

THE WORLD'S CLASSICS



# ELIZABETH GASKELL

NORTH AND SOUTH



THE WORLD'S CLASSICS



ELIZABETH GASKELL

*North and South*

I



*Edited with an Introduction by*

ANGUS EASSON

Oxford New York

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

*Oxford University Press, Walton Street, Oxford OX2 6DP*

*Oxford New York Toronto*

*Delhi Bombay Calcutta Madras Karachi  
Kuala Lumpur Singapore Hong Kong Tokyo  
Nairobi Dar es Salaam Cape Town  
Melbourne Auckland*

*and associated companies in  
Beirut Berlin Ibadan Nicosia*

*Introduction, Notes, Bibliography © Angus Easson 1973, 1982*

*First published by Oxford University Press 1973*

*First issued, with revisions, as a World's Classics paperback 1982  
Reprinted 1986*

*All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,  
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,  
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without  
the prior permission of Oxford University Press*

*This book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way  
of trade or otherwise, be lent, re-sold, hired out or otherwise circulated  
without the publisher's prior consent in any form of binding or cover  
other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition  
including this condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser*

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

*Gaskell, Elizabeth*

*North and south. — (The World's classics)*

*I. Title II. Easson, Angus*

*823'.8[F] PN4710.N1*

*ISBN 0-19-281595-4*

*Printed in Great Britain by  
Hazell Watson & Viney Limited  
Aylesbury, Bucks*

THE WORLD'S CLASSICS  
NORTH AND SOUTH

MRS GASKELL was born Elizabeth Cleghorn Stevenson in 1810. The daughter of a Unitarian, who was a civil servant and journalist, she was brought up after her mother's death by her aunt in Knutsford, Cheshire, which became the model not only for Cranford but also for Hollingford (in *Wives and Daughters*). In 1832 she married William Gaskell, a Unitarian minister in Manchester, with whom she lived very happily. Her first novel, *Mary Barton*, published in 1848, was immensely popular and brought her to the attention of Charles Dickens, who was looking for contributors to his new periodical, *Household Words*, for which she wrote the famous series of papers subsequently reprinted as *Cranford*. Her later novels include *Ruth* (1853), *North and South* (1854-5), *Sylvia's Lovers* (1863), and *Wives and Daughters* (1864-6). She also wrote many stories and her remarkable *Life of Charlotte Brontë*. She died in 1865.

ANGUS EASSON is Professor of English at the University of Salford. He has edited Dickens's *The Old Curiosity Shop* and Gaskell's *Cousin Phillis and Other Tales* and published a study of Elizabeth Gaskell.

## INTRODUCTION

CHARLES DICKENS published the first episode of *North and South* in the 2 September 1854 issue of *Household Words*. Dickens's own industrial novel, *Hard Times*, had appeared in *Household Words* from 1 April to 12 August 1854. Mrs. Gaskell was well aware, in planning and writing *North and South*, that she was dealing with themes that Dickens himself was using. In the sudden parenthesis of a letter to John Forster she exclaims, 'Oh! I wrote to Mr Dickens, & he says he is not going to have a strike'.<sup>1</sup> The closeness of theme—industrial conditions as a matrix for personal relations—brings out the striking differences between the two works: Dickens's, a moral fable presented in an uneasy mixture of realistic and emblematic characters and situations; Mrs. Gaskell's, a human comedy traced through consistent and developing characters set in conditions the author understood from long personal experience. The successes of Dickens's (the sinister hilarity of Mrs. Sparsit, Harthouse's attempted seduction of Louisa) are things missing from Mrs. Gaskell's work; but she in turn raises questions, leaving us finally with the feeling that they have been explored, and left unanswered only because she is aware of the complexity of the situation she has created.

