# Poetry and Fiction from the Friendly Societies 

1860-1900

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#### Abstract

This thesis considers a selection of poetry and fiction written by members of England's friendly societies which appeared in various publications from 1860 to 1900. While offering opportunities for sociability, friendly societies were primarily insurance clubs which provided financial support for working people in times of need. Since the movement constituted the largest form of working-class voluntary associations in Britain during the nineteenth century, the writers' representations of the experiences and concerns of working people are significant documents of a distinct working-class group within Victorian society. Whereas the societies' public discourse tended to be guarded about their relations with the middle-classes, the writers looked at here indicate a tension between the friendly societies, the middle classes, and government agencies.

Despite the prominent role which the friendly society movement played in key aspects of working-class lives, ${ }^{1}$ it is absent from many histories of the nineteenth century. As literary historian, Brian Maidment, notes, there is a lack of attention to writing by working people which confronts the ways in which they were subjected to middle-class dependence, surveillance, and interference. ${ }^{2}$ In the context of the friendly societies' drive for autonomy from middle-class patronage and rule during this period, the compositions express a sense of collective working-class identity while recognising the interdependence of the classes. These coexisting impulses, for working-class autonomy and for social integration, are often a creative tension in the stories and poems which appropriate both high and popular literary forms and resonate with diverse cultural allusions.

The structure of the thesis is designed to illustrate how the works can be read both for their interest as imaginative compositions by a group of largely self-taught writers, and for the heightened political awareness of the friendly societies which did not permit open references to politics in their meetings or non-fiction journal articles. The Introduction is followed by a chapter on the history and ethos of the friendly societies. Chapters 2 and 3 look at the fiction through the themes of social relations, medicine and health. Chapter 4 is on poetry which demonstrates ambivalent, complex or dissatisfied relationships to labour and the proximity of death in the members' lives. The final chapter brings together some of the protest poetry where the rousing rhetoric and unashamed polemic accentuate how the writers turned to literary forms in order to foster the collective spirit of mutual support and solidarity, which were the foundations of the friendly societies.


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## PREFACE

The primary aim of this thesis is to consider the significance of the creative writing by members of the friendly society movement during the period 1860 to 1900. This movement constituted the largest form of working-class self-help in Britain during the nineteenth century and has been described as, 'one of the routines of working-class life'. ${ }^{1}$ The movement acted as fictive kin for working people, offering 'social networks, conviviality, and personal and financial support at times of life crisis. ${ }^{2}$ However, despite the prominent role which these organisations played in the lives of working people, there has been little scholarship on the history of the movement in forty years. ${ }^{3}$

Alongside day to day notices, information on Government legislation, financial statements, obituaries and reports from the various branches (known as 'courts' or 'lodges'), the publications considered here contain stories and poems submitted by members. Thus, it seemed to me that these publications were significant in that they offered members the opportunity to share their creative writing with a readership drawn not only from their own class, but from a collective which represented a considerable proportion of the workforce during the period. Because of the cultural and literary importance of these publications, I

[^1]wanted to find out how members of this influential group represented themselves and their social relations in their creative writing.

Given the absence of literary scholarship, the few books on the social history of the organisations usefully inform my discussions. ${ }^{4}$ I puzzled over two of social historian Trygve Tholfsen's observations which seemed to sit uneasily together. On the one hand he comments that the fiction in the friendly society journals tended to 'sentimentalise social reality and to romanticise relations between employers and employees. ${ }^{5}$ On the other hand, he also states that 'despite their total commitment to consensus values, the friendly societies had by no means abdicated their critical faculties or abandoned their quest for genuine independence ${ }^{9}$ and that the societies 'had no trouble distinguishing between the professions of the middle classes and their actual behaviour and attitudes. ${ }^{7}$ Thus, a further question I wanted to answer was, did this source of fiction merely support consensus values, as Tholfsen suggests, and was the writing solely a tool to entertain and retain readers?

My investigation of this aspect of the writing is given added impetus by Cordery's recent research which identifies how the friendly societies were 'politically active, ${ }^{8}$ despite their own written rules which banned discussion of politics from their meetings. He notes how many members of the friendly societies were also members of radical working-class organisations, how they funded radical printers and publishers such as Joshua Hobson, printer of the

[^2]Chartist Northern Star and the Owenite New Moral World, at various times, and openly supported the dock workers' strike at the end of the century. Indeed, throughout the nineteenth century, trade unions registered as friendly societies at particular times in order to evade government attention. I also felt that this interrelation of the friendly societies and some trade unions offered the opportunity to look at work by friendly society writers who were also members of a trade union, where this connection was obvious.

Another impetus for this project came from a comment by literary historian, Brian Maidment. Noting studies of working-class writing, he observes that 'none of these studies [...] have tried to read self-taught writers in relation to a persistent middle-class interest in them as an aspect of wider political and social development - especially as an aspect of class awareness. ${ }^{9}$

Thus, given that literature has historically been a vehicle for mobilising political thought, or for constructing acquiescence to its overt or covert propaganda, the fiction and poetry from the societies' publications would seem to offer the unique opportunity to consider the members' creative writing for their expressions of their shared, collective experience during this period. My project sets out to open up debates on this body of work.

[^3]
## Introduction

# '..the friendly societies were an authentic expression of a working-class subculture... ${ }^{1}$ 

Fiction and poetry written by members of the friendly society movement regularly appeared in various publications, ${ }^{2}$ often alongside the day to day administrative, social and financial affairs of the organisations. While the imaginative qualities of the stories and poems primarily sought to entertain members, as a diversion from the dreadful conditions in which many lived and worked, some characterisations and representations may be read as the expression of the writers' social and cultural experiences. These may suggest a tension between preserving a class distinctiveness and bridging class divisions, while representing shared human experiences. At times, the choice of forms, images and references appears to be politically charged. However, the most cohering feature of the work is the sense of the collective spirit which the societies were designed to foster. Hence, the most satisfying context for reading their work is as a cultural record of this group.

[^4]Since the friendly societies can be perceived as the most authentic and circumscribed body of working people, the writing can contribute to the developing category of working-class literature in the nineteenth century.

The friendly society movement and its publications are discussed in more depth in Chapter 1. However, in order to place the writing in context, the social and political climate of the period needs to be understood, as does the movement's involvement in securing a respectable reputation for working people in the face of much suspicion of their class more generally.

The friendly societies grew out of providing mutual insurance for members in return for regular payments. It became the largest self-help organisation during the nineteenth century and its membership was predominantly made up of those working men 'who insisted that all men should be treated equally regardless of class. ${ }^{3}$ The movement developed in response to the worst effects of industrialisation and the excesses of capitalism, amid the fluctuating economies of the nineteenth century. Working people joined the friendly societies in order to make financial provision for themselves in times of need, with the opportunity of taking part in regular socialising at club nights. Certainly, the strongest characteristic of these organisations appears to have been that of cooperation, with individualism taking second place. Alan Kidd describes the movement as 'a significant community of interest in Victorian society, ${ }^{4}$ noting that its membership 'dwarfed' the number of people receiving state welfare

[^5]through the Poor Law or receiving support from voluntary charities. Yet, the reasons for the growth of the movement cannot be wholly attributed to the financial support it provided. Kidd argues that the growth of membership can be understood more profitably by looking for a political explanation, rather than an economic one. ${ }^{5}$ Not only did the societies enable working men to maintain a degree of financial independence, but as a collective, membership also offered 'some resistance to ideological and social dominations by the middle-class. ${ }^{6}$

This middle-class domination surfaced in varying forms. For instance, many mid-Victorians of all classes supported a consensus to improve the urban community in all aspects of life, and to instill in the individual, 'moral and intellectual improvement. ${ }^{7}$ However, there was disagreement over what constituted 'improvement', for this emerged with class-specific interpretations. The pervasive middle-class hegemony intended that 'improvement' should parallel social stratification, that the working classes should accept their inferior status in all aspects of their lives. ${ }^{8}$ Margaret Beetham describes how many of the century's magazines and periodicals sought to 'improve' and inculcate workers with bourgeois values, and she suggests that through them, and their representations of social relations, grew 'the extremely rapid formulation of a precise middle-class ideology for describing working-class cultural activity. ${ }^{9}$ However, Tholfsen observes that working men were:

[^6]quite aware of the operation of the class system and the workingclass subculture embodied a continuing effort to resist the imposition of a narrowly middle-class version of shared ideals... ${ }^{10}$

Thus, the climate of social cohesion which ostensibly pervaded much midVictorian thinking was frequently fraught with conflict between social classes. ${ }^{11}$ Indeed, some efforts to dictate what form any 'improvement' of working-class lives should take focused on the area of literacy. Although levels of literacy increased during the second half of the century, ${ }^{12}$ the majority of working people, and hence, friendly society members, were self-taught, and had received little or no formal education beyond the age of twelve. Jonathan Rose notes how some educated people 'found something profoundly menacing in the efforts of working people to educate themselves and write for themselves., ${ }^{13}$ Arguing that 'for centuries autodidacts had struggled to assume direction of their own intellectual lives, ${ }^{, 14}$ Rose suggests that the hierarchy of the British class structure:
rested on the presumption that the lower orders lacked the moral and mental equipment necessary to play a governing role in society. By discrediting that assumption, autodidacts demolished justifications of privilege. ${ }^{15}$

Friendly society members were well aware of the dominant perception of their intellect, and it was much debated within their journals. One article, in the

[^7]Foresters' Miscellany, compares the intellectual ability of university-educated scholars to that of fellow members, 'the minnows in the ocean of thought': ${ }^{16}$
there is just the same difference between us and a thoro 'bred university scholar as there is between the pig which pokes cabbage-stumps out of the gutter in a miscellaneous and precarious fashion, and the porker which is regularly fed in its own stye... ${ }^{17}$

This writer's comparison of the self-educated with university educated scholars, demonstrates the members' engagement with contemporary debates, and the societies' use of their publications as forums for its members.

While some members of the middle classes supported the movement for increasing the literacy levels of working people, many others treated it as a serious threat to their own social position. Rose suggests that this contest 'might have been the most crucial arena of the class struggle. ${ }^{18}$ A portion of the perceived threat stemmed from the fear that increased levels of literacy meant that working people were able to access information, which in turn promoted discussion and thought, leading to their participation in democracy; ${ }^{19}$ hence, the link between the acquisition of literacy and the acquisition of political awareness.

Even suspicion of political activity gave added impetus to the investigations of working-class organisations. Thus the friendly society movement, along with trade unions, was subject to scrutiny at times of political unrest, such as when working-class independence became a national political issue during the 1860s and 1870s. Trade union militancy, during the 'Sheffield Outrages' of 1867,

[^8]inspired renewed interest in workers' organisations, as did pressure for political reform, culminating in the passage of the 1867 Reform Act which extended the franchise to all rate-paying householders. Although eighty per cent of the population was classified as 'working-class' during the last half of the nineteenth century, the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884 had failed to create a democracy. ${ }^{20}$ However, the period did see the formation of mass party politics, although largely for men, and the people did acquire a sense of political identity.

