskell 160-61). In this sense, the long working hours, the fluff and the noise in factories in the first half of the century were the basic reasons for the difficult working conditions. Because of these terrible working and living conditions, Bessy “looked more peaceful than life” (258) when she was dead.

Gaskell deeply informs the reader about the conditions in factories and draws attention to the results of these conditions in her fiction. For instance, the death of Bessy Higgins demonstrates the terrible state of the workers in the mills. As it is pointed out, Gaskell was affected by the accounts of these working conditions. For example, the observations of William Cobbett in 1842 highlight the connection between Bessy’s situation and the harsh realities of the Victorian period:

Not only is there not a breath of sweet air in these truly infernal scenes, - but, for a large part of the time, there is the abominable and pernicious stink of the GAS to assist in the murderous effects of the heat. In addition to the heat and the gas/ in addition to the noxious effluvia of the gas, mixed with the steam, there are the dust, and what is called the cotton-flyings or fuzz, which the unfortunate creatures have to inhale/ and the fact is, the notorious fact is, that well-constituted men are

rendered old and past labour at forty years of age, and that children are rendered decrepit and deformed, and thousands upon thousands of them slaughtered by consumptions, before they arrive at the age of sixteen.

(qtd. in Frader 62)

In the light of this quotation, it is evident that Bessy's case illustrates the "factory question." Bessy dies because of the fluff which made her almost unable to breathe: "Little bits, as fly off fro' the cotton, when they're carding it, and fill the air till it looks all fine white dust. They say it winds round the lungs, and tightens them up. Anyhow, there's many a one as works in a carding-room, that falls into a waste, coughing and spitting blood, because they're just poisoned by the fluff" (Gaskell 118). Her death is tragic since she is as at the same age as Margaret Hale; yet ironically, Bessy dies at a young age because she has worked in terrible conditions in the factories unlike Margaret.

Gaskell also draws attention to the possible solutions to the unhealthy conditions in factories through Bessy's conversation with Margaret. Bessy tells Margaret that "Some folk have a great wheel at one end o' their carding-rooms to make a draught, and carry off th' dust" (Gaskell 119). However, this wheel is too expensive and the factory owners do not want to pay for the wheel. Ironically enough, the wheel, which is a solution, causes another problem, because swallowing nothing "made 'em [the workers] hungry, at after they'd been long used to swallowing fluff, to go without it" (119). Within this context, the hunger experienced by the workers is actually the reason for all their problems.

Gaskell was influenced by Carlyle's ideas about the conditions of the workers, which are also represented in *North and South*, since Carlyle was a close friend of Gaskell (Allott 9). As previously mentioned in the first chapter of this study, "utilitarianism" and "laissez-faire" are the causes of the "Condition-of-England Question" and of the Chartist uprisings according to Carlyle.<sup>22</sup> Utilitarianism is portrayed as the cause for the strike of the workers in *North and South*, because Thornton's "individualism" leads to his ignorance of the conditions of the workers.

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<sup>22</sup> "Laissez-faire" suggests that "the market was self-regulating and that it operated according to its own internal laws or logic" (Guy, *The Victorian Age* 19-20) and "utilitarianism" is the "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" (16).

Thornton seeks for individual gain; in other words, he adopts the utilitarian idea through comparing individual pleasure with the dynamics of the market. Furthermore, “laissez-faire” is another theory which affects Thornton’s ideas. This economic theory can be grasped in the novel when through the power relations between the workers and the employers since Thornton and the other mill owners are the ones who decide the economic issues and the wages. While the workers are striking, Thornton mentions that “We, the owners of capital, have a right to choose what we will do with it” (Gaskell 137). He asserts that “we the Milton masters have to-day sent in our decision. We won’t advance a penny” (137). Regarding the binary oppositions of “we” and “them” in Thornton’s speech, it is evident that there is a huge gap between the workers and the employers.

The gap between Thornton and his employers, which lead to the attack of the angry mob recounts the Preston Strike in 1853. Gallagher asserts that Gaskell was influenced by the Preston Strike while writing *North and South* because the strike and the publication of the novel occur in the same year (*The industrial* 147). The comments on the Preston Strike of 1853 in *The Spectator* reflect Mr. Thornton’s ideas:

Although the contributions to the Preston strike keep up surprisingly, it cannot be expected that *they* should go on for ever; and *we* have mentioned the evidence that the promoters of the strike are striving to extend the basis of their support and the duration of their mission. *We* discriminate, indeed, between the natural struggle of the working classes proper to attain their object, and the efforts, like the project of a "Labour Parliament," originating with the traders in agitation. (“News of the Week;” my emphasis)

In the light of this quotation, it can be regarded that the tension between the workers and the employers increased. The industrial discourse, which includes the conflict between “we” and “them,” “masters” and “men,” is the reason and result of the lack of communication between the two classes.

The position of the Irish workers in the novel illustrates the industrial discourse in which the Irish are perceived as even more inferior than the English workers. As Carlyle states in *Chartism*, Irish people were regarded more immoral than the

representatives of the English working class in the industrial society. From the point of view of the middle class, crime rates increased because of the Irish immigrants. In *Leeds Mercury*, an article published in 1848 recounts an attack committed by Irish workers: “It is our painful duty to have to record another atrocity at Robert Town, in the parish of Mirfield, which it is supposed has been committed by three Irishmen” (“The Knife”). The conflict between the English and Irish workers made the middle class fear revolution. Moreover, the economic situation of Ireland was debated in Victorian England. An article from *The Spectator* in 1850 reflects the aforementioned issue through Archbishop Whatley’s words: “we cannot recommend. 'parochial employment,' or out-door relief,' for the labourers of Ireland: we cannot recommend a system which offers bounties on filth and improvidence, the pressing evils of the country, and which discourages that cleanliness, neatness, and comfort, of which Ireland stands in such crying need” (“Hints for Irish Poor Law Reform”). Negative comments on the economic situation of Ireland were common in the Victorian era. Because of the poor economic condition of Ireland, Irish people immigrated to England to find work, which is dramatized in *North and South*. When the members of the Union including Higgins are on strike, Thornton employs Irish “hands.”<sup>23</sup> Therefore, the striking workers cannot reach their aim which is to get higher wages.

Fanny, Thornton’s sister, comments on the Irish “hands” regarding the factory owners: “Perhaps you know my brother has imported hands from Ireland, and that it has irritated the Milton people excessively- as if he hadn’t a right to get labour where he could; and the stupid wretches [the English workers] here wouldn’t work for him” (Gaskell 205). Fanny’s comment reveals the lack of communication between the two classes, since she as the middle class has no idea about the reasons of the strike and the conditions of the workers. The employment of Irish workers is not suggested as a solution in the novel, since “the incompetence of the Irish hands, who had to be trained to their work, at a time requiring unusual activity, was a daily annoyance” to Thornton (378). Even though it is stated in Carlyle’s *Chartism* that Irish workers work for less wage than English workers and that they were preferred by the factory owners (24), the

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<sup>23</sup> Workers were perceived as “hands,” because they were employed in heavy works which require physical effort.

Irish workers and the strike are the reasons for Thornton's bankruptcy. In *North and South*, the minor solutions to the problems which are the result of industrialization are not sufficient. A mutual understanding is required to solve these problems.

Mechanization is another significant aspect fictionalized in *North and South*. The gap between the working class and the middle class increased because of the improvement of machinery used in factories. *North and South* represents mechanization through Thornton's words:

The whole machinery ... Seventy years ago what was it? And what is it now? ... men of the same level, as regarded education and station, took suddenly the different positions of masters and men ... The rapid development of what might be called a new trade, gave those early masters enormous power of wealth and command. (Gaskell 95)

Thornton believes that if a man is hard-working, he will get rich and rise in class, which is the classic capitalist idea of the middle class in the Victorian period. Thornton's rise from lower to middle class mirrors William Grant's case. William Grant was one of the "ideal" examples of the industrial Victorian society. His letter in 1839 describes his rise from humble beginnings to a successful businessman. He learned about cloth printing and entered the business world: "[I] commenced business for myself on a small scale assisted by my brothers John, Daniel, and Charles, and removed to Bury, where I was very successful" (qtd. In Frader 47). Like William Grant, Thornton is the ideal example of the rise of the capitalist man in the Victorian society.