Writing *North and South* was a painful experience. In the early stages, she admitted she had written not one line for three weeks because of headaches and dizziness, and that 'it is dull'.<sup>2</sup> Later she seemed easier; yet she wryly observed, 'I dare say I shall like my story, when I am a little further from it; at present I can only feel depressed about it, I meant it to have been so much better'.<sup>3</sup> Part of her depression no doubt came with the difficulties of serialization. Although she had contributed 'Lizzie Leigh' to the first numbers of *Household Words* in Spring 1850 and Dickens had published other work by her, including *Cranford*, and wanted more, *North and South* was Mrs. Gaskell's first experience of

<sup>1</sup> *The Letters of Mrs. Gaskell*, ed. J. A. V. Chapple and Arthur Pollard (1966), p. 281, [23 April 1854]; hereafter cited as *Letters*.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters*, pp. 290 and 294, to John Forster, [17 May 1854] and [?June 1854].

<sup>3</sup> *Letters*, p. 323, to (?) Charles Dickens, [?17 December 1854].

serializing a novel continuously. Annette Hopkins in discussing the problem<sup>1</sup> too readily takes the view that *North and South*, 'with all this attention devoted to characters and problems, was by its very nature entirely unsuited to the form of serialisation regularly followed in *Household Words*';<sup>2</sup> too readily, that is, because characters and problems are no necessary difficulty. *Great Expectations*, which Dickens published in *All the Year Round*, might be a good example of a successful serial of this kind. Mrs. Gaskell could not (or would not) fit her novel for serialization; there was no need for her to provide a cliff-hanger at the end of each episode (Dickens himself certainly does not), but the episodes did have to have some kind of shape. Dickens was partly at fault, for he encouraged her, despite her misgivings, to write the novel as a whole and not as a serial; when he wanted to make alterations in proof she firmly refused and when further problems of too much material and printers' miscalculations cropped up, Dickens began to blame the novel itself. The author recognized the problem; she wanted room (Dickens himself remarked when writing *Hard Times* that 'the difficulty of the space is CRUSHING'), and matters were worse as she drew near the end:

in this way of publishing it, I had to write pretty hard without waiting for the happy leisure hours. And then 20 numbers was, I found my allowance; instead of the too scant 22, which I had fancied were included in 'five months'; and at last the story is huddled & hurried up; especially in the rapidity with which the sudden death of Mr Bell, succeeds to the sudden death of Mr Hale. But what could I do? Every page was grudged me, just at last, when I did certainly infringe all the bounds & limits they set me as to quantity.<sup>3</sup>

For the volume publication she was able to add extra material, though still leaving the sense that the novel is somewhat huddled at the end.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a full account of this serialization see A. B. Hopkins, *Elizabeth Gaskell: Her Life and Work* (1952), ch. VIII, and her earlier article which it embodies, 'Dickens and Mrs. Gaskell', *The Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, ix (1946), 357-85.

<sup>2</sup> A. B. Hopkins, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters*, pp. 328-9, to Anna Jameson, [January 1855].

<sup>4</sup> Three chapters (44, 45, 46 in *Household Words*; now II. xix and xxii-xxvi) were expanded and two entirely new chapters (II. xx, xxi) added; Margaret's changing attitude to the south was thus stressed by the visit to Helstone and a necessary interval allowed before Mr. Bell's death.

Still, in January 1855, when *North and South* was concluded, Dickens wrote to Mrs. Gaskell:

Let me congratulate you on the conclusion of your story; not because it is the end of a task to which you had conceived a dislike (for I imagine you to have got the better of that delusion by this time), but because it is the vigorous and powerful accomplishment of an anxious labour.<sup>1</sup>

However Dickens may have felt about Mrs. Gaskell as a contributor, he found her attitudes and approach to society sympathetic. Both writers make a case for social reconciliation and the need for co-operation if man is to live with man. Dickens had stressed the individual in *Hard Times*, a moral fable which is often angularly schematic, often confused, and finally inadequate in offering the fun and games of Sleary's circus as a panacea for society's ills, yet where the pressure of institutions and the danger of the cash-nexus are clearly stated. Louisa and her near disaster are among the most memorable of Dickens's achievements in *Hard Times*, and it is on similar ground that Mrs. Gaskell triumphs: the exploration of an awakened consciousness, receptive to environment, which in Margaret Hale seeks to respond to and expand with new experiences. Margaret's temptations and problems are not those of Louisa Gradgrind, but both writers show their skill in presenting a young girl who must deal virtually unassisted with the unknown.