For the friendly societies, this political identity was modelled by weaving a path between outward conformity and compliance to the social order, and supporting many members who were actively involved in radical working-class organisations. Earlier, during the Chartist period, the friendly societies organised local strike action by levying members for additional contributions to support families of members who were on strike. It has been suggested that 'most of the male Chartists of Halifax were Oddfellows, ${ }^{, 21}$ and that the Oddfellows made funds available to a group of Owenites in Hampshire, and also to miners on strike in Yorkshire. ${ }^{22}$ Oddfellows also funded radical printers and publishers, such as Joshua Hobson, printer of the Chartist Northern Star and the Owenite New Moral World at various times. Furthermore, trade unions were continuing to register as friendly societies in order to evade Government attention. Indeed, from the eighteenth through to the early nineteenth century, when colliers' attempts to form trade unions were defeated by colliery owners who refused to recognise them, the

[^9]colliers formed and met as friendly societies in order to avoid the legislation of the Combination Acts. ${ }^{23}$ In central Lancashire alone in the early part of the nineteenth century, there were some twenty-one miners' 'friendly societies'. Another famous example of militant workers using friendly society status to avoid censure were the 'Tolpuddle Martyrs', who registered themselves as the Friendly Society of Agricultural Laborers in 1834. These examples are useful as they illustrate the point that while publicly the societies' discourse served to 'protect and enhance their respectable status, ${ }^{, 24}$ some branches maintained and supported connections with radical working-class organisations throughout the whole of the nineteenth century, while the movement was united in openly supporting dock workers in the late 1890s. This suggests that the societies were a resource for the working classes, to be used according to changing circumstances. Being a member of a friendly society did not preclude membership of overtly radical organisations.

Some of the writing considered in this project is by individuals who were members of both a friendly society and a trade union. Many friendly societies were formed by trade unions in times of particular hardship, in order to provide financial support to their members. For example, there were many hosiery and garment trade unions which were often virtually indistinguishable at a local level from neighbouring friendly societies. Details of specific friendly society writers who had links with trade unions, are given with their biographical details in Appendix II. However, despite this interconnectedness, the focus of this project is

[^10]upon writing from the friendly societies and not the trade union movement. Any links with trade unions is noted primarily as an alert to possible readings of their work.

Political uncertainty was not the only concern for the societies' members during the period. Despite the drive to bring social and environmental factors like health and housing to the fore during the 1880 s, the gulf between the rich and the poor deepened as the century progressed. Social commentator and writer, Francis Peek, criticised the failure to relieve poverty during recurring depressions. Citing demonstrations of lawlessness, Peek deemed it unsurprising that 'preachers of anarchy find an attentive audience when they denounce modern government as tyranny, and the rulers of the state as oppressors of the poor. ${ }^{25}$ In 1886, campaigner for the poor, Samuel Barnett, observed that poverty in London was increasing, and drew attention to the appalling living conditions of the poor, noting how their possessions are more often at the pawnbrokers than in the home. ${ }^{26}$ He commented that against this backdrop, the preoccupation with fashionable luxury and national wealth appeared 'but cruel satire., ${ }^{27}$

In some spheres, it was feared that the franchise extension would be followed by the proletarianisation of national political culture. The 1880s also saw the United Kingdom's politics transposed into politics of Empire, whereby the British workforce came to be viewed as the raw material for a new imperial race. Both institutions and social structures came under public scrutiny at this time.

[^11]As members of the workforce, it is pertinent that not only were the writers of the friendly societies predominantly working-class, but their intended audience was too. This is in contrast to much so called 'working-class' fiction, which was written by middle-class novelists and largely aimed at a middle-class audience. As Gill Davis states:
[f]or most writers, the 'discovery' of the East End [of London] was synonymous with the 'problem' of the East End and to be recorded in an 'objective' mode: statistics, factual description, literary naturalism, first-hand accounts of journeys into the lower depths, and so on. [...] This serves the ideological purpose of imposing meaning and reassuring the middle-class reader - drawing the curtain back, then presenting a knowable image; knowable through statistics of wages and living conditions, or through individual fictional types. ${ }^{28}$

Supporting Davis's analysis, Gary Day observes that the representation of the working classes found in many middle-class novels and stories depicts working people as passive victims, where if justice is achieved, it is by 'fortuitous events' rather than by direct action by working-class individuals. ${ }^{29}$ Day also identifies how the human status of the working classes was even less in evidence in the factory than outside it. ${ }^{30}$ Consequently, since the majority of the friendly society writers were themselves working-class, and were also writing for a working-class audience, their representations of their own class, if not all classes, might reasonably offer alternative perspectives. There is a considerable body of critical work drawn from other sources of writing by working people and these may

[^12]usefully inform any discussion. Notably, Alan Kidd and K.W. Roberts ${ }^{31}$ have examined the representation of the working classes in Victorian fiction and its wider relation to cultural production and social policy. Gustav Klaus's ${ }^{32}$ edited collection of essays considers the relationship between socialist and mainstream fictions. While the latter's primary focus is upon bound novels, hence more expensive and less accessible to many working people, Jack Mitchell ${ }^{33}$ argues for the importance of fiction's entertainment value in the socialist press, a medium more readily afforded by its intended audience. Mitchell also remarks on the powerful role that fiction played in promoting the socialist movement in the press. William Christmas ${ }^{34}$ and Brian Maidment ${ }^{35}$ have also explored the output of working-class poets, although Maidment prioritises the literary elements of the self-taught tradition, over a more political or economic interpretation.

Certainly, the difficulties of self-education cannot be under-estimated. Martha Vicinus recognises that one of the major difficulties faced by working people was to combine literary enthusiasm with political beliefs in a manner attractive to their less educated peers. ${ }^{36}$ Yet, the lack of leisure time often seemed insurmountable, and working-class autobiographies describe how the desire to

[^13]read or write meant foregoing meals and walking many miles to buy a book. ${ }^{37}$ Often there was much opposition within the family to any literary pursuit, since time spent in reading or writing ultimately cost money in one form or another. The opposition was sometimes simply because a literary career was considered unsuitable and inappropriate for a working person. ${ }^{38}$

The stories being considered in this thesis have been selected because they appear to construct alternative representations of working people and their lives, to those of the dominant bourgeois ideology. For example, the interrelation and interdependence of one social class upon another is a much mooted theme and perhaps suggests that for these writers, social and economic dependence spans class barriers. Furthermore, rather than create a revolutionary genre, or simply explore fictive worlds which ultimately maintain the status quo, the fiction reworks the social order in one or more areas, whereby protagonists or themes are used to frame and criticise the unequal relations between social groups, emphasising the hierarchical relations existing between the middle and the working classes. Rather than simply offer an economic critique of the capitalist society, the writing overall seeks to create a coherent unified political group through the writers' visions of a more equal, and moral, social order. This suggests that the writers sought to consolidate the political unity of their organisations as centre to their readers, by reinforcing their specific doctrines,

[^14]without attracting censure. For example, both Keedy Kingston's and Charles Marshall's narratives discussed in Chapter 2 weave a course between an anticapitalist discourse and one which depicts more equal social relations; but within the existing stratifications of society, rather than as a socialist polemic. As Engels observes:

> A socialist-based novel fully achieves its purpose [...] if by conscientiously describing the real mutual relations, breaking down conventional illusions about them, it shatters the optimism of the bourgeois world, instils doubt as to the eternal character of the existing order, although the author does not offer any definite solution or does not even line up openly on any particular side. ${ }^{39}$

Accordingly, the fiction may be described as socialist-based, in that the writers do not depict socialism as a desired outcome. Like stories found in the contemporary socialist press, some of the writing from the friendly societies, but by no means all of it, had the potential to inform and raise the consciousness of the working-class reader, to reinforce the ideology of the movement, and to unite and mobilise members behind the banner of the organisation, in a form that was both instructive and entertaining.

Of course, any semblance of a unified vision articulated by the writers may first express the politics of the friendly societies, rather than be representative of the concerns of working people as a whole. This is not to suggest that friendly society members felt in any way apart from their own class, more that the ideals they explored within their writing can be readily traced back to their collective identity, rather than be ascribed to their class per se. Additionally, to homogenise

[^15]the sentiments of the friendly society writers with the remainder of the working classes would require too many presumptions of agency on a small, and ultimately distinct, cohort. Even in the process of reclaiming the writing of the friendly societies as a group, caution must be exercised with regard to homogenisation and generalisation. ${ }^{40}$

To introduce all of the creative writing found within the friendly society publications without a specific purpose would prove a wide and perhaps unmanageable project. This analysis of members' writing primarily investigates three areas of interest and concern to the movement which were intrinsic both to their survival as organisations and to the interests of individual members. These three areas are social relations, healthcare and labour.

The importance of social relations stems from the societies' involvement with both the middle classes and the working classes during the period of this thesis, offering the opportunity to examine the writers' representations of their relations with these other social groups. The societies constructed themselves as both part of, but apart from, the working classes at different times, according to their own political agendas. As mentioned, the movement tried to appear both distant from militant trade unionism, while supporting the latter in times of

[^16]protest. ${ }^{41}$ At the same time, as a collective, they were 'brought [...] into the most direct contact with the harshest side of middle-class social attitudes, ${ }^{42}$ and sought to court and free themselves from attempts by both the state and some of the middle-classes, to direct working-class lives. Representations of their social relations reflect both a connectedness and a resistance to other social groups throughout.

Analysing the creative writing in terms of healthcare is of specific interest because the friendly societies' vital function was to fund medical care when members were ill. The societies appointed their own panel of doctors to attend to their members on a fixed-fee basis, and as such, they became employers of middle-class professionals. The contests between these two groups exposed wider issues at the heart of the Victorian class structure. Similarly, the final area being investigated, that of labour, necessarily brought the friendly society members into direct contact with the class from which they wanted independence. Thus the writers' representations of healthcare and labour also offer the opportunity to understand their concerns.

Given the diverse and uneven records of the friendly society movement that survive, ${ }^{43}$ further rationalisations have been made in order to manage this project in a coherent way. For instance, the literature of those friendly societies that had a primary purpose, other than that of mutual assurance and friendship,

[^17]has been excluded. Examples are those societies that were formed within companies, and usually subsidised by them, since their concerns were generally limited to inter-company issues. ${ }^{44}$ Similarly, societies which primarily inculcated, say, temperance values, have not been included since it was felt that works with such a narrow agenda would fall outside the scope of this project. Undoubtedly, however, they would be valuable resources for extending the argument.

The writing produced by a further self-help movement of the period, the co-operatives, will not be included in this thesis for two reasons. First, so diverse was the co-operative movement during the whole of the latter part of the century, that to have included it would not permit a balanced discussion of its work alongside that of the friendly societies. This does leave the opportunity for research into the writers of the co-operative movement, as this also remains a much neglected area. The second rationale for selecting the friendly society movement over and above that of the co-operatives is to identify and record their publications, since many that do survive are in a poor, and often deteriorating, condition.

Research into the literature and history of women-only friendly societies is still minimal. It has not been included in this project because women's friendly societies declined in the second half of the nineteenth century, as did their involvement in the movement as a whole. Segregation within the societies reflected the gendered division of labour taking place in the wider world. Although withdrawal from the workforce for the majority of working-class women was not a financial possibility, and women-only friendly societies did

[^18]continue in some form, they tended to be small, local societies, usually formed in industrial areas, possibly with few records remaining. It is often difficult to be clear about the gender of the writer within the friendly society publications as their work may be among the many poems or stories submitted anonymously, or simply with initials.