However, working hard is not the solution for the poor living conditions of the workers which is ironically portrayed through Thornton's bankruptcy. Thornton fails after the strike: "A good deal of his capital was locked up in new and expensive machinery; and he had also bought cotton largely ... The strike had thrown him terribly behindhand" (Gaskell 378). Although Thornton worked hard and became a powerful employer, he has to start from the scratch, since he goes bankrupt. In *North and South*, reconciliation becomes an important issue both in the novel and in the nineteenth century since a factory owner cannot be successful unless he communicates with his workers, as it is in Thornton's case.

The living and working conditions of both the working and the middle class are compared and contrasted through the representation of the North and the South. In other words, Helstone, the village in which Margaret Hale has lived, stands for the nostalgic past, whereas the industrial town, Milton, stands for the present and the future. To clarify the contrast between the North and the South it will be useful to mention David Horne's statement about well-known Victorian metaphors. Horne explains that "In the *Northern Metaphor* Britain is pragmatic, empirical, calculating, Puritan, bourgeois, enterprising, adventurous, scientific, serious, and believes in struggle. Its sinful excess is a ruthless avarice, rationalized in the belief that the prime impulse in all human beings is a rational, calculating, economic self-interest" (qtd. in Dainotto 82). On the other hand, "In the *Southern Metaphor* Britain is romantic, illogical, muddled, divinely lucky, Anglican, aristocratic, traditional, frivolous, and believes in order and tradition" (82). *North and South* dramatizes the conflict between the "new" North and the "old" South through discussions and criticisms of the characters. Thornton discusses that he would rather be "a man toiling, suffering – nay, failing and unsuccessful- here [Milton], 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" (Gaskell 93). However, Margaret answers him back that there is less suffering in the South: "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" (94). The disagreement between Margaret and Thornton demonstrates that the clash between the old aristocratic south and the new industrial north is the result of the new living standards caused by industrialization.

By comparing Helstone and Milton, Gaskell criticizes the results of urbanization and industrialization. This comparison mirrors the condition of industrial towns in the Victorian period, which can be recognized in *The Working Man's Friend and Family Instructor* published by John Cassell in 1851: "the rapid soiling of our hands, our linen, and the hangings of our rooms, bear ample witness to the reality of this evil, of which every London citizen may find a further and more significant indication in the dark hue of the particles deposited by the dust-laden air" (qtd. in Mitchell 117). The aforementioned description of industrial London resembles the representation of Milton.

While Helstone is described as a heavenly place, Milton is presented as a “dark hell” in the beginning of the novel. For instance, “Helstone is like a village in a poem” (Gaskell 9) or “a village in a tale” (29) according to Margaret. In contrast to Helstone, in Milton, the Hale family “must endure smoke and fogs for a season; indeed, all other life seemed shut out from them by as thick a fog of circumstance” (75). The dark and foggy city is compared to the bright and heavenly village. Gaskell draws attention to the unhealthy conditions in industrial cities as the results of industrialization and urbanization.

It should be noted that Gaskell did not enjoy Manchester and that she had always a nostalgic longing for the countryside. Gaskell also wrote some chapters of *North and South* in a country house in Derbyshire. She illustrates the results of the unhealthy living conditions in the industrial city through Mrs. Hales’s death. Mrs. Hale dies after they moved from Helstone to Milton, because of the polluted air in Milton. It is interesting that both Bessy and Mrs. Hale die because of the results of industrialization. Thus, not only the working class but also the middle class is affected by the terrible results of industrialization. Accordingly, in *North and South*, the idea that the middle class will not be affected negatively by industrialization is challenged.

The industrial discourse can be examined through the clash between the “old” aristocracy and the “new” middle class in *North and South*. According to Margaret, a factory owner cannot be a gentleman, since the term “gentleman” includes nobility and education from her southern point of view. She thinks that Thornton is just a simple “tradesman”: “What in the world do manufacturers want with the classics or literature, or the accomplishments of a gentleman?” (Gaskell 42). Her first impression when she sees Thornton is that he is “not quite a gentleman; but that was hardly to be expected” (73). Her brother Frederick “took him [Thornton] for a shopman, and he turns out a manufacturer” (305). Thornton stands for the self-made man, the popular concept in the Victorian society, as stated in *The Spectator*:

Ours is preeminently the day of the self-made man, of the great captain of industry who was once a poor workman, of the speculator,—the roving adventurer whose millions give him entrance into a society with which he never dreamed in his earlier days of coming into personal contact. The self-made man is not only conspicuous in industry and

commerce, he is well known in politics. (“Two Types of Self-Made Men”)

Thornton represents the “new” gentleman or the self-made man. He is the “captain of industry” as it is stated in the above given article.

Thornton, as a typical self-made man, advocates individualism and progress. Mr. Hale’s thoughts about the self-made man reflects the viewpoint of the south: “most of the manufacturers placed their sons in sucking situations at fourteen or fifteen years of age, unsparingly cutting away all off-shoots in the direction of literature or high mental cultivation, in hopes of throwing the whole strength and vigour of the plant into commerce” (Gaskell 78). On the other hand, Mrs. Thornton says that Thornton does not need education, because “Classics may do very well for men who loiter away their lives in the country or in college; but Milton men ought to have their thoughts and powers absorbed in the work of to-day” (132). Mrs. Thornton’s ideas mirror the industrial discourse of the age: “Our civilisation is said to be industrial, as distinguished from the military or caste or feudal civilisations of other lands and times” (“Two Types of Self-Made Men”). In this regard, that the middle class people living in industrial cities see the “old” aristocrats as “idle gentlemen and ladies” (Gaskell 33), while the southerners see the middle class men and women uneducated and rough.

The discussion about the connotation of the term “gentleman” between Margaret and Thornton reflects the change in society caused by industrialism. While a gentleman is someone of the upper class to Margaret, according to Thornton a “man” is a “higher and completer being than a gentleman” (Gaskell 194). Thornton continues explaining that “‘gentleman’ is a term that only describes a person in his relation to others; but when we speak of him as ‘a man’, we consider him not merely with regard to his fellow-men, but in relation to himself- to life- to-time-to eternity” (194). The individualism of the middle class man is emphasized in Thornton’s description of the “man.” While Margaret “associates moral and social criteria as equally valid, indeed inseparable; he shows his individualism by attaching far more weight to the first than to the second” (Duthie 83). Thornton’s ideas represent individualism as the new norm of the industrial society.

The lack of communication between the factory owners and the workers is related to the cash nexus in *North and South* since they only communicate through labour relations. The “factory question,” the difficult working conditions of the working class, the economic theories, the benefit of the middle class from these theories and the change of the power relations support that social unrest in the Victorian period was caused by industrialization and the lack of communication between the classes. As previously mentioned, Carlyle criticizes the idea of “Cash Payment as the sole nexus between man and man”<sup>24</sup> (*Chartism* 52). The workers and employers cannot communicate; thus, they are not aware of each other’s problems. As a result, the gap between them grows bigger. For instance, Thornton says that “It is too bad to find out that fools- ignorant, and wayward men [the workers on strike] like these- just by uniting their weak silly heads, are to rule over the fortunes of those who bring all the wisdom that knowledge and experience, and often painful thought and anxiety, can give” (Gaskell 170). On the other hand, the workers think that “trade has been good for long, and the masters has made no end o’ money... they wanted their share o’ th’ profits, now that food is getting dear” (178). Within the context of the lack of communication in labour relations, it is evident that money is perceived as the only factor to judge people in the industrial society of Victorian England.