*North and South* is the more satisfactory novel, because it works more consistently on this plane of psychological drama. The industrial themes are more closely related to Margaret's situation and interests, while there is none of the blurred and rather embarrassing handling of the working classes that proves a critical stumbling-block in Stephen Blackpool. There is no final solution in *North and South*; Mrs. Gaskell does not try to suggest there can be one, except that the good mill-owners must do what they can (and here Margaret's ability to save Thornton at the end perhaps seems too happily fortuitous).<sup>2</sup> *Hard Times* is neatly rounded off,

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by A. B. Hopkins, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, p. 149. Though not always so complimentary about the authoress, Dickens recognized her value as a contributor and was prepared, after all the difficulties of serialization, to offer Mrs. Gaskell more than the £250 he had paid for *North and South* for another novel and to double the sum when she refused.

<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, I would see this ending as more truly connected with the concerns

yet there is no real feeling that the various themes are united; looked at closely it appears a remarkably loose-ended novel. *North and South* has a principal focus in Margaret herself, both intelligent observer and feeling participant. Mrs. Gaskell originally called her novel *Margaret Hale*, the title being changed at Dickens's suggestion, though it is not clear who invented the present name. The original title, though not exciting, does suggest better the interests of the novel. *North and South*, though a good enough name, tends to stress a schematic arrangement of the novel, its juxtapositions, where it is a more complex novel, less easily comprehended than the simpler structure of *Hard Times*. 'Margaret Hale', however inadequate to suggest dramatic conflict or attract the reader's attention, does insist on the central human drama—the mental conflict of a single person, whose fate is bound up with her experience.

The novel's opening is on neutral ground, the London of Edith's home—a luxurious and, for Margaret, inadequate place. Her horizons are not simply the narrow ones of Helstone; the world she has seen is a comfortable if unsatisfactory one. The shallowness of this life is caught in Aunt Shaw's trivial grumbles and Edith's sensual indifference: neither of them is censured, though both are clearly found wanting. London is never to be a place for Margaret to live in; Helstone may no longer be possible and Milton may be oppressive, but Margaret is already clear about London. Mrs. Gaskell points up this situation by the love and eventual proposal of Mr. Lennox. Lennox is a reasonable man, suited to be Margaret's friend, though not her husband; she has a vein of seriousness to which he has no response, as her remarks on the conversation heard at London dinner-parties show. Henry Lennox is the man Margaret could have married, a contrast to Thornton, and yet her rejection of him makes clear that basic dissatisfaction with London which makes her the more responsive

of the novel than does Raymond Williams in *Culture and Society, 1780-1950* (1958), pp. 91-2. Despite Williams's claim, Thornton is not affected by the superior gentleness and humanity of the south (he is affected by Margaret, who, despite the title of the novel, is never the embodied representative of the values of the south), nor is Margaret's money the first practical opportunity to make his humanitarian experiment: he has already started with the workers' kitchen, and while Margaret's legacy allows him to return to business, I do not think we are to see Thornton as a bankrupt patronized by her. The legacy indeed is convenient yet it will help Thornton, not to start, but to continue.

to the north. Lennox takes refuge in rueful self-banter when refused and Margaret cannot find an answer:

The whole tone of it annoyed her. It seemed to touch on and call out all the points of difference which had often repelled her in him; while yet he was the pleasantest man, the most sympathising friend, the person of all others who understood her best in Harley Street.<sup>1</sup>