To offer a more detailed insight into the publications consulted, the nature of the friendly society movement and their publications are discussed more fully in Chapter 1. Their internal organisation and stratification are examined, as is their prominence in Victorian society. However, since these publications are pertinent to the analysis of this writing, their publishing context is outlined here.

Much of the writing for this project has been taken from either the publications of the Ancient Order of Foresters, (Foresters' Miscellany), ${ }^{45}$ or that of the Oddfellows, (Oddfellows' Magazine). These are the journals of the two largest societies to emerge in this period, being formed from amalgamations of smaller and diverse friendly societies, and thus could reasonably be taken as representative of the movement's literature as a whole. They also include the most comprehensive collections to have survived.

Both the Oddfellows' Magazine and the Foresters' Miscellany share similar publishing histories for the period in terms of their purpose and editorship. The Foresters' Miscellany was launched as a monthly journal in March 1836. In January, 1857, the first number of the revived Oddfellows' Magazine was

[^19]published. Despite the stratification and hierarchy within the friendly societies in terms of the positions of responsibility held, the election of editors and editorial board members appears to have mirrored the democratic ethos of the organisations. Editors and editorial boards comprised members who were elected by their fellows, usually annually. They formed part of what was termed the 'Annual Movable Committee', because they were removed from their position each year while fresh elections were held. These were meritocratic organisations, with their self-governing character being one of the strongest attractions to members. ${ }^{46}$ Speaking about the Ancient Order of Foresters, David Green comments how the approach to democracy within all spheres of the society's organisation, 'was that all lawful authority originated, with and from the Members at large. ${ }^{47}$ Green also cites how:
the rights of every individual member are scrupulously respected and guarded; each individual has equal rights and privileges; merit alone is the medium th[r]ough which posts of honour may be arrived at, and no artificial barriers are permitted to prevent virtue and talent from occupying their fitting station.' (Ancient Order of Foresters, 1857). ${ }^{48}$

This egalitarian approach to all aspects of internal organisation is confirmed by the fact that many members appear to have held positions across the societies' internal hierarchies. Because of the largely democratic selection of editors, and the power of the editor to set the parameters of the literary material in accordance with the societies' overall ethos, these publications may have provided a source where the writers could be relatively free in their reference to many of their shared

[^20]and working-class ideals. As far as can be determined, the only evidence of editorial principles took the form of a standard disclaimer, advising that the views contained within the publications were not necessarily representative of those of the board.

However, it would seem that space was sometimes a key factor, and it could result in a story or poem being reproduced either in whole, or in part, or omitted altogether, often simply according to the space available. This was perhaps the case when there were regional issues produced; precedence may have been given to local authors or issues, to the exclusion of articles of more general importance, or vice versa. The impact of this is that the form or extent of a story or poem may differ from issue to issue. Because of the random and apparently inconsequential nature of these anomalies, they do not in any way appear symptomatic of editorial censorship, but need to be born in mind. Thus, while the British Library does hold two copies of the Foresters' Miscellanies, each comprising a compilation of several years of their monthly journals, the Foresters' Miscellanies consulted for this project were held at the Foresters' Heritage Trust in Southampton. As far as can be ascertained from surviving accounts, there are no records of payments being made to members for their stories or poems.

Given that much of this source of writing remains little known and with access to it restricted, ${ }^{49}$ where possible, photocopies or digitally photographed copies of the primary texts have been included in Appendix I. Where this has not been possible due to the fragile nature of the primary sources, or because of

[^21]restrictions governing access to the material, the works discussed are quoted at length.

As this source of writing has not been the subject of any previous literary criticism, choosing the most suitable methodology was challenging. Foremost, such a methodology needed to consider the writers' expressions in context with their immediate collectivity and their material world. Choices have also had to be made in the terminology used to refer to the writers as a group. While terms such as 'plebeian', or 'labouring class', 'or self-educated' do satisfy some criteria, as a whole they seemed unsatisfactory in that they can be perceived to be reductive or limiting. This can also be true for the term 'working-class' when it is applied subjectively. However, the use of this term here seeks to be objective and refers to the fact that the majority of the writers come from an occupational stratum defined by the Registrar General's categorisation of social class. ${ }^{50}$

It could be argued that the term 'class' be taken out of the equation, that the writers be called 'friendly society writers' throughout. But the nineteenth century also saw the term 'class' take on new meanings. The social upheavals from 1780, not least the French Revolution, meant that society shifted from any sense of homogeneity to one of division, and in the nineteenth century, this

[^22]separation was seen in terms of the group's position within the productive economy. ${ }^{51}$ The valuation returns published in 1880 showed that most members of the friendly societies were engaged in manual labour, ${ }^{52}$ while the remaining members were non-manual workers, or from skilled, partly skilled or unskilled occupations. Thus, defining the writers as 'working-class' seeks to recognise the diversity of people from the lower occupational groupings who made up the friendly society movement, and their remarkable achievements as a group. This approach to defining 'class' also seems appropriate since many former craft and skilled workers underwent a process of de-skilling in the predominantly factorybased workforce between 1860 and 1900. Casual work, a lack of relevant skills, incidence of ill health, and old age, meant that all classes of workers could find themselves below the poverty line. Hence, as a working-class collective, the writers experienced shared economic divisions and inequalities even though they were occupied in a diverse range of trades, from labourers to artisans. ${ }^{53}$ As part of this collective, the writers frequently express shared sentiments of powerlessness, exploitation and poverty; experiences which divide those who experience it from those who 'perpetrate and perpetuate it.' 54 Their creative texts will thus be considered as a positive expression of the movement's consciousness, rather than

[^23]as 'a diversion from politics. ${ }^{55}$ Ian Haywood's approach to the close reading of texts, 'to show that all such texts were embedded in the wider public debate,56 provides the most useful exemplar. Although 'utilising a metanarrative, the ongoing campaign for the radical political transformation of Britain, ${ }^{57}$ Haywood explains that:

While this metanarrative is not homogeneous or monolithic, it does provide a coherent context for the variety of publications which participated in the construction of an alternative intellectual and cultural tradition. ${ }^{58}$

However, in deciding upon this approach, it is not necessary to exclude or relegate perhaps equally appropriate ones. For example, the theory derived from the socalled 'linguistic turn' has had considerable impact upon interpretations of social history. James Vernon states that :
[ t ]he ability to narrativize politics [...] was in a very real sense the source of power, because it created and fixed the identities of decentred subjects in ways which enabled them to make sense of the world and their role in it. ${ }^{59}$

Thus, the linguistic turn theory does permit a focus on the discourse strategies of de-centred subjects, and opens opportunities to explore issues of agency in the writers' narrative strategies and discourse. This could equally determine an alternative approach and prove useful as a way into the texts at various points. Some writers did produce their own fictive narratives to create a centre, in order

[^24]to articulate and re-define the dominant representations of their class, which sought to isolate and present all working people as an homogenised and distinct sub group. By creating these narratives, the writers conveyed the movement's politics to its members and observers. However, any single approach must be in context with T.R. Burns' argument that 'the study of labour politics is deemed non-reducible to a simple teleological model, as labour politics and tactical reasoning were themselves open and contentious. ${ }^{60}$

It will be argued that cross-class and intra-class relations are re-negotiated within the narratives from a collective centre, and that the signifiers for the friendly society movement are invested with agency to articulate the movement's perception of social reality. Raymond Williams has observed the relationship between the rise in bourgeois power and the expansion of literary genres from the base categories of verse and prose, to include 'historical' or 'philosophical' or 'descriptive' or 'didactic' [...] writing, as well as [...] 'imaginative' or 'dramatic' or 'fictional' or 'personal' writing experience.' ${ }^{61}$ Williams argues that this expanding formation of genres held both 'clear social and historical relations between particular forms and the societies and periods in which they were originated or practised' ${ }^{62}$ and 'continuities of literary forms through and beyond the societies and periods to which they have such relations. ${ }^{63}$ Thus, throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and the fluctuating relations between the friendly societies and external groups, the writers of the friendly societies

[^25]constructed the societies' political and social perspective as a unified and homogenous centre to counter bourgeois representations which de-centred working people as 'other'. In terms of Williams' cultural materialist approach, the texts will be analysed for how they reproduce and resist aspects of the dominant order, given the social and collective position of the writers.

By no means did all of the creative writing found in the friendly society publications set out to construct an alternative intellectual and cultural tradition. However, glimpses of re-worked social relations in context with the movement's ethos, rather than the viewpoint of the working classes per se, are evident. In the fiction, sometimes the 'alternative tradition' is evident through an exchange between characters although the plot replicates more dominant representations. For example, in a predictable tale about love between two people of different social classes, ${ }^{64}$ the author distinguishes between the benevolent members of an 'aristocratic community', the villagers of the same locality who possess 'a strong feeling of class pride,' and those who 'hold their heads' above all local people, and for whom money determines all social relations. While the author naturalises inherent inequalities and assumptions about such issues as the unsuitability of marrying above one's class, the censure is both cross-class and intra-class. Margaret Beetham suggests that '[t]he magazine as 'text' interacts with the culture which produced it and which it produces. It is a place where meanings are contested and made'. 65 In this tale, and this is a common theme throughout, the

[^26]protagonist is distinguished by his membership of a friendly society, and his relationships and actions are at all times honourable and apart from class antagonisms, while at the same time censuring the perceived faults of all classes. Thus, the 'centre' of the friendly society movement reworks 'normal' social relations.

The interconnectedness of themes across the range of work is examined along with the metaphor, imagery and symbolism used in constructing and naturalising representations of de-centred ideas and identities, such as that of an 'outsider'. Aware of wider social and political attempts to shape their identity, some writers transpose the sense of 'otherness' onto the middle and/or capitalowning classes. The representation of social structures within their work and the inversion or reconfiguration of social and power relations in terms of social class and authority may be read as the literary consciousness of the writers in their workaday worlds and as members of a collective which fought an ongoing ideological contest throughout the period with other groups. Thus, an analysis informed by the societies' negotiations and struggles with external hierarchies ${ }^{66}$ provides the link between their 'real' histories and their fictional reconfigurations of social power relations, or demonstrations of agency.