In *North and South*, violence is the result of regarding money as the sole nexus. Gaskell dramatizes the attacks by the angry mobs in the Victorian era to emphasize the lack of communication between the workers and the employers. The mob in the novel parallels the uprisings in the nineteenth century stated in the *Preston Pilot*: “stones were now thrown at the police and soldiers, many of the former being much hurt, and a party of the mob having gone up Fox-street, they then had the advantage of stoning the military from both sides. Under these circumstances, orders were given to fire” (“Dreadful Riot- Rioters Shot”). Similarly, in *North and South* “The soldiers are sent for” (Gaskell 211) to protect the mill. However, the attack cannot be prevented: “Their [the workers’] reckless passion had carried them too far to stop – at least had carried some of them too far; for it is always the savage lads, with their love of cruel

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<sup>24</sup> By stating the problem of the “sole nexus,” Carlyle indicates that labour relations became the only connection between workers and employers.

excitement, who head the riot- reckless to what bloodshed it may led. A clog whizzed through the air. A sharp pebble flew” (Gaskell 212). In the light of the previous quotation, the atmosphere of revolution and chaos is observed in Victorian England.

In her fiction, Gaskell elaborates on the issue of working class unions to portray the social tension in the Victorian era, which reflects the power relations between the workers and the employers. The issue that the workers were not ready for franchise was debated during the Chartist uprisings reflected through the Chartists’ speech: “We are told that—‘The mass of the people are not fit for the franchise.’ We answer – the exercise of the franchise will be their best education.... We believe that, it is not good for a nation that any of its members should be without the political education which teaches a man to care for the interests and honor of his country” (“Address of the People’s Charter Union”). However, the contradictions in *North and South*, dramatized in Boucher’s and Higgin’s discussions, indicate that the workers are not ready for a total franchise. Boucher commits suicide because he could not feed his family during the strike. His children are on the edge of starvation and the reason for this is the strike. In *The Industrial Reformation* it is stated that the master-slave metaphor includes controversies, since “working-class radicals maintained on one hand that workers were enslaved and degraded by industrial capitalism, and on the other hand that workers were ready for franchise” (Gallagher 34). These controversies can be detected in Boucher’s actions. Although Higgins thinks that the Union is the “only thing to do the workman good” (Gaskell 347), Boucher thinks that the Union is a “tyrant” (347), because it forces workers to join and to strike. However, without the Union, the workers cannot get their rights according to Higgins. Thus, the conflict between the workers, which results in the death of Boucher, is portrayed to show that they are not ready for a total franchise.

From Higgins’s point of view, the workers strike to get the wages they deserve and they belong to the Union to get their rights. Higgins mentions that “In those days of sore oppression th’ Unions began; it were a necessity. It’s a necessity now, according to me. It’s a withstanding of injustice, past, present, or to come” (Gaskell 276). In this sense, while the workers try to overtake their employers’ power according to the factory owners, the workers want just their rights. Higgins’s ideas resemble the ideas of the Chartists in the nineteenth century: “We desire by peaceable and legal means, and by

them alone, to alter and amend the institutions of the country: by establishing its legislative system upon the only true basis—the ascertained will of the majority, at once the guarantee of present order, and the promise of peaceful growth and happiness for the future” (“Address of the People’s Charter Union”).

Margaret is the mediator between the employers and the “hands.” In other words, she is the one who helps them to communicate with each other and to end the class struggle of the workers. To begin with, Margaret is an outsider because she does not belong to the industrial city of Milton. In addition, she is neither from the “new” middle class nor from the working class. Her perspective on labour problems can be perceived as an objective one; in other words, Margaret’s point of view reflects partly Gaskell’s own view since both support the reconciliation between the two classes. Margaret finds Milton’s class relation “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” (Gaskell 138). She steps out of the industrial discourse and perceives the problems between the workers and the mill owners from a humanitarian point of view. Gaskell’s main aim in her works was to “defamiliarize otherness through stressing that sameness of human suffering and emotions was the most important factor in harmonizing class relations” (qtd. in Foster 37). Through Margaret’s humanitarian point of view Gaskell de and reconstructs the industrial discourse in which labour relations define everything in the society.

The effort to find a solution for social problems is reflected through the family metaphor, which belongs to the industrial discourse, in order to depict the worker-employer relationship. Arthur Helps suggests that the relationship between the worker and the employer should be like that of the father and the child. Thus, the family should be a model for the relationship in society according to the Victorian mind. Still, Margaret is against the idea that “the masters would like their hands to be merely tall, large children- living in the present moment- with a blind unreasoning kind of obedience” (Gaskell 140). Thornton, however, supports the parent-child metaphor since he thinks that the workers are ignorant and not ready to be individuals: “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” (141). While accepting the idea that the workers are like children, Thornton does not confirm that the employers are the ones who turned them into “children.” He continues saying that the “time is not come for the hands to have independent action during business hours” (142).

In *The Spectator*, an article published in 1853 about the Preston strikes resembles Thornton’s idea that the workers are not ready to take independent action: “The last great attempt was made twenty years ago; the Union fell to pieces, but the organization has taken so long in dying out that we do not know whether it is perfectly extinct or not. It was a failure ... a trades union of a merely protectionist kind cannot be successful” (“News of the Week”). The idea that the workers are not capable to seek their right is explicitly a representation of the parent-child metaphor belonging to the industrial discourse. The parent-child metaphor does not demonstrate the workers as individuals but portrays the workers as dependent children. Gallagher states that the parent-child metaphor in *North and South* makes “the masters more responsible for the well-being of their workpeople, but the comparison also degrades the workers and could justify arbitrary authority” (*The Industrial* 168).

Gaskell offers another solution through Margaret’s approach to the disagreement between Higgins and Thornton. The adult-to-adult interaction is the only solution to the lack of communication between the workers and the mill owners according to Margaret: “If he [Higgins] and Mr. Thornton would speak out together as man to man- if Higgins would forget that Mr. Thornton was a master, and speak to him as he does to us- and if Mr. Thornton would be patient enough to listen to him with his human heart, not with his master’s ears” (Gaskell 367). The labour relation beyond the cash nexus is supported in the quotation above. As a solution to the labour problems caused by capitalism, Gaskell suggests a humanitarian solution in which the workers and employers discuss their problems as “humans” rather than “hands” or “masters.” The idea that industrial novels portray that a new social life will be possible by regarding the universality of human nature (Guy, *The Victorian social-Problem* 121) is recognized in the solution of Margaret: “Margaret’s questioning goes far beyond disliking the use of reductive terms for workers. She problematizes both contemporary major discourses that justify their

emiseration: paternalism and ‘the struggle for existence’” (Ingham, *The Language* 64). In this regard, *North and South* elaborates on the idea that not individual difference but human nature is significant in the new industrial order.

Margaret like Gaskell herself is a humanitarian character who interferes with the lower classes to understand their needs. In this sense, it is significant that the industrial novelists are “scouts who had crossed the frontier (or penetrated the iron curtain) and brought back their reports” (Tillotson 81). While Gaskell is the scout in the Victorian society, Margaret becomes the scout in *North and South*. The reproduction of the dialect of the workers functions as the representation of Margaret as a scout. For instance, she uses the term “slack of work” (Gaskell 281) used by the workers, which is criticized by her mother: “don’t get to use these horrid Milton words ... What will your Aunt Shaw say, if she hears you use it” (281). Furthermore, she explains to Thornton that “knobstick” is a very pretty word and that it is expressive (282). Thus, she adopts both factory slang and the “language” of the middle class which make Margaret a bridge between the two classes. She interprets the “language” of both classes: “It is often Margaret who brings order to the ‘anarchy of signification,’ precisely because she comes to accept and adopt to the social changes registered in language” (Elliott 41). As a result, she makes the conflicting classes adapt to each other’s language. Thornton’s reference to Higgins as a “friend” is one of the examples of his adaptation to the “new” language.