The London section and Lennox's proposal are not a false start, but the accumulation of all that Margaret will have to give up, as she eventually has to give up Helstone. The dream of the south (a dream qualified by her own realism in opposing Lennox's view of Helstone as a place where roses bloom all the year) is destroyed for her by her own insistence on the realities of the place: an insistence called from her by her experience of the north. She champions the north against Bessy Higgins's delusive vision, against Nicholas's desire to move to better conditions in the south; and when she returns to Helstone, she finds the dream destroyed, with the jarrings of the new incumbent's family and with the ignorant brutality of the cat-roasting anecdote. The opening scenes of the novel suggest that Margaret does not need the forms and ceremonies of the idle well-to-do even while suggesting that she will have to adapt herself when she meets the north.<sup>2</sup> Still, her reactions to situations make it clear that she is capable of responding to people as people and not simply as concepts. Although Margaret defends Milton, sight-unseen, the south has been evoked too sharply for its impression to be lost as we move north: the initial impression of Milton, in contrast, is gloomy and forbidding, promising little:

For several miles before they reached Milton, they saw a deep lead-coloured cloud hanging over the horizon in the direction in which it lay. It was all the darker from contrast with the pale gray-blue of the wintry sky. . . . Quick they were whirled over long, straight, hopeless streets of regularly-built houses, all small and of brick. Here and there a great oblong many-windowed factory stood up, like a hen among her chickens, puffing out black 'unparliamentary' smoke, and sufficiently accounting for the cloud which Margaret had taken to foretell rain.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> She shows, for instance, a certain contempt for trades-people, though partly this springs from her wish that her mother should be content with her father's living; Mrs. Hale's praise of trades-people is in turn prompted by her hope that Margaret would attract one of their sons. In Milton, amongst trades-people, the position is reversed.

<sup>3</sup> p. 59.

This first impression is of scenery and physical conditions; grim enough, but, Margaret is to learn, inhabited by human beings who respond and evoke response. The human reaction is the most important thing, for if people are not human they are nothing. Even Mrs. Hale can be shown rising to the occasion: after her coldness when Margaret reveals her husband's decision to leave Helstone, she sees him, and

that look of despondent uncertainty, of mental and bodily languor, touched his wife's heart. She went to him, and threw herself on his breast, crying out:—

'Oh! Richard, Richard, you should have told me sooner!'<sup>1</sup>

In its touching of the deeper responses, of springs dried during the custom of marriage yet still capable of reopening as love makes new demands, the insight is comparable with Mrs. Bulstrode's reconciliation to her husband in *Middlemarch*. For whether in north or south, Mrs. Gaskell insists on human reactions before schematic responses, on the spirit and not the letter. The human situation is dealt with in *North and South*, a situation which does not lie in one geographical area rather than another; Margaret is brought to defend the north when Bessy longs for the south; so that the astonished Bessy comments:

'I thought yo' were so taken wi' the ways of the South country.'

'So I am,' said Margaret, smiling a little, as she found herself thus caught. 'I only mean, Bessy, there's good and bad in everything in this world; and as you felt the bad up here, I thought it was but fair you should know the bad down there.'<sup>2</sup>

When even Nicholas, who has heard of the southerners as spiritless men, 'welly clemmed to death', thinks in his desperation of going there for work, he is dissuaded by Margaret, who shows the advantages of the north, butcher's-meat and all (for Mrs. Gaskell does not deny the necessary satisfactions; one of Thornton's great successes is helping to establish the workmen's canteen). In the end, the novel does not so much establish the polarity of North and South, separate entities with separate problems, as insist that we must deal with the problems to hand, which are as real in one area as another.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> Not only does Margaret dissuade Higgins from going south by showing its bad features, she also finds plenty of social work to do in London when she returns to