Although it must be acknowledged that writing in a widely accepted traditional form is of itself a major achievement for those with little or no formal education, some of the poetry selected shows both an influence and an engagement with dominant contemporary poetic forms. The friendly society publications suggest that there was genuine engagement by many working people

[^27]with literature from a wide range of writers, since poems by canonical authors such as Shakespeare, Longfellow, Milton and Shelley can be found alongside the members' own compositions. Perhaps it is not surprising therefore, that allusions to, and echoes of, the work of canonical writers can be found in their poetry. It is, however, impossible and undesirable to scan the poetry for connections with canonical writers as if to validate it. Noting how literature was an instrument of liberation for working people, Jonathan Rose remarks that many appropriated and interpreted dominant forms. For example, he cites how 'Scripture supplied a fund of imagery, allusions, parables, and quotations for the first generation of Labour Party orators, ${ }^{, 67}$ and also records how one individual, Helen Crawfurd:

> found Communist propaganda in Scripture, [...] According to her unauthorized version, "The Lamb dumb before her shearers, represented the uncritical exploited working class." In the Book of Esther, Queen Vashti, who would not parade before her king, was "my first suffragette." For the Book of Revelation she read Revolution, and the Children of Israel who danced before the Golden Calf were obviously the running dogs of the capitalists. [...] And when she had studied the Psalms long enough, she somehow discerned there the materialist conception of history. ${ }^{68}$

Rose also observes how 'the Bible and Bunyan [...] were both read through the same set of interchangeable frames: literal, fictional, allegorical, spiritual, political. ${ }^{69}$ Similarly, speaking about earlier, eighteenth-century plebeian women writers, Donna Landry observes that canonical models seem to have been a source which inspired working-class writers to produce 'a far from servile discourse...potentially more culturally critical in its implications than many later,

[^28]more 'authentic' working-class self-representations. ${ }^{70}$ This evidence of appropriation by working-class readers is useful when responding to some of the writing from the friendly society publications. Although religion was banned from discussion within the publications, it arguably follows that covert allusions to received ideologies could be read and interpreted by readers accordingly, in keeping with the accounts given by Rose and Landry, and particularly in view of the political activities of the societies.

This study's priority is to offer a means of access into these hitherto uncharted texts. In opening up debate about the value of these texts, it has to be acknowledged that diverse readings are possible, and that caution must be exercised in terms of the assumptions that can be made about the influence or effect of a text simply by textual examination. ${ }^{71}$ As a source of literary endeavour, it is argued that they offer an insight into aspects of a particular sector of working-class life. The writing may also add to the ongoing debates about working-class literary traditions, as well as working- class consciousness, and the questions of continuities or watersheds in the political, social, economic and cultural history of the second half of the nineteenth century.

Frustratingly, little can be gleaned about the lives of many of the writers. Certainly some, like Charles Marshall, did manage to rise to the position of secretary of his local branch of the Foresters, in Rogate, Hampshire. John

[^29]Mallinson was a card setter at a Yorkshire cotton mill. He was fortunate in that at thirteen, some of the money he earned by working there was put towards his continuing schooling by his parents, who also worked at the mill. He lived and died in the same house near the mill at Wyke, rising from working as a card setter to becoming a clerk for the company. For most of the authors, particularly the female writers, little consistent information is available. This is despite annual records surviving in some instances, and the popularity of obituaries in the publications. Biographical details are given in Appendix II of this thesis.

Having established in the first chapter the nature and prominence of the friendly society movement among nineteenth century workers, and the involvement of the societies in political debate, the second chapter will analyse fictional representations of social relations. The writers foreground issues of poverty and inequality, and expand upon their visions for social cohesion from these injustices. Representations of place can be seen to interact with wider cultural images, perceptions and social attitudes. Also, it will be argued that fictional characters serve as signifiers of and for distinct social groups. For example, working-class protagonists are often constructed as 'outsiders', while the perpetrators of capitalist greed and avarice are referred to in terms of professional middle-class characters, whose actions impact upon all classes. One of the writers, Keedy Kingston, ${ }^{72}$ depicts corrupt, middle-class character-types as 'professors' and 'bankers', that is, as key players in the processes of capital production. He identifies these middle-class figures, and not the urban poor, as

[^30]the source of society's ills. Kingston also utilises the urban and rural environments as metaphors for the dichotomy of class and social relations. Although the use of town and country is a dominant social metaphor found in much literature, ${ }^{73}$ Kingston's engagement with this theme offers a class-specific portrayal. While he interconnects all classes, the protagonist possesses the respectable, thoughtful qualities the friendly society movement as a collective sought to project. He is independent of all classes, and resists interference from middle-class representatives. Perhaps a more pointed attack on the excesses of capitalism can be found in the story of 'Old Misery, The Miser'. ${ }^{74}$ Here, the working-class protagonist is faced with corrupt capitalism and mob rule. However, here, the writing does not serve to heighten political tension, nor does it serve to provide an explanation for social injustice, but it does direct characters and events in a manner that would perhaps engage with its intended audience.

Chapter 3 will consider the writers' representations of healthcare predominantly through their representations of the physician. The relevance of healthcare and medicine is manifold. As mentioned earlier, medical provision was fundamental to the existence of the friendly societies, and the stories offer an insight into both the internal fears and values of the organisations, and to the perception of their public role as an efficient and effective source of self-help for working people. There is obvious self-interest in the stories in favour of the friendly society system of medical support since they were the key providers of

[^31]health-care for the working classes during the period, and the success of many of the societies depended upon the subscriptions they accrued for the medical cover. they provided. Beyond this bias, the writers' representations address issues of surveillance of the working classes, and the conflation of medical knowledge with other forms of power and authority.

These explorations continue in the fourth and fifth chapters by considering the poetry written by both men and women. Recent publications have further demonstrated the range and diversity of verse by working people and its development during the nineteenth century. Notably, Anne Janowitz's ${ }^{75}$ treatise draws on the work of lesser known poets of the Victorian labour movement to explore how they used lyric poetry to express their communal identity. Similarly, John Goodridge, as editor, ${ }^{76}$ brings together previously little known primary material for such writers in a comprehensive collection of newly edited and annotated texts. Indeed, William Christmas's recent book on the poetry of labouring poets provides a particularly valuable model for reading poetry from the friendly society movement. He maintains that:
any expression of resistance or negotiation must be within the poetic forms and discourses available to the writers...[and that] the critical task is to embrace this limitation and situate [these poets] and their work within relevant cultural/historical contexts in order to come to terms with the extent of their participation in counterhegemonic practice. ${ }^{77}$

[^32]The poetry selected does frequently echo the movement's own areas of interests, particularly those of labour and the sense of the writers' unity and solidarity as a group. At times, the writers make wry comparisons between their class position and their role or status as a poet; in other poems, they express social concerns, or they evoke the sense of alienation. T. Williams, for example, explores the vision of himself, as both 'poet and warrior', while Effie's poem, 'The Muse', satirically describes her own class position as before the gate - which bars her from entering not only the poet's world, but also the natural environment, which was often exalted in contemporary pastorals. J. Plummer's striking poem sets up images of labour, while perhaps alluding to the worker's unequal position in the labour force. Some writing may suggest a conflict between the writers' struggles and the ideals presented to them. For example, the promises of received wisdom may be treated ironically, in quotation marks. Using conventional symbols and metaphors, they appropriate traditional forms such as hymns or elegies, to voice their dissatisfaction.

Towards the end of the century, the focus of many poems shifts from material landscapes to psychological themes, and often there is a sense of loss. No doubt much of this sense of loss stems from the writers' awareness of many young lives cut short well before maturity. Obituaries are a regular feature in the publications, and the short span of their members' lives is a terrible reminder of the conditions in which they lived and worked. The interplay of life with death features prominently, and must reflect that the Bible was a key educational text for many, and that chapel and churchgoing was a way of life. Perhaps the protest poetry in chapter five sees the strongest expression of exclusion from the literary
and social worlds, whereby James Welsh's 'The Miner', is set literally away from both, underground.

In order to place the creative writing in context, the next chapter examines the internal organisation of the friendly societies, their publications, and their involvement in nineteenth-century culture, politics and society.

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fluctuations of the industrialised economy. ${ }^{3}$ The workers' previous source of local charitable relief was left behind in the move to the towns and in times of economic slumps, and in the absence of welfare provision, very many workers realised that they needed to help one another. The funeral insurance provided by the societies 'represented the baseline of respectability in working-class communities. ${ }^{4}$ As Hopkins sums up, the friendly society movement of the nineteenth century was 'a striking example of working-class self-help at a time of great economic fluctuation and social change., ${ }^{5}$

The creative writing by the friendly societies' writers conveys that poverty and the excesses of capitalism were key concerns, resulting from the writers' firsthand experiences within the new wage-labour workforce. Poverty was not simply the experience of a particular group of working people, but a regular feature of the life of almost all working families at times. ${ }^{6}$ While one of the largest of the societies, the Ancient Order of Foresters, did keep their subscriptions low enough to allow many low-paid, agricultural workers to join, the very lowest classes, those that lived simply from hand to mouth, could not be expected to afford even modest membership fees. Indeed, only a very small minority of this group could afford to pay even into a burial club. ${ }^{7}$ Despite the success of the friendly society movement, their provision could only ameliorate people's harsh living conditions,

[^33]rather than 'offer immunity from poverty. ${ }^{8}$ Hence, friendly society members experienced the crippling effects of poverty alongside those of their class outside of the movement and Kidd argues that 'they should not be classed as separate in experience or aspiration from those who were not protected. ${ }^{9}$

Successful local businessmen and tradesmen managed the majority of the societies' branches, called courts or lodges. ${ }^{10}$ These men were invariably of humble, or comparatively humble, origins and the majority had received little or nothing in the way of formal education. ${ }^{11}$ Although the precise social composition of membership is disputed, and there were regional variations, during the period of this study members were predominantly working-class and male, and drawn from the local labour market. ${ }^{12}$ As discussed in the Introduction, the valuation returns published by the Registrar in 1880 showed that most members of the registered societies were engaged in manual labour. ${ }^{13}$

One or more friendly societies could be found in virtually every town. The societies consisted of one of two types, either local clubs or affiliated orders. The former were usually small, independent societies while the affiliated orders had lodges throughout the country. These were nationally organised and gov-

[^34]erned by a single rule book. ${ }^{14}$ During the first quarter of the century, the majority of the smaller, local clubs amalgamated with the affiliated orders, to the extent that after 1830 the affiliated orders became dominant.

Although the friendly society journals were not primarily literary publications, poetry and fiction were a consistent presence. As a guide, it might form only between three and ten per cent of a single publication overall, with the remaining space devoted to society business and social affairs. The format of the publications consulted for this thesis ranges from single sheets to monthly journals, to annual compilations of both.

As mentioned in the Introduction, the Foresters' Miscellany was (and still is) a journal produced by and for the society's members. Under the editorship of the then permanent secretary of the society, Samuel Shawcross, many pages were devoted to legislation affecting the role of the societies. He also introduced travel features and serialised stories, as well as detailing activities from the local friendly society courts. John Hinchliffe became editor in 1872 and in 1880, George Abbott took the editorial role for the next twenty-eight years. ${ }^{15} \mathrm{He}$ continued to report on contemporary issues of concern to working-class members, such as the Poor Law, the incidence of tuberculosis, provision for the old and poor, as well as the admission of women into the Order. In 1886, the cover price of the Foresters' Miscellany was reduced and the format expanded to include articles on gardening and a section for young readers. Annual sales for the Foresters' Miscellany reveal that in July 1859, approximately 10,000 copies were distributed, peaking in 1892

[^35]at about 170,000 copies, falling back to around 124,000 copies by April, 1900. ${ }^{16}$ These figures do not include the free copies left in local libraries or at working men's institutes.

The revived Oddfellows' Magazine was first published in January 1857 with William Atkin as its editor for the subsequent three quarterly numbers. He was succeeded later in that year by C. F. Pardon, who was in turn followed, in 1862, by Charles Hardwick, who resigned in 1883. Up to this time, the magazine had cost sixpence per quarterly, but in 1883 it became a monthly, costing one penny. James Curtis became editor until his death in 1887. The journals of the larger societies were published by their own executive councils.