Dorice Williams Elliott states that Gaskell employs the marriage metaphor in the novel to depict labour and class relations. Gaskell represents the “inferiority” of the working class similar to that of women. Working class people are effeminate in their characterizations: “like women, the working classes were represented as unruly, ignorant ... and sexual” (Elliott 45). The behaviours of the workers are portrayed as those of subversive women: “They came rushing along, with bold, fearless faces, and loud laughs and jests, particularly aimed at all those who appeared to be above them in rank or station. The tones of their unrestrained voices, and their carelessness of all common rules of street politeness, frightened Margaret a little at first” (Gaskell 81). Furthermore, “Since marrying a woman was the socially and legally sanctioned way for the middle- and upper-class men to control women’s money, labor, and sexuality,

marriage was a particularly useful metaphor for representing the management of the lower classes” (Elliott 46). In other words, the patriarchal Victorian society which ideologically aims to keep women under control also oppresses the working class since they are both inferior and the “other.” However, the workers and Margaret try to act against this patriarchal society. While Margaret refuses to marry Henry Lenox even though he is a perfect match for her, the workers refuse the domination of their employer by joining the strike. Thus, in *North and South*, both women and workers fight against the dominant Victorian ideology.<sup>25</sup>

Gaskell’s solution for the conflict between the workers and the employers, and women and men depends on a mutual understanding: “Instead of changing laws or overturning existing power structures, Gaskell offers a social vision that tempers power relations with mutual understanding” (Elliott 47). The labour relations interfere with gender relations to represent the interactions between the public and the private spheres. When Margaret saves Thornton from the attack of the angry workers, she steps outside the domestic sphere and enters the public sphere. Thornton says to Margaret that “This is no place for you” (Gaskell 212) when the angry mob of workers attack Thornton’s house. Margaret, however, acts against Thornton and enters the public sphere. She tries to convince him to talk to the workers: “Go down and face them like a man ... Speak to your workmen as if they were human beings. Speak to them kindly. ... If you have any courage or noble quality in you, go out and speak to them, man to man!” (209). Margaret is the “notably active heroine” (Flint, *Elizabeth Gaskell* 40), because her actions lead to the reconciliation between the workers and Thornton at the end of the novel. She adds that “Since Margaret is a character who applies a standard of behavior which does not differentiate between the sphere of the home and that of the workplace, it has been suggested that Gaskell is putting forward a kind of ‘social maternalism’ to replace traditional paternalistic values” (Flint, *Elizabeth Gaskell* 41-42). Thus, the

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<sup>25</sup> Although the workers and Margaret act against the oppressive society, working class women are not represented as active as Margaret. Bessy and Mrs. Boucher are almost the only working class women in the novel. Gaskell does not represent any working class women working in factories; for instance, Bessy is too ill to work and Mrs. Boucher cannot work because she has to take care of her little children. However, it should be pointed out that the conditions of working class women haunt the industrial novel as Patricia Johnson states (8). As a result, the paternal metaphors and relations in *North and South*, and the exclusion of working class women, reflect the fact that working class women were even more oppressed than working class men by the patriarchal capitalist Victorian society.

labour relations in the public sphere are controlled by the private sphere. Regarding Kate Flint's interpretation, Margaret steps outside the domestic sphere, both interferes with the world outside and solves the problems in the public sphere which could not be solved by the patriarchal point of view.

However, it is not easy to act against the authority. While Margaret thinks that the "ladies were so dull" (Gaskell 198), the patriarchal society supports the idea that women's business, which is playing with shawls, is very different from the "real" business of men according to Henry Lenox (7). The comments on Margaret's saving Thornton from the attack of the workers reveal the dynamics of the patriarchal society. For instance, the maid Jane says that Sarah "saw Miss Hale with her arms about master's neck, hugging him before all the people." (217). Thornton thinks that Margaret saved him because she was in love with him and also Mrs. Thornton considers that Margaret's aim is to marry Thornton. Thus, Margaret's action is judged by the patriarchal society. However, her only aim was to save Thornton and to make the workers and the employers communicate with each other: "as a woman *and* as a southerner, Margaret's calling is to teach northerners nothing less than the way to peace and reunification" (Dainotto 79).

While Margaret acts against the essential Victorian norms, she also transfers these norms into the public sphere. Margaret transfers the concept of the home as a safe haven from the private sphere to the public sphere, because she tries to create a peaceful society for the worker and the employer.<sup>26</sup> Her thoughts reveal her relocation of the concept of "home": I did some good. But what possessed me to defend that man as if he were a helpless child!" (Gaskell 226). Margaret saves Thornton, the "strong" wealthy man, while Thornton becomes a "helpless child." It should be pointed out that Margaret, "By stepping out of her class to defend the workers and then Thornton, she has stepped out of her gender. By becoming an agent in the public sphere and the centre of all eyes she has turned herself into a public woman, an *actress* not an angel, potentially a fallen woman" (Ingham 67; emphasis in original). Margaret's entrance to the public sphere

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<sup>26</sup> Ruskin states that home "is the place of Peace; the shelter, not only from all injury, but from all terror, doubt, and division" (qtd. in Mitchell 268).

and the transference of the values of the private sphere to the public sphere reflect the needed interrelation and communication among the different social classes.

Besides saving Thornton from the angry workers, Margaret saves him also from bankruptcy. When Thornton goes bankrupt, Margaret offers Thornton to invest in his business: “Although Gaskell portrays Mr. Thornton as a powerful man of the manufacturing class, her hero’s unexpected downfall at the end becomes her female character’s triumph” (Silkū 112). Ironically, Margaret who is a “girl without a penny” (Gaskell 168) to Mrs. Thornton, becomes the one who saves Thornton’s business. Thus, Margaret’s actions reverse the gender relations, because she rescues Thornton twice: by saving him both physically from the attack and economically from bankruptcy.

Apart from reversing gender relations, Margaret’s actions challenge the industrial ideology. The reason for this is that she saves the “self-made man,” Thornton. The popular concept of individual and powerful “self-made man” belonging to the industrial discourse is reconstructed through Margaret’s act to rescue Thornton. An article in the nineteenth century recounts the “ruling” self-made man: “Then the leaders of industry must be its natural heads, and, to a very great degree, its real rulers; and as the democratic spirit of the age gives a free scope and equal chances to everybody to become industrial captains, evidently the self-made man will become more and more a great social influence” (“Two Types of Self-Made Men”). However, the social influence and the ruling capacity of Thornton are reformulated. The harsh capitalist characteristics are replaced by the humanitarian features Margaret offer.

The reconciliation at the end of *North and South* is one of the typical aspects of industrial novels. The disagreement is solved by means of Margaret’s actions. Gallagher asserts that the industrial novelist’s fear of social revolt makes the novel consist of controversies. However, the significant fact is that the novel portrays these contradictions experienced in the Victorian period (Gallagher, *The Industrial* 148). Solutions suggested by industrial novels should be evaluated from the viewpoint of the period they are produced: “Rather than trying to be proto-Marxist and failing, the social problem novelists might have had very different ambitions which they pursued in ways which were successful in their terms” (Guy, *The Victorian Social-Problem* 38). However, even the man-to-man relation between the workers and employers or the

economically “equal” marriage between Margaret and Thornton are regarded as solutions according to the Victorian frame of mind. Even though *North and South* reflects the fact that the working conditions of the workers should be improved and that the conflict between the workers and employers should end, it does not give a solution, as illustrated in the problems of the workers’ rights. Not the novel’s solution to the problems but its representation of these problems is significant to uncover certain aspects of the industrial discourse.

Gaskell offers communication beyond the cash nexus as a solution to the problems between the workers and employers. In *North and South*, the industrial discourse in which the problems of the workers are ignored is challenged. Before Margaret’s influence on Thornton, he shares the middle class point of view that the workers are not exploited by the factory owners, which is described in an article in 1844 in *The Spectator*:

The notion of its agitators seems to be, that the factory-people are the worst-used class in the country, and that nothing is to be done in their behalf, or any other, without an act of Parliament. Now the truth is, that the factory- people enjoy many advantages not possessed by other classes; not the least of which is that they have great personal freedom. They may complain of “tyranny” and “oppression,” and call themselves “white slaves”; but one has only to see their demeanour towards their masters to discover that they have attained a degree of personal independence almost unknown to any other employed class. (“Helpless Classes”)

Like the middle class factory owners in the Victorian period, Thornton did not think that the workers were exploited. He objected to every call for help from the workers because he was not aware of their misery.