When Mrs. Gaskell started writing fiction with *Mary Barton*, she had a clear social purpose: much of what makes that first work technically poor, its burning need to *tell* of conditions in Manchester in the 1840s, is what ensures its interest still as a living piece of work. We may feel it is clumsy, even exaggerated, but cannot deny the truth of the passion behind it. The social novel developed as a genre of the late '40s and early '50s—in Disraeli's *Sybil* (1845), Kingsley's *Yeast* (1851), and above all in *Hard Times* and *North and South*. Disparate though the four writers may seem, they were all convinced that the nation was split (Disraeli's label, The Two Nations, has stuck) and that the only solution, apart from revolution, lay at the level of personal reconciliation. Man must come to terms with man; capital and labour were complementary, but could only work together if masters were prepared to take the men into their confidence—and the men prepared to trust the masters. Hence came Dickens's hatred of the Union spokesman, Slackbridge, who for some undefined end of his own attempts to whip up the essentially honest men against the masters (against, we note nowadays, masters like Bounderby): hence also Mrs. Gaskell's slight sense of dismay that *Mary Barton* may have fomented discontent as well as exposing hardship and injustice. *North and South* in its treatment of social themes is far more balanced than *Mary Barton*, indeed insists upon the debate, and finds no facile solution, such as there had been in Carson's conversion and reconciliation at John Barton's death-bed. The novel is open-ended in this respect; Thornton is a good master, Higgins a good worker, and so they can co-operate. We are aware though that there are bad of both; it is a realism set against the formalism of the roles in *Hard Times*.

The debate, provoked by Margaret's involvement with industrial life and personal contact with those who live in Milton, begins with Miss Hale's encounter with Nicholas Higgins and Bessy; an impulsive generous action leads to an acquaintance which, Margaret finds, demands adjustment on her part. She is no longer the vicar's daughter visiting the parish poor. She has no clear social role and Higgins has no conception that she might have. From the personal life of the Higginses she is drawn to the Union and labour difficulties. Mrs. Gaskell particularly concentrates these concerns live with Aunt Shaw. After all, part of the novel's purpose is to reconcile, not separate, whether at a social or geographical level.

in Boucher, unattractive yet a man. Boucher is weak, someone unable to bear hardships for the good of his fellow workmen, who stirs up a riot; and yet he dies. He is a poor workman, unlike Higgins, who effectually accepts Thornton's values though not Thornton's wage-level. Margaret can feel for Boucher and see him as a man trapped, in a real situation set against the ideal of the Union that Mr. Hale sees, which 'would be beautiful, glorious—it would be Christianity itself—if it were but for an end which affected the good of all, instead of that merely of one class as opposed to another.' Mrs. Gaskell sets up the dramatic situation carefully; Boucher, tormented by his family's need, is fiercely anti-Union, and when he is sent to Coventry Higgins justifies the savagery of such methods. Margaret says Higgins and the Union have made Boucher what he is; and he is brought in, a suicide, grotesquely dyed by the stream's industrial filth, with Higgins's incredulous cry: 'It's not John Boucher? He had na spunk enough.' We see what Boucher has been made; courage has only been misdirected to his death. It is a carefully contrived scene, an answer to the debate; almost too pat, but it succeeds, unlike some other dramatic moments in the novel (the coincidental appearance of Frederick and Leonards and Thornton at the railway station, for instance), since Boucher's plight has provoked the debate, and the very conditions being discussed have forced Boucher's fate upon him. Yet there is no sudden conversion on Higgins's part; he does not curse the Union. Rather, he works for Boucher's family and gains Thornton's individual interest. The situation is too complex for any easy solution; like Stephen Blackpool, who mutters that 'Aw's a muddle', Higgins finds that 'th' world is in a confusion that passes me or any other man to understand', but in his practical solution there is none of the desperate futility of Stephen and none of the anger Mrs. Gaskell had felt earlier.<sup>1</sup>

While being more realistic than Dickens, Mrs. Gaskell is also perhaps more optimistic. Fruitful debate cannot exist in anger, and Mrs. Gaskell is careful to balance Higgins's view of the Union and his reaction to Boucher with Thornton's defence of the north and industrialism. His is the pride of Tennyson in twenty years of Europe against a cycle of Cathay. There are no melancholy-mad elephants in Thornton's mills: 'I won't deny that I am proud of

<sup>1</sup> Her anger is evident, for instance, in John Barton's description of the humiliation when the workingmen present their petition in London (*Mary Barton*, ch. 9).

belonging to a town . . . the necessities of which give birth to such grandeur of conception.' And to Margaret's angry outburst, 'You do not know the South', Thornton demands, 'And may I say you do not know the North?' There is here none of the crude directness of *Hard Times*, a product of Dickens's sketchy knowledge of his Coketown. Margaret and Thornton confront one another; perhaps the debate is never quite satisfactorily worked into the texture of the novel, but it does find its resolution in the developing relationship of Margaret and Thornton. If they begin as standing in some sort for North and South, they end by merging to form an entity.