As much as the main function of the societies' publications served to disseminate their unified collective culture, the weekly meetings of the members offered opportunities for fellowship and a sense of belonging. Kidd observes that the lodges:
encouraged an atmosphere of social cohesion and solidarity which went beyond the simple employment of the insurance principle... [and that] the lodge structure and club rituals were further expressions of fraternalism which could transcend the principle of sickness insurance. ${ }^{17}$

Indeed, the fraternalism extended to creating a sense of unity that sought to envelop many aspects of the members' lives. They were '-a place where Political

[^36]or Religious discussions -those banes of society- are never suffered to enter... ${ }^{18}$
A rule book of the Royal Foresters ${ }^{19}$ states that:
No Man can be prevented from becoming a Forester on account of Religion, provided he believes in the Creator of Heaven and Earth and practises the sacred duty of morality. The object of Forestry is to unite the virtuous and good in all sects and denominations of man in the sacred bonds of brotherhood so that while wandering through the Forest of this World they may render mutual aid and assistance to each other. ${ }^{20}$

The need for strong personal morality was emphasised. For example, the Ancient Order of Foresters saw its provision extend to the families of members, whether or not they themselves subscribed to the society. A pamphlet warns members:

> In your domestic relationships we look to find you, if a husband, affectionate and trustful; if a father, regardful of the moral and material well-being of your children and dependents; as a son, dutiful and exemplary, and as a friend, steadfast and true. These qualities will command the admiration of mankind, and in you, as a member of our Society, they will dignify our Order, consolidate its power, and extend its benign influence.

The societies fostered their respectable status by maintaining a prominent and active role in their local communities. Apart from regular weekly meetings, other opportunities for socialising took the form of annual dinners and fetes, excursions, or organising local events. Importantly, working people were offered the opportunity to take responsibility for managing their local society's branches and to achieve positions of some status, if desired, within the movement.

[^37]In keeping with the societies' wide-ranging mix of conviviality, ritual and prescriptive codes for conduct, the tenor of the societies' journals and other publications was overall one of tolerance and fraternity, promoting opportunities for leisure alongside didactic and consciousness-raising material. The journals contain a lively correspondence section, preceded by an editorial disclaimer:
[With a view of assisting in the interchange of ideas, we throw our columns open to the members for the free discussion of matters affecting the interests of the society, so long as each discussion is conducted with good feeling, reserving ourselves to the right of refusing the insertion of any communication we may deem to be of an objectionable character...ED. O.F.M.] ${ }^{22}$

However, the journals also aired members' protests at the inequality that they had to endure. For example, Mr J. Plummer, a factory operative from Kettering:

It is high time that the employed should have a fair share of the benefits rising from the productive industry of the country, as well as the employer, and not to be obliged in his old age to finish a life of labour in a poor-law Bastile [sic], and a pauper's grave, while those for whome [sic] he has toiled hard, are allowed to dictate their own terms to the workmen, and the carrying out of their favourite dogma of unrestricted competition. ${ }^{23}$

While Plummer's protests are considered in context with his poem in Chapter 4, his views reflect the members' dissatisfaction and awareness of their shared injustice. They direct their criticism of both Government and employers at specific issues, such as low pay, rather than articulate a general socialist dogma. This theme echoes a frequently occurring image emerging from their creative writing, namely an acceptance and commitment to their work (and their right to work), while protesting at the unequal rewards it attracted. There is also a

[^38]rejection of doctrines which suggest that this inequality must be endured until after death, as part of God's plan.

Often, but by no means always, a young man would join the society when single to build up his contributions. During the nineteenth century, a man might accrue $£ 10$ or $£ 12$ in death benefits, which was a significant amount when compared to the weekly wage of a skilled artisan, which was around $£ 1.25$ p. Thus the death benefit would pay for the burial and provide financial support for a few weeks until any dependents could find work. Although the Ancient Order of Foresters estimate that they had 647,077 members in $1888,{ }^{24}$ accurate returns of membership in Britain were not available until the end of the nineteenth century. This was largely due to the reluctance of the societies to keep detailed records or to register with the Government's Registrar of Friendly Societies. They feared that this data might be used to survey their activities at times of conflict with the state or the middle classes. This is discussed more fully later in this chapter. However, it is known that the century saw a huge growth in membership, from about seven thousand societies to some thirty thousand registered by the century's end. ${ }^{25}$ By 1904, membership is estimated at almost six million, which was almost half of all adult males. ${ }^{26}$ This recorded membership does not include women who belonged to female-only friendly societies, since this is undocumented, although it does include the very few societies that did not segregate membership by gender.

[^39]The earliest societies date from the seventeenth century, although organisations set up to provide mutuality and reciprocity may be traced back to the medieval guilds. There is still much disagreement about the precise origins of the movement. Dr. Bob James argues that, 'the state of friendly society scholarship can be gauged from the fact that reliable information relating to the largest and best known grouping of Orders before 1830 is practically non existent. ${ }^{27}$ However, the lack of early written records is not surprising given that organised working-class groups were suspected of plotting revolution against the state, or of being instrumental in convening workers to form trade unions, which were illegal under the Combination Acts, and which were not repealed until 1824. What is known is that they are first mentioned in Parliamentary records in 1793, when the first Friendly Society Act was introduced. This Act afforded legal status to those friendly societies that registered with local magistrates, and signalled the start of Government attempts at regulating these working-class organisations. ${ }^{28}$ These attempts would persist throughout the nineteenth century.

The societies' moves to free themselves from interference by the middle classes and the state surfaced during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when the Government sought to penalise working-class organisations, an attempt that was symptomatic of wider class antagonism and mistrust. The friendly societies should thus have been a target for punitive legislation that sought to suppress a potentially dangerous working class. However, the societies' declared

[^40]ideals of thrift and compliance to the social order, that is their respectability, had won them the protection of middle-class patrons who interceded with Government on their behalf. The patrons, drawn from the ranks of magistrates, landowners, and clergymen, supported working-class voluntarism, arguing 'that friendly societies lowered the poor rates and rejected unrespectable behaviour, such as drunkenness, embezzlement, and trade unionism. ${ }^{29}$ Patronage afforded the societies the respectability of middle-class governance, since the assumption was that 'workers were financially prodigal and morally profligate, and therefore incapable of managing independent organisations. ${ }^{30}$

However, while not being the immediate target for punitive legislation, and despite the umbrella of respectability provided by middle-class patronage, the fear persisted among some elites that the societies were being used by radical working-class groups for inciting revolution. Response to these suspicions prompted public investigation and scrutiny of their organisations at times of specific crises, while they were subjected to general surveillance and attempts to regulate or suppress them at most other times. This suspicion was, to some extent warranted, for while the Combination Act of 1800 made trade unions illegal, friendly societies remained lawful organisations, and therefore many trade unions adopted the structure of a friendly society to disguise their union activities. This extended to their using friendly society symbols, such as mottoes and emblems, to

[^41]deflect surveillance. Cordery concludes that often, 'friendly societies became a legal mask for trade unions. ${ }^{31}$

In the friendly societies' eschewal of dependence upon the state, there was much resistance expressed by ordinary members against the prospect of state interference and surveillance of the day to day running of their lives. A letter to the editor of the Foresters sets out this fear, prompted by the prospect of a Royal Commission to regulate the societies' financial affairs:
and much as we prize the habit - for in England it has become a habit - of making provision against sickness and other contingencies, we would rather that that habit should cease, than such an inquisitorial system should prevail in regard to it. Indeed, we have no doubt, that if Government went thus far, it would be compelled by the force of circumstances to go further, and to take upon itself the whole business of Sick and Death Assurance. If this were done, we all know what a flood-gate would be opened for fraud and imposition on the one hand - and espionage, neglect and cruelty upon the other. ${ }^{32}$

Historians have generally accepted that friendly societies were 'above politics', and substantiate this by reference to the organisations' surviving Rule books which banned the discussion of politics. It does seem that in their public discourse and conduct, the societies generally supported consensus values to the extent that more than any other working-class organisation, they appeared 'most in harmony with the culture as a whole. ${ }^{33}$ This harmony between classes is typified in the opening poem recited at some of the later meetings of the Oddfellows:

[^42]
## Oddfellowship

Life is too short to make our stay A scene of discord, day by day, Or as 'tis sometimes found, alas! A battlefield! 'twixt class and class; No! rather let love's golden tether Embrace and bind us all together, And let us then, with heart and voice, Take courage, labour, and rejoice; That in our Order may be found A neutral, safe, and hallow'd ground Where all may ease, apart from strife, The hard, harsh, grating wheels of life!

And where as brothers all may stand With kindly, loving, helping hand, A strong, united, noble band; A band endow'd with heavenly powers, To bless this chequer'd world of ours. ${ }^{34}$

Although rather trite in its vocabulary and its jog-trot rhythm, this verse projects the unity and solidarity the friendly societies sought to impart to its members, and the concord between classes it ostensibly sought, a key feature which emerges in their creative writing. However, as Simon Cordery argues, this does not mean that they were not politically active. He observes that:
> they pressured parliament by submitting petitions, testifying before hearings, and carving a space for their activities within Victorian culture. Friendly societies defined politics as the actions of political parties and eschewed party-political identification while fending off any attempt by the state to control them. ${ }^{35}$

Thus although not party political, the societies operated as an organised pressure group, seeking to influence parliamentary committees and commissions, and

[^43]thereby influence legislation that protected their interests. ${ }^{36}$
They sought to defend the principle that people's needs are best served by self-help and without the need for state intervention. Tholfsen states that although they pursued consensus values, it was:
within a framework of a working-class subculture [...] not an expression of acquiescence in class rule, but an attempt to achieve a degree of emancipation from its constraints. ${ }^{37}$

Tholfsen's observation provides insight into the nature of the negotiations that took place between the friendly societies and the middle classes and/or the Government. For example, one area of contest concerned the societies' practice of holding their meetings in public houses. Many middle-class observers pointed to the societies' habits of mixing financial business with the consumption of alcohol as evidence that friendly society members were immoral and incapable of governing their own affairs. As a consequence, a House of Commons Committee directed that meetings were not to be held in public houses, and that middle-class patrons retain friendly society funds in their own hands. ${ }^{38}$ However, these conditions of patronage were not readily accepted by the friendly societies, not least because they were aware that meeting in public houses and the conviviality it afforded were instrumental in attracting and retaining membership. A further Bill was proposed but was dropped in the face of protest from the societies. ${ }^{39}$

[^44]The Government was left with the paradox that whilst it acknowledged that friendly societies were respectable because they continued to submit to middle-class patronage and their activities lowered the poor rates, it also felt that the societies encouraged secrecy, drunkenness, and trade unionism. It was felt that tighter control of the organisations and their assets was required, particularly in view of the growing number of members and the substantial nature of funds involved. Further regulation followed which sought to centralise supervision of the societies, culminating in the 1846 Friendly Society Act. ${ }^{40}$