After Margaret persuades Higgins to go to Thornton and ask for work, Thornton “was convinced that all that Higgins had said was true ... the patience of the man, the simple generosity of the motive ... He came to Higgins to give him work” (Gaskell 387). Higgins’s reaction to Thornton reflects Gaskell’s ideology that the workers and men belong to the same society and that they should reconcile for the sake of the future:

“Yo’ve called me impudent, and a liar, and a mischiefmaker, and yo’ might ha’ said wi’ some truth, as I were now and then given to drink. An’ I ha’ called you a tyrant, an’ an oud bull-dog, and a hard, cruel master: that’s where it stands. But for th’ childer [Boucher’s children]. Measter, do yo’ think we can e’er get on together?” (Gaskell 388). As a result, Higgins and Thornton choose to work together, which is the result that they have learned each other’s aims and thoughts because of their communication beyond the cash nexus: “Once brought face to face, man to man, with an individual of the masses around him, and (take notice) out of the character of master and workman, in the first instance, they had each begun to recognise that ‘we have all of us one human heart’” (Gaskell 500). In this respect, a new social order is possible when the labour relations are based on communication beyond the cash nexus.

As a result of their reconciliation, Thornton and Higgins improve their relationship. The employer and workers begin to understand each other and each other’s needs. Thornton explains that he is “building a dining-room –for the men, I mean- the hands” (Gaskell 431). It should be pointed out that Thornton’s discourse begins to change after their reconciliation, since he prefers to use the word “men” rather than “hands”.<sup>27</sup> A short time later he even begins to refer to Higgins as “my friend” (432). Similarly, Higgins and the other workers react positively to Thornton: “Master, there’s hot-pot for dinner to-day, win yo’ come in?” (432). As Dorice Williams Elliott states, their relationship goes beyond the parent-child metaphor because they become “friends,” so the adult-to-adult relationship preferred by Margaret is the solution to the problems in labour relations (44). Thornton does not pay for the food of the workers as a “parent” for he does not want it to fall into charity (Gaskell 433). He begins to treat the workers as individuals and not as dependent “children.” The idea that working class people should not be seen as individuals is challenged and reshaped through Thornton and Higgins’s relationship.

The second reconciliation is that of between Margaret and Thornton, which foregrounds the aspect of mutual aim in terms of industrialism. Just as the conflict between the employers and the workers, the conflict between the North and the South is solved in the end of the novel. While the employers and the workers realize that they

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<sup>27</sup> Thornton begins to regard the workers as “men;” in other words, he begins to see them as individuals.

have actually the same aim in the industrial world, which is to work and earn, Thornton and Margaret unite because of the idea of mutual aim and understanding. Gaskell ends the novel with the idea of marriage between Margaret and Thornton. This marriage represents the unity of the industrial North and the aristocratic South:

the marriage represents a new unity of purpose between the upper classes. Margaret and Thornton have respectively represented the aristocratic south and the manufacturing north from the outset of their acquaintance. In the course of their relationship, each loses the destructive element in his or her outlook: Margaret is chastened out of her prejudice against ‘shoppy’ middle-class people, and Thornton outgrows the extreme individualism and willfulness that had blinded him to his social responsibilities (Gallagher 177).

Not only is the unity of the North and the South portrayed in the end, but also the unity of the workers and men as a result of the actions of the female heroine is described.

In conclusion, Gaskell in *North and South* de- and reconstructs the industrial discourse. The parent-child metaphor is reshaped and replaced by the man-to-man relation represented through Thornton’s and Higgins’s relationship (Elliott 44). Furthermore, the idea that the working class is the only class which is affected negatively by industrialization is decomposed through Thornton’s bankruptcy and Mrs. Hale’s death. Moreover, the “individualism” of the middle class man is depicted and discussed through the change in Thornton’s character. By de- and reconstructing the norms of the industrial discourse, Gaskell proposes the middle class reader to find a common ground with the working class or the “old” aristocracy to prevent social unrest. Rather than supporting capitalist individualism, *North and South* gives voice to humanitarian solutions to social problems. Gaskell’s novel “is not only *about* philanthropic visiting; using its narrative structure as a model of the mediating role it projects for women visitors, *North and South* represents the writing of a novel *as* philanthropic act akin to visiting” (Elliott 25). Through mediating between different social classes, the novel, just like Margaret, tries to solve social problems and reduce the tension in society. While the novel is formed by the industrial discourse, it tries to reform the industrial discourse at the same time. In short, to offer solutions to social,

political and economic problems, Gaskell challenges the industrial discourse through discussions between the characters.

*North and South* dramatizes the tensions between the employers and the workers, men and women, and the bourgeoisie and the declining aristocracy. Gaskell narrates the labour, class and gender relations in the Victorian period and proposes solutions to the problems. The industrial discourse which “shapes” the novel and in turn which is tried to be reshaped by the novel, supports the idea that *North and South* can be read as a historical document. Because each text is formed by the discourse in that particular period and because each text forms the discourses in the period according to New Historicists, *North and South* can be accepted as a first-hand observation which portrays the controversies of the industrial discourse in the Victorian period.

## CONCLUSION

This study on the portrayal of the industrial ideology in *Shirley*, *Hard Times* and *North and South* elaborates on the aspects of the Victorian industrial society through a New Historicist reading. Because industrial novels emphasize the “Condition-of-England Question” - the effects of industrialization with a focus on the working conditions of the poor and their relationship with the middle class - the problems of the industrial society can be easily depicted for a realistic Victorian frame of mind. In addition, industrial novels foreground social, political, and economic problems to offer solutions to these dilemmas. These aforementioned factors provide a basis for the study of the complications in the industrial society, which consists of controversies in terms of enfranchisement of the workers, family and public life, and the solutions to social problems. Reading the selected novels with a historical awareness provides clues to understanding the impact of the industrial discourse in Victorian England. How these novels deal with the “Condition-of-England Question” is explored to evaluate the sociocultural, economic, and political problems between the years 1845-1855.

A New Historicist reading of *Shirley*, *Hard Times*, and *North and South* leads to an understanding of the text-discourse relationship. Thus, a New Historicist reading of these works is significant in that this approach leads to a perception of the representation of the mid-Victorian period in these novels and an understanding of the relationship between different discourses, such as class, labour and gender. In this respect, the tenet of New Historicism—regarding literary and non-literary text as similar which was coined by Louis Montrose—is considered in the analysis of the novels along with historical documents such as parliamentary acts, handbills, reports, etc. The study of different kinds of texts explores the network of discourses in the Victorian era, which is another principle of New Historicism, influenced by Michel Foucault’s text-author-discourse theories. Regarding literary and non-literary texts as fictions, Stephen Greenblatt and Catherine Gallagher also discuss that “both the literary work and the anthropological (or historical) anecdote are texts, that both are fictions in the sense of things made, that both are shaped by the imagination and by the available resources of narration and description helped make it possible to conjoin them” (*Practicing* 31). Therefore, the examinations of the reformation of some aspects belonging to the

industrial discourse portrayed in these novels are based on the idea that all kinds of texts are subjective and that all of them influence each other mutually.

Furthermore, considering the subjectivity of history, one cannot find the original meaning in a text according to New Historicists. This gives rise to another assumption that even the suppressed voices during the formation of a text should be understood to uncover the mental system of a society. In this sense, the suppressed voices in the novels are important for the revelation of certain aspects of the industrial discourse. To add, New Historicists suggest that a work of art or a text is a product of the discourses and that the text is itself a discourse. It is obvious that a work of art is not only shaped by the discourses of its time but also constructs the discourses of that particular time in return. Significantly, how the novels delineate the industrial discourse and how they shape this discourse are the main points focused on in this thesis.