The industrial and personal issues of the novel are held together in Thornton and Margaret. Where Dickens separates the emotional life of Sissy and Louisa from the world of Slackbridge and industrial agitation, preferring also to present his points in scenes of action, Mrs. Gaskell advances character and social interests by a developing train of reactions, each meeting extending itself into meditation and analysed development. Although Margaret's is established as the point of view from which to follow events, she still has to be schooled in the facts of Milton life, just as Thornton has to be schooled by her in the demands of the heart. These demands meet most clearly in the attack on the mill, when Margaret's demands on herself make the same demands of Thornton, demands to which he responds. Margaret insists that the imported Irish hands be protected, and when Thornton meets this wish she comes to see that he has the same need for protection. Thornton loves her for it, and though she cannot yet admit to loving him, he becomes a standard; so that when she lies to save Frederick it is in his eyes that she feels degraded. Their relations after this are a gradual process of finding one another, a process beset by difficulties yet nonetheless certain for that. The casual mention of a gentleman's visit to Helstone falls into place when Thornton shows Margaret the rose from the old home. Margaret, always set strong for life, now learns that she can fulfill herself in one particular life and the pair accept the truth about each other, despite what the world, personified by Aunt Shaw and Mrs. Thornton, may have to say about the matter.

Estimates of the novel have differed, though most critics from Thomas Secombe to Barbara Hardy have felt the personal rather than the political and social themes to be best handled. Clement Shorter quotes an opinion that it is 'one of the finest books in

modern English fiction', though in 1960 Miriam Allott was not even prepared to place it among Mrs. Gaskell's four best works. Since 1960 the work has found its adherents: Edgar Wright saw it as a great advance in the novelist's progress, while Arthur Pollard has entered a plea for the resolution. One of the most recent essays, by Barbara Hardy, is a perceptive and eloquent case for Mrs. Gaskell as a whole and includes a skilful presentation of the merits of *North and South*, particularly its penetrating psychology.<sup>1</sup> The critical stress on the roles of Margaret and Thornton is, I think, right, for while they depend for their existence upon the social themes, it is their tentative approaches and their reconciliation in love that make *North and South* a great novel.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Seccombe, 'Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell', *The Bookman*, September 1910; for the others, see the Select Bibliography, pp. xxi-xii below.

## NOTE ON THE TEXT

*North and South* was serialized weekly in *Household Words* (2 September 1854 to 27 January 1855) and then issued in 2 volumes in 1855, the text differing substantially from the serial issue; a second, reset and corrected edition followed in the same year. The present edition is printed from the British Museum copy of the first volume issue, collated with the second edition. The first edition repeated (in II. xxii) two paragraphs from II. xix; these were omitted in the second edition and a new passage printed at the end of II. xxiii to make the pagination the same in both editions; the repeated passages are omitted and the additional paragraph is incorporated in this edition. A number of other changes (some obviously corrections and revisions; others clearly errors) were made in the second edition; the text of the first edition seems to have been sensibly but not thoroughly corrected for the second edition. Of nearly 240 variant readings between the two texts (mostly minor) I have retained 80 from the first edition and accepted 159 from the second edition; nearly 50 obvious errors have been silently corrected.

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

*North and South* was published in New York by Harper & Brothers, 1855; and included in the Tauchnitz Collection of British Authors, vol. 333 (Leipzig, 1855), set up from the second edition. A French translation 'avec l'Authorisation de l'Auteur' by Mmes. Loreau and H. de l'Espine appeared in 1859 (Paris), from a corrected copy of the first edition. The novel was reprinted several times by Chapman and Hall (the original English publishers); it is difficult to be certain of the number of editions in the author's lifetime. A copy seen (Manchester Public Library) dated 1859, has 'Third Edition' on the cover, but 'Fourth Edition' on the title page, and this, like all editions and reprints after the second edition, was printed from the first edition with corrections (i.e. omitting the repeated paragraphs, but not including the extra paragraph); the only exception to this, previous to the present edition, is Dorothy Collin's (Penguin, 1970). Other reprints are by Smith, Elder and Co., John Lehmann (The Chiltern Library), and Dent (Everyman's Library).