The 1846 Act offered some protection for the societies' funds but required the societies to relinquish local control over registration. It required them to supply details of their membership to a central register, thus allowing the Government greater insight into the scale and nature of the movement. Although many smaller societies did register, the large affiliated orders refused to accept these terms of regulation, not least because the cost of registering would prove prohibitive on such a large scale. At two Select Committee hearings (in 1848 by the House of Lords and 1849 by the House of Commons), concerns of both the Government and the friendly societies were aired. ${ }^{41}$ For the Government, registration was only one matter addressed. Another was the question of the societies' 'secrecy', namely their secret signs, oaths, and rituals which gave rise to the fear that they were clandestine organisations, capable of rising against the

[^45]State. The response from the societies was to emphasise their loyalty, and dismiss the importance of rituals for their organisations. Cordery argues that:
friendly society leaders deployed the discourse of respectability to claim independence from patrons, whether clergymen or Government bureaucrats. They [also] countered middle-class concerns by labelling public-house meetings respectable, given the constraints and expectations of working-class life. ${ }^{42}$

Thus, one further important outcome of negotiations between the Government and the friendly societies was that the reference to 'Secret Societies and Seditious Meetings and Assemblies,' introduced in 1793 Act, was repealed. ${ }^{43}$

However, Cordery observes that although at the Parliamentary hearings the societies' leaders promised to abolish secrecy, ${ }^{44}$ in practice, secrecy and rituals continued to play a significant role for members. The hierarchies of office within the organisations defined members and their orders as being part of a distinct and separate society. While ordinary members were called 'brother' or 'sister', higher posts held titles such as Noble Grand, or Provincial Grand Master, denoting the holder to be a local or district Chairman. Initiation ceremonies were part of the induction for new candidates. These might include candidates being 'tested' by combat, using swords, or being anointed with oil. The swearing of a solemn oath was almost universally practised. Usually initiation required candidates to vow to help fellow members, and not to reveal any of the secrets learned within the society to outsiders. The Ancient Order of Foresters produced lecture books, which consisted of twelve questions and answers on biblical references supporting the ritual, and also ritual books that could be used at the funeral of a member. It

[^46]was also usual for a member to act as a 'beadle', remaining outside while meetings proceeded, to warn of possible intrusion by 'outsiders. ${ }^{\text {. }}{ }^{55}$

The ritualistic nature of the societies extended to special funeral services for members. Each member could be assured of a funeral that displayed the respectability of the deceased. Attendance by fellow members was obligatory. The procession, with members and officials of the society dressed in the regalia of the Order, ${ }^{46}$ would stop at the regular meeting place, usually a public house, and then proceed to the graveside. Here, a non-liturgical funeral service would be read by a leading member of the society, wearing medals of office. The service emphasised the significance of the deceased's membership of the Order, to the extent that it attracted much criticism from both Government and clergy, with accusations that the societies were separate religious sects, challenging the authority of the Church. ${ }^{47}$

Despite these concerns, the continued support of patrons in public debate did situate friendly societies within the respectable strata of Victorian society, even though patronage had declined drastically as more and more societies became self-governing. ${ }^{48}$ The ongoing contest between society members and the middle classes over the use of public houses for society meetings came to a head when a Commons committee, again in 1849, discussed this and the societies' growing demands for autonomy. At stake was the societies' claim to respectability, and on this their future autonomy depended. Witnesses contested

[^47]that the presence of alcohol was detrimental to the respectable conduct of any organisation. Yet, since many societies were founded by publicans, while others met in public houses because alternatives were either unavailable or too costly, the friendly societies' assertion that they offered respectable opportunities for fellowship and an innocent conviviality seemed to end further debate of the matter.

While the outcomes of these Committees were piecemeal in terms of registration, there was an important power-shift by Parliament in favour of the friendly societies. Firstly, it was acknowledged that the workers, and not patrons or middle class elites, controlled the large, affiliated orders. Secondly, concessions were made to register the larger affiliated societies as unitary organisations, and thus extend legal protection to them, since the 1848 Committee commented that they 'consider[ed] it advisable to increase the attachment of so numerous a body of the industrious classes to the social order., ${ }^{49}$

These outcomes also reflected a general softening of attitudes towards the societies. The 1850 repeal of the 1793 Act concerning the societies' 'secrecy', arguably reflected a growing awareness by the Government that to confront all aspects of the societies' social activities displayed a continued distrust, which sat uneasily with organisations that publicly declared loyalty to the Queen. Furthermore, at a time of heightened working-class militancy, the last significant Chartist rallies in Britain, and revolution on the Continent in 1848, the friendly societies declared themselves to be patriotic and loyal subjects and it was a

[^48]measure of the respectability that the societies had acquired, that they avoided investigation at this time.

The notion of respectability engaged with an ideological contest which was at the heart of Victorian society. The importance for many working people to appear 'respectable' was complex. Since many Government agencies and middle classes felt that the working classes could not be relied upon to regulate their behaviour in any collective, appearing respectable was key to winning autonomy. Although there is no definitive interpretation of what it meant to be respectable in Victorian society, 'respectability' as a concept and tool for examining a culture or society is well-documented by historians. ${ }^{50}$ Cordery considers that being respectable offered working people the opportunity to engage with middle-class society in terms of dress and manner to compensate for 'the manifest economic inequalities of Victorian society. ${ }^{51} \mathrm{He}$ also considers that it was 'a strategy employed to gain benefits from those with greater resources. ${ }^{52}$ Neville Kirk notes that working-class institutions dissipated a mindset of conventional values of respectability which could be applied to changing contexts. For instance, respectability was interpreted in terms of collective class solidarity in the Chartist period, and changed to embrace the tenets of individualism as a later Victorian society also embraced these ideals. ${ }^{53}$ Peter Bailey suggests that in the context of

[^49]shifting social relations and roles around the mid-nineteenth century, appearing respectable permitted individuals a guise which could be appropriated by them, in differing forms and in varying contexts, and according to individual social interactions. ${ }^{54}$ Recognising the subjective nature of respectability in both crossclass and intra-class relations, Bailey concludes that 'role discontinuities' were possible. ${ }^{55}$ Thus, for Victorians in general, and for friendly societies in particular, respectability became a generic status quo, appearing in varying forms, coloured by social relations and aspirations, and adapted according to context.

As discussed in the Introduction, being a member of a friendly society did not preclude membership of overtly radical organisations. But by constructing themselves as respectable, the societies built an important space for the workingclass voice. The mix of membership suggests a vibrant, political climate to have persisted in the societies throughout the nineteenth century, regardless of their 'respectable' and 'non political' public discourse. It is this climate that forms the context for discussion of their writing, beginning with the next chapter which examines some of the members' fiction, and their representations of themselves in terms of all social classes.

[^50]
## Chapter 2

## Social Relations

This chapter will examine representations of social relations found in a selection of fiction. The work is by writers who had a prominent and frequent presence within the publications, and thus could reasonably be considered to be popular with the members. The key themes which emerge in this chapter are the writers' visions of the interdependence and interrelation of all classes. It will be argued that the representations do not suggest a society where all classes are equal, but a more equal society within the existing class structure. Censure is of the excesses of capitalism, rather than of capitalism per se.

The range of fiction within the publications is diverse. Genres range from didactic tracts and semi-autobiographical reminiscences, to swashbuckling tales of adventure or romance. Few narratives fail to miss the opportunity to reinforce the respectability and moral rectitude of their characters who signify members of the friendly society movement, or to boost and retain membership. For example, overt warnings to members considering leaving friendly society membership are enclosed in the tale, 'Two January Incidents'.' The narrator encounters two people who have suffered because they have ignored the continuing need for financial provision in times of distress, only to suffer death and poverty as a result. Morality triumphing over greed is the key message of many tales.

[^51]'Outward and Homeward Bound ${ }^{2}$ is a romance, in which the heroine, Grace Harding, was '[not] by any means a beauty' but possessed a 'broad fair brow, full of intelligence. ${ }^{3}$ Her fortitude is demonstrated in her love for a young man who exchanges compassion and tolerance, for greed, avarice and drunkenness, as a result of his move away from her, to London, to pursue a career in a bank. He redeems himself by the constancy of Grace's adherence to what is good. She reminds him that, 'Prosperity is some men's greatest enemy; it seems to canker and destroy all that is good in them. ${ }^{4}$

Some concerns and criticism within the fiction are more event-specific. In 'How Misery \& Poverty Came to be Always On Earth',' J. Redding Ware depicts two fairies and a poor, but independent, blacksmith, who refuses to charge for his labour, but instead accepts three wishes from the fairies. One fairy, Prudenza, tries to get the blacksmith to wish for a pension, but this is rejected. This story overtly refers to national debate about implementing contributory pension schemes, and the societies' resistance to compulsory deductions from people's wages for future pension provision. The societies' resistance was because they felt that the payment of adequate wages would allow people make their own provision. The interaction between the blacksmith and the fairies also conveys Ware's assessment of the shortcomings of all levels of society. The blacksmith is criticised because he fails to make a realistic charge for his labour, thus is author of his own continuing poverty. Censure of working people's passive acceptance

[^52]of inequalities is conveyed by the second fairy, Mensconscia, 'the guardian of truth and plain speaking'. ${ }^{6}$ She is outspoken against many obvious inequalities and is cautioned by the blacksmith to 'speak not out your mind in the very next town, or of a surety they will pelt you! ${ }^{7}$ Ware also censures the behaviour of some Christians in the dialogue between the two fairies. The old blacksmith's dog is petted by Prudenza who suggests that it 'looks up like a Christian! ${ }^{8}$ Mensoncia retorts, 'More so than many promising Christians I have met,' which earns Prudenza's rebuke that Mensconcia should silence such 'straightforward remarks. ${ }^{9}$

The friendly societies' unified centre is frequently woven into the fabric of a narrative. In 'Frank Newton', ${ }^{10}$ the protagonist upholds the local friendly society's respectability, although he is tested by the dishonourable actions of an aristocratic fellow suitor for the hand of his betrothed in an otherwise conventional tale of a 'love triangle'. Both of these interests strive to support each other in the otherwise thin plot and storyline. In 'Christmas at Bishops Langton, ${ }^{11}$ the friendly societies' ethos surfaces as the poverty, yet the respectability, of the characters are accentuated. The tale depicts how a young mother and child are found in the snow outside a village and receive help from the villagers. Here, the local curate was a welcome visitor in the homes of the 'deserving and respectable poor.' Within the text of a crime adventure story,

[^53]'The Rainy Sunday', ${ }^{12}$ stereotypical images of good and bad characters are reworked. The villain is 'tall, fresh-faced and bright-eyed' whereas the respectable protagonist, Slade, is a journeyman cabinet-maker, whose appearance was neither:
but there was a softness in the dark eye, a thoughtfulness on the calm brow, and an expression of self-command about the well-formed mouth that would prepossess the unbiased observer in favour of [him]. ${ }^{13}$

The use of 'unbiased' alludes to the more usual stereotyping of handsome physical features with strong, sound principles. By redefining dominant representations of their own class, and that of other classes, often found within contemporary mainstream literature, the writers create a centre for themselves. As with Grace Harding, appearances are superficial in comparison with the respectability of the character. Many representations in the stories see the friendly society figure constructed as classless to the extent that $\mathrm{s} /$ he does not conform to dominant stereotypes of either the working or the middle classes. Two stories, 'Not Gilded But Golden' by Keedy Kingston, ${ }^{14}$ and 'Old Misery, The Miser, ${ }^{15}$ by Charles Marshall provide a template for analysing the treatment of social relations.