*Shirley*, *Hard Times*, and *North and South* all inform the middle class reader about the problems in the industrial society in the Victorian period. It is significant to note that all the three authors had different experiences regarding labour and social problems. Charlotte Brontë did not have any first-hand experience of the conditions in the factories. However, her detailed research of the *Leeds Mercury*, and the Chartist Movement during the years when she wrote the novel are closely combined to reflect the conditions of the poor. Thus, *Shirley* does not narrate directly the conditions in the factories yet it emphasizes the results of industrialism by employing the clash between the workers and employers. On the other hand, Dickens did have direct experiences of the working conditions because he worked during his childhood in the factory. However, *Hard Times* does not include any description of the inside of the factory. In this regard, Dickens does not focus only on the working conditions of the workers, but he emphasizes the general living conditions in industrial England. Therefore, it should be stated that Dickens was directly influenced by his own experience of the Preston Strike (“On Strike”). Elizabeth Gaskell did have direct communication with the workers since her husband was a Unitarian minister who had contact with poor people. Furthermore, Gaskell’s experience in the industrial town of Manchester had also influenced her while writing her novel. Although *North and South* does not narrate the conditions inside the factories, it employs the effects of the conditions in the factories

through the speech of the characters. Thus, rather than employing the working conditions inside the factories, these novelists draw attention to the results of the working conditions and the results of industrialism.

The novels' aim to reflect a realistic view is achieved by dramatizing the working class dialect, the working conditions, the class struggle and the lack of communication between different social classes. Also, these novels reflect the industrial discourse through the power relations between the workers and the employers which had a significant role in the construction of the industrial discourse. Firstly, in *Shirley* the realities of the era through William Farren's working class dialect are demonstrated. In addition, the labour and power relations depending on money are criticized through the conflict in Robert Moore's and William Farren's relationship. This conflict questions the lack of communication between the employers and the labourers, as reflected in the threatening letters of the Luddites in 1812 both in the novel and in historical documents. Mechanization and industrialization are the reasons for the lack of communication between Farren and Moore, for the unemployment of Farren, for the starvation of the Luddites and for the desperate economic conditions of Moore. Likewise, *Hard Times* reflects a realistic view of the industrial society by narrating Stephen Blackpool's working class dialect, his unemployment, the lack of communication between Stephen Blackpool and Mr. Bounderby and Blackpool's problems regarding the power relations between him, his employer and the members of the Union. Moreover, in *North and South*, Gaskell narrates the working class dialect of Higgins, the lack of communication between Higgins and his employer Thornton, the power and money based relationship of Higgins and Thornton, Higgins's unemployment and the terminally ill daughter of Higgins. All these three novels are characterized by the problems of labour relations depending on money and power, class divisions, and the terrible consequences of industrialism. In brief, Brontë, Dickens, and Gaskell educate the middle class reader about the sufferings of the poor and the problems that cause a great disconnection between different classes.

Another point which bridges these novels is that they resort to historical events in order to explore and explain the dilemmas in the Victorian society. The fictional world of *Shirley* is set between the years 1811-12 during the time when the Luddite

attacks took place. For example, Brontë compares the problems of the social unrest caused by Chartism to the social unrest in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The clash in labour relations can be depicted when the conflict between Farren and Moore is paralleled to, for instance, a handbill in 1812 signed by a weaver. The attacks of the workers on Mr. Moore's mill and the reluctance of Mr. Moore to understand the workers dramatize the effects of "utilitarianism" and "laissez-faire" on society. Likewise, Dickens questions these economic theories through Mr. Gradgrind, who is obsessed with "utilitarianism," and the capitalist Mr. Bounderby. To add, in *Hard Times*, Dickens questions the relation between the difficulty of divorce and money because Dickens was highly influenced by the debates before the Matrimonial Causes Act in 1857. Dickens, like Gaskell, was affected by the Preston Strike, which evidences his portrayal of the strike through the union meeting of Slackbridge. Equivalently, in *North and South* historical issues like Chartism are touched upon by narrating the attack on Mr. Thornton's mill and Mr. Thornton's ignorance of the conditions of the poor as a "self-made man." The novel also narrates the problem of Irish immigrants who cause social unrest among the working class people. Consequently, all three novels fictionalize historical issues to draw attention to the complications in the nexus of society.

Apart from their portrayal of the social issues of the industrial society, the novels also challenge certain concepts of the industrial discourse. To clarify, these novels subvert some points of the industrial discourse— the ideas, the attitudes, and practices belonging to the industrial atmosphere of industrial England. They offer the idea that both the working class and the middle class suffer as a result of industrialization. In this sense, the novels aim to change the presumption that only one social class is the victim of capitalism and industrialism. In *Shirley*, for instance, William Farren and other workers suffer from starvation and unemployment because of mechanization. However, their employer Robert Moore also experiences economic difficulties and is driven to the edge of bankruptcy. Likewise, in *Hard Times* the negative effects of industrialization on all individuals are discussed. For example, Stephen Blackpool, the representation of the workers, is unemployed because of the "utilitarian" system which transforms humans into "machines." Carlyle's "Signs of the

Times,” which criticizes the “Mechanical Age,” is a significant “historical” document to uncover the “utilitarian” discourse Dickens criticizes in his novel. On the other hand, Mr. Gradgrind, as a supporter of this system, suffers also as a result of it, because his son turns into a thief, and his daughter suffers emotionally. Similarly, both the workers and the employers in *North and South* are exposed to industrial dilemmas. While Higgins faces unemployment and loses his daughter as a result of industrialization, Mr. Thornton faces bankruptcy because of the strike of the workers. In addition, both Higgins’s daughter Bessy and Margaret’s mother Mrs. Hale die because of the polluted air in the industrial town of Milton. When the sufferings of the middle class and the working class are compared to certain documents such as the Frame Breaking Act (“Frame-Breaking Act”), reports on the conditions in factories, the Chartists attacks on mills, etc., it is evident that these novels reform and reshape the industrial discourse which includes the idea that only the working class suffers from the results of industrialization, or that the middle class is totally ignorant about the deteriorating conditions of the poor.

Moreover, the novels narrate the oppressed voices to teach the reader about the inequalities they experience. In *Shirley*, Brontë narrates the situation of the poor as illustrated in Farren’s characterization. In this regard, the novel reshapes the industrial discourse through Farren’s moral character and challenges the view that the poor are immoral. Furthermore, when compared with the comments on the assault on Cartwright’s mill in 1812 published in *Leeds Mercury*, the novel suggests that not the workers but the leaders of the strike are the ones who should be blamed for the social unrest. In fact, Brontë represents William Farren as the ideal worker. Similarly, *Hard Times* reflects Stephen Blackpool’s misery which ends with his death. The novel reformulates the industrial discourse that the opposite classes are the ones who are in conflict by dramatizing Blackpool’s exclusion both from the working class and the middle class. Correspondingly, *North and South* also informs the reader about the unnoticed characteristics of the workers. For example, Higgins’s attitude that he does not advocate the mobs and that he just wants to get work reflects the goodness of the workers. Comparing the conditions of the workers in the novel with that of the Factory Inspector Report in 1836, it would not be wrong to state that the workers experienced

miserable conditions. In short, these novels contrast the leaders of the strike or the minor anarchist characters with the good natured ideal worker to change the class discourse in industrial England.