COLLECTED EDITIONS. *The Works of Mrs. Gaskell*, edited and introduced by A. W. Ward, 8 vols. (The Knutsford edition, Smith, Elder, 1906, vol. iv); *The Novels and Tales of Mrs. Gaskell*, edited and introduced by Clement Shorter, 11 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1906-1919; vol. iv, 1908).

BIBLIOGRAPHY. The Gaskell chapter in the *New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, vol. 3, ed. George Watson (1969), is by Miriam Allott. Earlier contributions are by Clark S. Northrup in Gerald DeWitt Sanders, *Elizabeth Gaskell* (Cornell Studies in English, no. 14, New Haven/London, 1929) and A. Stanton Whitfield, *Mrs. Gaskell* (1929); these cover first publication, contemporary reviews, and the earlier criticism. Jeffrey Welch, *Elizabeth Gaskell: An Annotated Bibliography 1929-1975* (New York/London, 1977) deliberately picks up from Northrup, while Robert L. Selig, *Elizabeth Gaskell: A Reference Guide* (Boston, Mass., 1977) covers writings about Gaskell, 1848-1974. Two excellent surveys, both by James D. Barry, appear in *Victorian Fiction: A Research Guide*, ed. Lionel Stevenson (Cambridge, Mass., 1964) and *Victorian Fiction: A Second Guide to Research*, ed. George H. Ford (New York, 1978); between them they cover work up to 1974. See also the books in the next section.

BIOGRAPHY, BACKGROUND AND CRITICISM. *The Letters of Mrs. Gaskell*, ed. J.A.V. Chapple and Arthur Pollard (Manchester, 1966) are

## A CHRONOLOGY OF ELIZABETH GASKELL

		<i>Age</i>
1810	Elizabeth Cleghorn Stevenson, second surviving child of William Stevenson and Elizabeth Holland, born in Chelsea 29 September	
1811	(November) After her mother's death, Elizabeth is taken to Knutsford to live with her Aunt Hannah Lumb	1
1822-7	Attends School at Misses Byerley's in Warwick and Stratford on Avon	12-16
1828-9	Her elder brother, John Stevenson (b. 1799), disappears while on a voyage to India, Elizabeth goes to Chelsea to live with her father and stepmother	17-20
1829	(22 March) Elizabeth's father dies; she goes to Newcastle upon Tyne, to the home of the Revd. William Turner	18-19
1831	Spends much of this year in Edinburgh with Mr Turner's daughter. Visits Manchester	20-1
1832	(30 August) Marries the Revd. William Gaskell, assistant Minister at Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, at St John's Parish Church, Knutsford. They live at 14 Dover Street, Manchester	21
1833	Her first child, a daughter, born dead	22
1834	Her second daughter, Marianne, born	23
1837	A poem, 'Sketches among the Poor', by Mr and Mrs Gaskell, appears in <i>Blackwood's Magazine</i> (January). Her third daughter, Margaret Emily (Meta), born. Mrs Hannah Lumb dies	26
1840	Her description of Clopton Hall included by William Howitt in <i>Visits to Remarkable Places</i>	30
1841	Mr and Mrs Gaskell visit the Continent, touring the Rhine country	30-1
1842	Her fourth daughter, Florence Elizabeth, born. The family move to 121 Upper Rumford Street, Manchester	31-2
1844	Her only son, William, born; dies of scarlet fever at Festiniog, 1845	33-4
1846	Her fifth daughter, Julia Bradford, born	35
1847	'Libbie Marsh's Three Eras' published in <i>Howitt's Journal</i>	36
1848	'Christmas Storms and Sunshine' in <i>Howitt's Journal</i> . Her first novel, <i>Mary Barton</i> , published	37-8