The characters in 'Not Gilded, But Golden' are types which represent distinct social groups, whose interaction is threaded through a plot of intrigue and romance. The exploited, but not entirely honest, working classes are represented by the Clicks, a family whose father is tenant landlord of a run-down inn. The Hardens symbolise a well-meaning, but essentially ignorant middle class.

[^54]Kingston also sets up binary opposition within these two social groups. That of the 'Reverend', whose title and dress would suggest social standing and integrity, and an itinerant carver, an outsider, whose strange appearance and unknown origin might suggest negative traits to the positive ones of the Reverend.

In the opening paragraph of his story, Kingston establishes the precise topography of a social group, that of the working-class Clicks and their neglected rural habitat. It begins:

> At the foot of a very steep hill about three miles from a village known as Beetsmand, ${ }^{16}$ stood a small inn. It had, no doubt, once possessed a sign, but whatever had been painted on the old post leaning towards the roadway had long since become unintelligible. The inn was a low built tenement of wood, and was fast turning to decay, but the ivy creeping over it hid many imperfections from sight. A few old trees stood in front of the dismal dwelling, and bent their boughs down towards it, and a belt of high chalk cliffs stood at the back. The roadway in front was very narrow, and on the opposite side chalk cliffs were again to be seen. This inn, being the only house of refreshment within a distance of about fifteen miles from the nearest town, occasionally had a passing visitor, but the liquors retailed were not of the most inviting description, consequently the trade done was very small. ${ }^{17}$

Anthony Clicks is first introduced outside of this decaying inn, and this demonstrates how Kingston denotes specific social groups by their environment throughout the story. Clicks has an unkempt appearance and is slow to offer service to any passing customer to the inn, but he takes 'good care to make up the

[^55]reckoning' ${ }^{18}$ when it came to calculating any customer's bill. The father is 'afraid to offer opposition' ${ }^{19}$ to his son and the mother is 'unable to detect any fault in her only offspring. ${ }^{20}$ The family group parallels the middle-class family, the Hardens, yet to be introduced. What is important at this point is the rural, rundown habitat and workplace of this working-class family whose livelihood depends upon Anthony's attempts to divert any passing trade to his inn from the roadway, by shovelling snow so as to form a barrier that could not be by-passed. Eustace Claremontly, 'a gentleman', is one such passer-by who is directed by the barrier of shovelled snow and forced to take shelter at the inn. There then follow accounts of Anthony Click's attempts to extract money and possessions from Claremontly. After spending a night in the Click's strange guest bedroom, with its four-poster bed 'decorated with a remarkable patterned array of chintz' ${ }^{21}$ and 'two or three grotesque-looking models in china which did duty for match holders, ${ }^{22}$ Claremontly leaves the inn to continue his journey to the 'luxuriant apartments ${ }^{23}$ of Hardwicke Place, the home of his betrothed and her family, the Hardens:

Mr Harden, the owner and occupier of the mansion, was looked upon by the outside world as a very fortunate man, chiefly because he was wealthy. He, however, used his riches to good ends; -he patronised many charitable institutions, looked after the wants of the poor in the surrounding districts, and withheld not the aid sought by the wayfarer. ${ }^{24}$

[^56]By interconnecting place, persona and plot, whereby the depiction of the various exteriors and interiors suggests a paradigm of social tensions and relations, Kingston implies the interrelation and interdependence of one social class upon another. With Mr Harden, his daughters Gertrude and Mabel and Claremontly gathered in the drawing room of Hardwicke Place, the ensuing conversation reveals that the inn where Claremontly had stayed the previous night was in fact owned by the Hardens. Gertrude exclaims:
> ...it belongs to papa [...] You wait and see for yourself [...] we look after everybody and everything ... ${ }^{25}$

Furthermore, Kingston's imagery suggests that dependence spans class barriers, rather than is hierarchically structured. He depicts all classes as economically interdependent. The Clicks of the Inn are revealed to be dependent upon the Hardens, for the Hardens own their inn. The Hardens too, become interrelated to the characters of the next chapter. This is revealed by Gertrude, when she recounts the good deeds of her sister, Mabel:

The postman brings us a lot of tracts, and these are followed up by a visit from a 'Rev. Mr Someone;' . then off goes Mabel to distribute them at the cottages... ${ }^{26}$

It transpires from this conversation that a 'preacher', the 'Reverend', had visited the Claremontly's house, tricked Mabel while selling her some religious tracts, and stole some of the family's possessions. This Reverend is then found in the next chapter, at No. 1 Arched Alley. The sense of linear time, although somewhat

[^57]vague up to this point, is halted here by the abrupt shift in both time and place to London, and No. 1 Arched Alley:

No.1, Arched Alley, was a very dilapidated building, if building it may be called. The outside of the structure was certainly composed of bricks, but time and London smoke had made them so black that they were hardly recognisable. The door did not possess the slightest adornment; the paint, once applied, had vanished years ago, and if ever there had been a knocker no one in the alley could remember seeing it...[...] No one would imagine that any inmate of Arched Alley was a tradesman, and they would perhaps as little think there were any professors to be found there, but their number for all that was legion. ${ }^{27}$

While the Clicks and the Hardens are set in correspondingly poor or grand environments, according to their social class, the correlation between place and class is disrupted in the narrative's move to the city. Kingston describes the 'dilapidated' building and then observes that it would be less likely that a 'tradesman' than a 'professor' could be found there. Whereas the Clicks and Hardens were set in environments that stereotype their social class, Arched Alley and its occupants serve to blur this association. To demonstrate the effect of Kingston's strategy, Gissing's introduction to Litany Lane in his novel, The Unclassed, ${ }^{28}$ invites comparison:

Litany Lane was a narrow passage, with houses on one side... There were two or three dirty little shops, but the rest were ordinary lodging houses, the front doors standing wide open as a matter of course, exhibiting a dusky passage, filthy stairs with generally a glimpse right through into the yard at the rear. ${ }^{29}$

A description follows of the wretched urban working-class characters who occupy this place follows, again conflating people with place. Even in his most

[^58]sympathetic portrayal of the working classes in Thyrza, the exactness of locality and sympathy of presentation is closely married with description of the occupants of the urban slums amongst 'the acrid exhalation from the shops where fried fish and boiling potatoes hissed in boiling grease. ${ }^{30}$ Such negative images of the working classes could be found in much nineteenth century literature, where they were constructed as an alien species. For instance, in Arthur Morrison's 'Jago, ${ }^{31}$ the urban working class were described as 'slinking forms, as of great rats'. Towards the end of the century, the naturalist novelist might appropriate Social Darwinism ${ }^{32}$ to support distinctions between the middle-class and working-class character. The point is this: no matter how sympathetically or unsympathetically the working classes are portrayed in much published nineteenth-century fiction, they form an intrinsic part of all that is negative about the urban/industrial environment. Kingston manipulates the dominant association of class and place so that corrupt, middle-class figures, the 'professors', are his occupants of the urban building, No. 1 Arched Alley. The sordid and dilapidated building is paralleled to the money-extorting schemes conducted inside.
[the occupants] were bankers and in their mint all the coins of the realm, from sovereigns to sixpences, had their "portraits taken" on the shortest notice, and were turned out "wholesale, retail, and for exportation!". ${ }^{33}$

Kingston gives the occupants urban anonymity; in particular the coiners, as 'bankers', are symbolic figures involved in the production of capital. It can only

[^59]be speculated how far Kingston intends his imagery of 'the coins of the realm' to suggest a Marxist vision of capital production, but as the story unfolds, it emerges that the money-extorting schemes of the occupants of No. 1 Arched Alley, 'the professors', exploit both the working-class Clicks and the middle-class Hardens. His focus is upon the corruption within a capitalist economy, perhaps as much as its excesses, for he intimates that acquiring 'coins of the realm' ultimately taints all social groups.

Kingston expands his description of the occupants of No. 1 Arched Alley as symbolic, but corrupt figures, of dominant social groups, 'in addition to bankers, a chemist and a preacher are there too. ${ }^{34}$ It transpires that it is this very 'preacher' who calls upon the Hardens with tracts, and under the guise of doing good works, is actually robbing Mabel. The characters are all engaged in schemes to exploit the rich. Wearing recognisable attire of the professions, they gain the trust of those who judge character by appearance. It would be difficult not to read the subtext of their exchanges. Articles of value, extracted from rich people like Mabel, are brought here and rendered into new products, to be sold again back to those who can afford to buy them. A 'gold bouquet-holder' has 'sundry applications of a chisel' which 'rendered the article beyond recognition.'35 The preacher bemoans that those present have the easy tasks, and that they 'don't understand the preaching business. ${ }^{, 36} \mathrm{He}$ also mentions that in his work, he has to 'fight your own conscience, ${ }^{, 37}$ which prompts the retort, 'Conscience [...] we

[^60]don't know anything about him and we don't want to...' whereupon another concludes, 'Not until we retires from business. ${ }^{38}$

The sum of Kingston's narrative strategy is to shift the gaze from the working-class poor being representative of social problems, to portray all classes as victims of those engaged in capital exploitation and corruption. Thus, distinguishing between good and bad within all social groupings by exposing the corrupt element of the middle class well as working class figures, he re-positions friendly society members more centrally. His use of the urban/rural metaphor adds to this depiction. Observing how the city and country have always functioned in terms of a 'mythic dichotomy, ${ }^{39}$ Linda Nochlin notes that with the growth of the urban/industrial environment, the city versus country debate gained greater hold in contemporary literature, such that the:
urban environment not only became viewed as the site of all that was alien in the industrialised society, but became perceived as the very breeder of society's indifference to either communal value or individual feeling, to the extent that one became representative of the other. ${ }^{40}$

Thus, Kingston's discourse of town and country, like that found in much literature, serves to elicit his concerns. This is also exemplified by his use of darkness and light, for he extends this metaphor to his representations of all interiors to form part of the action, rather than serve merely as backdrops for it. In turn, these interiors are intimately linked to the characters and their actions whereby representations of décor are paralleled to his characters' social standing

[^61]and psyche. The zoological notion of habitat applies to the sordid wretchedness of No. 1 Arched Alley, whose interior is described by its 'darkness' and by its occupants' exploitative 'trades'. The genteel shabbiness of the inn's interior is contrasted to the other extreme, the opulence of Hardwicke Place and the impeccable elegance of its 'light' apartments. The shabbiness of the inn, the expensive ostentation of Hardwicke Place and the sordid interior of Arched Alley all represent and suggest three different worlds and their inhabitants. The Clicks appear trapped within their own decaying environment, where even the trees bend toward the decay. ${ }^{41}$ The occupants of No. 1 Arched Alley are also locked into the processes of exploitative capital production, perpetuated by the Reverend, and although the Hardens' lives revolve around a 'light' environment, it is one that is being contaminated by the Reverend, with his associations of darkness and decay brought from No. 1 Arched Alley.