Furthermore, *Shirley*, *Hard Times*, and *North and South* engage with the concept of the “self-made man,” the “new” gentleman or the capitalist individual risen in power as a result of industrialism. In *Shirley*, Robert Moore is portrayed as the typical example of the “new” gentleman. Being a typical factory owner, Moore gives importance to economic individualism. As a last chance to prevent his bankruptcy, he buys machinery ignoring the unemployment of the workers. When he adopts a more humanitarian attitude towards his workers, his rigid attitude changes. Thus, Brontë suggests that a reconciliation between the employers and the workers will occur only when the employer gets partially isolated from his capitalist character. On the other hand, Dickens subverts the general view of the “self-made man” in the characterization of Mr. Bounderby. Mr. Bounderby is described as a “self-made man” at the beginning of the novel. Bounderby, a rich factory owner, boasts of his terrible childhood to foreground his rise in power. The novel expostulates the concept of “self-made man” because the reader learns through the end of the novel that Bounderby’s mother did not leave him and that he actually had a satisfactory childhood including education and the love of his mother. Comparing the clash between the circus –fancy- and the industrial world –fact- in the novel to the features of a clown and a capitalist man, the article “Two Types of Self-Made Men” published in the nineteenth century reveals the capitalist ideology of the Victorian society. In addition, *North and South* dramatizes the “self-made man” in relation to the capitalist society. For instance, Thornton, as a typical self-made man, advocates individualism and progress. His debate with Margaret about the “new” gentleman illustrates that the society experiences a change from an old aristocratic structure to a new industrial one. Like Brontë, Gaskell suggests that the employer can communicate with his workers as long as he gets rid of his capitalist concerns. The novels feature the “self-made man” to highlight the dilemmas of the industrial society. While in *Shirley* and *North and South* the “new” gentleman is partially supported, in *Hard Times* it is criticized in terms of the “mechanization” of the society.

Apart from the parallelism among the three novels, the differences and varieties between them are significant for a complete discussion of the industrial ideology as the aim of this thesis suggests. To begin with, the novels differ in the idea to give the “family model” as a solution for the conflicts in the public sphere. In *Shirley* the “family model” is reinforced to be practiced in the world outside. Caroline suggests Mr. Moore to love his workers like he loves his family. In the end of the novel, Mr. Moore begins to understand the poor conditions of the workers owing to Caroline’s suggestion. On the contrary, *Hard Times* portrays the family of Mr. Gradgrind as corrupted by the “utilitarian” industrial society. In this respect, the family is a microcosm of the society, so the family model cannot be a good example for the problems in public life within the context of the novel. However, in *North and South*, Gaskell suggests that the “family model” should not be regarded as a base for the solution of social problems, yet the understanding and interaction between family members should be taken into consideration to solve labour problems. In this fashion, the labour problems are solved when Higgins and Mr. Thornton force themselves to understand the opposite party. In brief, evidently enough, while *Shirley* and partly *North and South* advocate the concept of the “family model” belonging to the industrial discourse to offer solutions to the “Condition-of-England Question,” *Hard Times* suggests that this model is not a solution as long as the family is affected by the “utilitarian” idea.

These various approaches towards the problems in the industrial society evidence the solutions to industrial problems. Brontë, Dickens, and Gaskell offer different solutions to social problems, which reflect their views to lessen the gap between the employers and the workers. Brontë attempts to solve labour problems by suggesting a parent-child relationship model between Farren and Moore. Moore helps Farren find work; however, he also criticizes Farren’s activist attitude toward the employers. Thus, Moore acts like a controlling and loving parent. However, Dickens does not propose the parent-child relation as a solution to industrial problems because first, the family itself must be reshaped. Therefore, the disagreement between Stephen Blackpool and Mr. Bounderby cannot be solved. On the other hand, in *North and South* the conflict between Higgins and Thornton is solved; however, not by the parent-child model. The parent-child metaphor is reshaped and replaced by the adult-to-adult relation

represented through Thornton and Higgins's friendship. In this sense, *North and South* refuses and re-models the industrial discourse that the parent-child relation is the solution for the lack of communication between workers and employers. Therefore, *North and South* offers a more egalitarian relation between workers and employers unlike *Shirley*. However, all three novels propose the idea that the industrial society should get rid of a total influence of "fact" and that individuals should search for a more humanitarian perspective.

Although all these three novels have a humanitarian approach regarding social problems, they differ from one another in the kind of reconciliation they call for. In *Shirley*, the idea that the middle class is responsible for unemployment is reformulated through the solution the novel offers since the efforts of the government solve the economic and social problems at the end of the novel. Regarding the solutions the government designed during Luddism such as the Frame Breaking Act in 1812, Brontë suggests that the parliament can end social unrest as it had done during Luddism. On the contrary, rather than offering an agreement between the workers and the employers as *Shirley* and *North and South* do, *Hard Times* emphasizes the "reconciliation" between individuals and human nature. For this reason, it does not emphasize the gap between the workers and the employers. The point which is discussed in *Hard Times* is that both the working class and the middle class are parts of the capitalist "utilitarian" society. The novel mirrors that "scientific" education should not be applied to personal relations. Unlike most industrial novels, Dickens's text discusses that the victims are neither the working class nor the middle class but the individuals who adopt the industrial ideology. In this sense, *Hard Times* acts against the process to find a solution to the conflict between the employers and labourers by illustrating that both should first isolate themselves from the effect of "utilitarianism." On the other hand, *North and South*, like *Shirley*, calls for reconciliation between the worker and the employer. Through mediating between different social classes, the novel, just like Margaret, tries to solve social problems and reduce the tension in society. Unlike *Hard Times*, both *Shirley* and *North and South* handle the problems more positively since the novels propose a partially adaptation of the "new" industrial structure of the society.

Within the context of the solution the novels offer, the solution *Hard Times* offers can be regarded as the most efficient one since Dickens proposes to change the whole system. Thus, *Hard Times* can be recognized as the novel which includes the ideal solution. However, from a New Historicist point of view Brontë's solution to social and labour problems can be considered as the most realistic one in an industrial society. Moreover, Gaskell's solutions to labour problems are not as efficient as that of Dickens because she does not require any basic changes to the system. However, Gaskell's idea that workers and employers should have a relationship beyond the parent-child model is an evidence that her solution are much more sophisticated than that of Brontë. In short, although Gaskell and Brontë offer more "realistic" solution to social problems in Victorian England, Dickens proposes the ideal solution.

Furthermore, the role of the mediators between the conflicting classes is one of the significant issues observed in the novels. *Shirley*, within the context of lack of communication, includes women characters as mediators between the workers and employers. The reason for this is that women and workers are the "others" of society since both are oppressed and excluded by the patriarchal Victorian ideology. To illustrate, Caroline and Shirley are the ones who can communicate both with the worker William Farren and the employer Robert Moore. Caroline and Shirley act as mediators between the classes because they are oppressed by the patriarchal society as the workers are, and at the same time they belong to the class of the oppressors. This gives them and the reader a more objective point of view to understand social problems. On the other hand, *Hard Times*, unlike most industrial novels, does not include a mediator. The reason for this is that the novel does not suggest or elaborate on the reconciliation between the workers and the employers. However, Sissy can be analyzed as a kind of mediator in the novel because her humanitarian attitude towards the "mechanic" society lessens the "gap" between individuals and human nature. On the other hand, in *North and South*, Margaret is the mediator between Higgins and Thornton. Like Caroline and Shirley, Margaret can communicate both with the workers and with the employers. She steps out of the industrial discourse and perceives the problems between the workers and the mill owners from a humanitarian point of view. Gaskell proposes the middle

class reader to find a common ground with the working class or the “old” aristocracy to prevent social unrest.

Within the context of gender, it is interesting that the attitude towards mediators vary in the novels. While Brontë and Gaskell fictionalize woman mediators to solve social problems, Dickens does not offer an explicit mediator. The reason for this is that the authors aim to reform and portray different aspects of the industrial discourse. As the “product” of women writers, *Shirley* and *North and South* compare the oppression of the workers to the oppression of women. In *Shirley*, Caroline and Shirley are oppressed like William Farren by Robert Moore’s capitalistic aims. As a result of Caroline’s and Shirley’s actions to solve the social conflict in the public world, the novel reshapes the idea that women belong only to the domestic sphere. In *North and South*, for instance, both Margaret and Higgins are oppressed by the patriarchal attitude of Thornton. Margaret interacts between the domestic and public sphere, and between the working class and the middle class to provide for an agreement between Higgins and Thornton. However, *Hard Times* does not parallel women to workers because the novel’s aim is to demonstrate the “mechanization” of all individuals in society. Therefore, rather than comparing women and workers, the novel compares Gradgrind’s children to workers. In this sense, Dickens highlights the corruption and oppression of the individuals in society. Thus, it is interesting that while Brontë and Gaskell, as women writers, bring forward women mediators, Dickens as a male author does not focus on the parallelism between the oppressed women and the workers but on the oppressed individuals in general.

Moreover, the novels expose the contradictions in the industrial discourse. As it is stated in *The Industrial Reformation*, “if the family is to function as either a model or a school of social reform, it must, paradoxically, be separated from and purged of the ills infecting public realm. While trying to obliterate the separation of public and private life, therefore, these novels reinforce that separation” (Gallagher 114-15). Furthermore, Gallagher adds that the master-slave metaphor includes controversies since “working-class radicals maintained on one hand that workers were enslaved and degraded by industrial capitalism, and on the other hand that workers were ready for franchise” (34). *Shirley* advocates the idea that the domestic values should be transferred into the public

sphere to reach an atmosphere of peace. In this sense, *Shirley* reflects the controversy of the industrial discourse, which is that the family model belongs to the domestic sphere and that the family model should be an example for the public sphere. Also, *Hard Times* demonstrates the contradictions in the industrial discourse through the corruption of the family in the industrial society. Furthermore, compared with the magnificent descriptions of the Great Exhibition in 1851, *Hard Times* portrays the contradiction between science and the loss of human nature. In addition, in *North and South* the controversies in enfranchisement are dramatized. These controversies can be detected in *North and South* through Higgins's narration as a "slave," his fight with his friend Boucher, yet his desire for enfranchisement. Thus, the novel reflects the idea that employers and workers should discuss the problems on equal grounds; however, it does not propose total enfranchisement of the workers.

In conclusion, this thesis offers an analysis of the controversies in the industrial discourse examined in *Shirley*, *Hard Times* and *North and South*. The industrial discourse affects the novels and it is affected by them in return. The novels are a part of the discourse and convey the messages through the paradoxes they include according to Gallagher. Comparing the industrial ideology narrated in the novels with the ideology in parliamentary reports, handbills, acts, and private documents, the contribution of the novels to the industrial discourse and their retreat from this ideology is explored. The exploration of industrial ideology socially, economically, and culturally in *Shirley*, *Hard Times* and *North and South* addresses a controversial belief that the problems can be touched upon but the solutions are changeable. As the method of this study suggests, a New Historicists reading of these works of art foreground the fact that these novels can also be evaluated as historical documents which enlighten the early and mid-Victorian period, show the social troubles, depict the transforming notions of the industrial city and therefore produce a source for the revelation of the ideologies and discourses.

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## ÖZGEÇMİŞ

2010 yılında Ege Üniversitesi İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü'nden mezun olan Dilek Menteşe, 2013 yılında başladığı lisansüstü çalışmalarını Ege Üniversitesi'nde aynı bölümde sürdürmektedir. Halen Ege Üniversitesi İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü'nde araştırma görevlisi olarak çalışmakta olan Menteşe, Genova Üniversitesi, Opole Üniversitesi ve Ortabatı Popüler Kültür Birliği/ Ortabatı Amerikan Kültür Birliği (MPCA/ MACA) tarafından düzenlenen konferans ve sempozyumlarda ulusaşırı kimlik ve sömürgecilik sonrası edebiyatı alanlarında sözlü bildiriler sunmuştur.

## ÖZET

Bu çalışmanın amacı endüstri romanları olarak ele alınan Charlotte Brontë'nin *Shirley* (1849), Charles Dickens'in *Hard Times* (1854) ve Elizabeth Gaskell'in *North and South* (1855) eserlerinin Yeni Tarihselci Eleştiri ışığında Viktorya dönemi sorunları ile etkileşimlerini incelemek ve bu eserlerin endüstrileşmenin getirdiği normları nasıl yansıttıklarını ve aynı zamanda nasıl değiştirmeye çalıştıklarını irdelemektir. Sanayi devrimi ile on dokuzuncu yüzyıl İngiltere'sinde birçok toplumsal değişim yaşanmıştır. Bu değişimler Viktorya dönemi İngiltere'sinde sosyal, politik ve ekonomik alanlarda gözlemlenebilir. Sanayileşmenin sonucunda oluşan sorunlar şu şekilde sıralanabilir: orta sınıf ve işçi sınıfı arasındaki uçurumun büyümesi, sınıflar arası eşitsizliğin artması, işçilerin kötü çalışma koşulları, işçi ayaklanmaları, makineleşme, endüstri şehirlerinin bunaltıcı atmosferi, kapitalist ekonominin politik ideolojisi, "özel" ve "kamusal" alan sorunsalı ve kadın-erkek güç dengelerinin işveren-işçi güç dengeleri ile karşılaştırılması, vb. Viktorya döneminde yaşanan ideolojik değişimler endüstriyel ve teknolojik gelişmeleri ileri düzeyde etkilediği gibi kuşkusuz söz konusu dönem edebiyatında da yansımalarını bulmuştur. Sanayileşmenin toplumsal yapı üzerindeki etkisinin giderek artması sonucunda endüstri romanı ortaya çıkmıştır. Viktorya döneminin toplumsal sorunlarını ele alan bu roman türü daha önce değinilmemiş veya görmezden gelinmiş sosyal problemlere dikkat çekmektedir.

Bu çalışmada endüstriyel ve sosyal problemleri başarı ile kurgulayan Charlotte Brontë'nin *Shirley*, Charles Dickens'in *Hard Times* ve Elizabeth Gaskell'in *North and South* eserlerinin 1845-1855 yılları arasında ortaya çıkan sosyal, politik ve ekonomik sorunları inceleme biçimlerine ve dönem koşulları ile etkileşimlerine değinilecektir. Viktorya dönemi değerlerinin toplum ve bireyler üzerindeki etkilerinden bahsedilirken Yeni Tarihselci Eleştiri Yöntemi kullanılacaktır. Metinlerin içinde olduğu sosyokültürel olguları dikkate alan bu yöntem, söz konusu bu üç eserin kaleme alındığı dönemde, sanayileşme sonucunda görülen politik, ekonomik ve toplumsal değişikliklere nasıl ışık tuttuklarının incelenmesinde büyük öneme sahiptir. Aynı zamanda on dokuzuncu yüzyıl İngiltere'sindeki bu sorunların eserleri nasıl şekillendirdikleri ve romanların toplumsal dönüşüme nasıl katkıda buldukları da irdelenmesi gereken diğer çarpıcı sorunlar arasında yer almaktadır.

## ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to analyze Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley* (1849), Charles Dickens's *Hard Times* (1854) and Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* (1855) as industrial novels from a New Historicist perspective to explore the interaction between the novels and the industrial discourse, and to analyze how the novels portray and subvert the industrial discourse. The Victorian era was a period of radical changes in terms of social, political and economic issues. Aligned with the Industrial Revolution in Victorian England, these changes include the growing gap between the middle class and the working class, Chartism, mechanization, the conditions in industrial cities, the capitalist ideology, the clash between the private and the public sphere, the oppressed of the society –women and workers –, etc. To lessen the gap between the classes in an atmosphere of social unrest, industrial novels emerged. Industrial novels, which focused on the social problems of the period, touched upon ignored and slightly-covered issues of the time.

In this study, *Shirley* by Charlotte Brontë, *Hard Times* by Charles Dickens and *North and South* by Elizabeth Gaskell will be analyzed as social and cultural products of the Victorian era in order to enlighten the problems of industrialism between the years 1845-1855. Because texts are regarded as social and cultural products and documents of their time according to New Historicists, it is obvious that these three novels, produced in the Victorian era, represent the industrial ideology appropriately. Reading these novels with a historical awareness makes the novels themselves historical documents, which shed light on the conditions of Victorian England. What will also be highlighted in this study is how these novels dramatize, reflect and try to change the tensions of social and labour relations. Within this context, whether these novels contribute to a social transformation or not is a highly important question which is fundamentally provided in this thesis.