Parallels of Kingston's No. 1 Arched Alley are found in one form or another in much of this writing. For instance, in Thomas Williams' story, 'A Tale of the City, ${ }^{42}$ Richard Sharpston, a wealthy jeweller serves a similar function to the occupants of Arched Alley. He too, occupies a dilapidated building:

In a well-known street in the City of London there stood, many years ago [...] a large well-built house, whose grimy aspect was dismal to the eye. Superior to its neighbours in size and finish, it stood out in the bright and busy street like a withered tree in a leafy forest. No sign of care adorned its squalid front-all paint had vanished years ago; [...] A more suitable inhabitant could not have been found for this dirty old house... ${ }^{43}$

[^62]Again, the derelict building reinforces the negative processes involved in exploitation. Similarly, Williams' jeweller, like the professors, is not engaged in honourable work or production but is obsessed with gaining wealth at the expense of others:
> in the many strong drawers of the blackened counter looked sparkling jewels and glittering gold, enough to have purchased half the street. Strange were the ways and customs of the man: he sold jewels, he bought jewels, and he took jewels in pledge; and in this musty den received daily visitors of nobility and fashion. Freely and openly they came; some to purchase -and no merchant in the city could tempt their longing eyes with rarer and more costly gems; for mind you, he had long been wealthy, and could command the market -others came to sell; and some, as I have hinted, came to pawn the jewels they were loath to part with irredeemably ${ }^{44}$

This 'musty den ${ }^{45}$ is the scene for these suspicious dealings, and Williams' characters, like those occupying No. 1 Arched Alley, are contained in a dark and corrupt world.

Kingston's story suggests social relationships to be constituted through, and constrained by, economic realities and social pressures and perceptions. 'Not Gilded But Golden' was published at a time when the sharp divide between the East End and West End of London was synonymous with capital, either the lack of it or the profiting by it. Thus, a critique of the cash nexus society is key to its characterisation. Kingston's characters, in one way or another, stress the power of money; the wretchedness of having too little and the obsession of acquiring more, and he depicts a moral bankruptcy at the heart of a society whose wealth production stemmed from No. 1 Arched Alley. The paradox is that the occupants

[^63]of the inn grab at the wealth of passers-by but it renders them no long-term benefit. The occupants of No. 1 Arched Alley and their money extorting activities suggest a cycle of corruption of morals, wealth and religion, affecting all who come into contact. Thomas Williams' narrative also supports this vision. He points out that the jeweller manipulates his rich clients with his intimate knowledge of their own deceptions. He comments that:

It is a matter worth more than a passing thought, what curious relations frequently exist in life between some, whose outward circumstances would seem to say that no close link could probably connect them. ${ }^{46}$

These 'curious relations' hold true for Kingston's characters of Mabel and the Reverend. Alone at Hardwicke Place, Mabel cannot bring herself to believe that the Reverend is a conman, simply because of his ostensibly elevated position in society. Kingston also suggests that Mabel's blindness to the corrupt character of the Reverend is equalled by her blindness to the causes of the poor's suffering. He implies that Mabel's visits to the local poor perpetuate, rather than relieve, their suffering. Mary Poovey describes the effect of such visits on the poor. She argues that the leaving of instructive tracts and 'the assumption that the poor should be read to and given charity belonged to a theory of improvement that rested on and reinforced the superiority of the agents administering the help. ${ }^{47}$ Accordingly, the symbolism of the tracts that Mabel passes on to the poor, the fact

[^64]that they were mass-produced at the heart of No. 1 Arched Alley and then sold by the Reverend to Mabel, perhaps may be read as an indication of Kingston's attitude towards those religious doctrines that ultimately reinforce capitalism's values and the poor's place within society. Mabel is passing on the very tracts that she has bought from the preacher, in essence, passing on a worthless symbol of society's corruption. Kingston suggests that Mabel is blind to this and that for all her well meaning, she has been shaped by her milieu and is trapped in it. Perhaps this is why he describes the characters of the inn, Arched Alley and Hardwicke Place without overt censure, but implies that they are products of their immediate society. Hence, the figure of the travelling carver serves as a catalyst for their faults.

Kingston then makes his association of character and place more pronounced to rework the social relationships he has established, and to signify a shift in the balance of authority between the characters. The scene moves to a metaphorically neutral site, a road beyond the hedge surrounding Hardwicke Place. By re-positioning the characters, Kingston is possibly trying to remove his reader's own resistance to social parameters. Here, the hedge divides the figure of the carver and the middle-class group of the Harden sisters and Claremontly :

Mabel and Gertrude, along with Mabel's admirer, were peering over a hedge into a lane, at a travelling carver who was sitting under a tree. They engage him in conversation, and Gertrude, the less sensible of the two sisters exclaimed, 'He talks like a book...But not one of superfine binding,' she added. ${ }^{48}$

[^65]A conversation follows as to the worthiness of admiring books because of their gorgeous covers. This conversation moves to the topic of judging people by their appearances. Gertrude asks, 'I suppose you'll admit that the rich coverings do not always cover deceit?' whereupon the carver, although unwilling to be drawn into the conversation, replies:

Readily, but deceit wrapt in wealth is not so pardonable as when it is covered in rags, because we expect great things from great appearances, but with the poor we do not look for so many virtues. ${ }^{49}$

The carver, in the face of Gertrude's insistence, corrects Gertrude:
'You mistake me, miss', responded the workman; 'it's the rich people that are always trying to make out their poorer brethren to be all that's bad, whilst they cover their own faults with the affluence they possess. ${ }^{50}$

As here, Kingston is given to moralising through the interaction of his characters. This encounter illustrates how Kingston sees the gulf between the classes systemised in Victorian society. Nowhere is this made clearer than in the confrontation between the carver and Gertrude in the neutral setting of the roadway. As the conversation between the Harden sisters and the carver develops, the carver accurately identifies Gertrude's narrow vision, but his reasoning with her cannot change the way she judges an individual, and a social grouping, by their appearance. Kingston suggests that all social relations are constituted or distorted by socioeconomic divisions. Although it would be an oversimplification to generalise, this can be found across much of this fiction to a greater or lesser extent. Corruption too is passed on from one social grouping to

[^66]another. The corrupt Reverend brings worthless tracts to Mabel from the town, and in turn, Mabel's visits to the village poor to pass on these tracts reinforces the cycle of corruption and resultant inequalities. In YSN's, 'The Pauper Funeral' (1864), discussed in the next chapter, ${ }^{51}$ it is the callous doctor's visit to a poor patient which extends the cyclical impact of indifferent social relations and corruption, to issues of life and death; for poverty and disease are perpetuated by the doctor's ignorance.

Kingston depicts the gulf between the classes, and wider issues of corruption, as emanating from the centre of the city and No. 1 Arched Alley. His use of the urban/rural divide echoes, whether or not intentionally, both Marx and Engels' vision that 'the bourgeoisie had subjected the country to the rule of the towns. ${ }^{, 52}$ His characters, in different kinds of habitat, depict different social groups, and at the same time expose paradoxes and misunderstandings, so that the conscious and unconscious construction of distinctions and divisions between classes are overtly highlighted. Hence, Kingston uses the symmetry and paradox of place, (the road beyond the hedge), away from conventional social structures, to open up possibilities for exploration of social relations. It is here that the carver is able to assert his own identity and values in face of middle-class intrusion into his world. It is a place where social relations and common presumptions may be challenged. Perhaps the strength of Kingston's writing is that it illuminates a

[^67]complex network of class relations, highlighting the friendly societies' dialogue with predominantly middle-class social concerns and discussions.

The subtext of 'Not Gilded, But Golden' progresses to expand and elucidate the singularity of 'judging a book by its cover.' At times Kingston barely disguises his critique of aspects of social relations and attitudes, at others, such challenges are implicit or perhaps unconscious, and interact with naturalised assumptions or external agendas. In terms of wider literary and cultural discourses, his representations reflect contemporary debates and power struggles. He re-forms associations of class with place to complicate contemporary constructions of an homogenised working-class. The carver resents the Hardens' intrusion into his work and he resists being drawn into conversation with them. Having established Mr Harden as a patron earlier, ('he patronised many charitable institutions,') ${ }^{53}$ the carver symbolises the independent friendly society movement and their resistance to middle-class patronage. The link between the carver and the friendly society movement is later revealed when it is disclosed that the carver is known as 'The Bear,' which was the surname of the Oddfellows' Past Grand Master at that time, R.C.Bear.

Kingston criticises the actions of all classes, (for the working-class Clicks are not without many faults), and this reflects the public stance of the friendly society movement. It is only the carver, whose origin is at first unknown, and whose social class is not immediately apparent, who is able to see the faults of his

[^68]companions and highlight the actions of all social groups. As such, Kingston's narrative attempts to ameliorate class relations rather than to polarise them.

Kingston and his fellow writers use the 'outsider' motif to position themselves apart from any negative association with cross/intra-class behaviour. By assuming the position of outsiders with apparently disinterested social positions, they afford their characters the most authoritative platform from which to comment on political issues and from which to levy criticism. The carver, as an 'outsider' de-familiarises a situation. Such characters are in some way alienated, socially and metaphysically alone, or simply apart, from a dominant culture, thus serve as a means for depicting an alternative social reality. ${ }^{54}$ Ostensibly, the carver represents the 'wild-man type' or 'anti-social man' whose proximity poses a threat to civil society. ${ }^{55}$ However, his intellectual powers enable him to articulate his own course of actions in the face of hegemonic domination and here, as signifier of the friendly society movement, to challenge the middle classes and their perception of social relations. An 'outsider' figure, representing the friendly society movement, is found in many forms in the friendly societies' fictions. In Henry Owgan's narrative,' Making The Best of It: Or Peace, Union and Goodwill, ${ }^{56}$ the outsider is Captain Black, a former sea captain whose

[^69]background is little known, and who has settled in a small, sea-faring community.
Owgan describes the strange appearance of the Captain thus:
the person so addressed was a rather tall and slight but actively formed man, apparently about the age of forty-if any near guess could be formed of one so bronzed and weather-beaten-with clear dark complexion and abundant hair, still perfectly brown, which he wore in long and carefully cultivated ringlets. His costume was unmistakably nautical, consisting of long heavy boots, a red India handkerchief loosely tied upon his neck, and a couple of massive gold rings upon his hands. ${ }^{57}$

The storyline and plot are fairly predictable; events revolve around a newly appointed clergyman, settling into a small rural sea-faring community, a thwarted love affair and unjustified accusations of crime. However, like the protagonists mentioned earlier in this chapter such as Slade, Owgan blurs traditional stereotyped characterisations. Again, physical characteristics do not denote the character's morals or behaviour. The Captain's 'strange' appearance is countered with the information that he was 'a philanthropist' who established the Friendly Society lodge and would 'do some good. ${ }^{58}$ Following a conversation between the Captain and the clergyman, the latter speculates:
respecting the real character of a man whose mind and manners were so strangely inconsistent with, and of a so much higher order, than his outward appearance. ${ }^{59}$

Owgan's story confronts many of the public criticisms of the friendly societies. His working-class characters are both respectable and honourable. It is noted that the friendly society will become 'a steady and permanent influence' within the

[^70]community. ${ }^{60}$ Furthermore, his narrative is set within a 'respectable public house' which is frequented by a group of young men who:
were members of the same Friendly Society and 'would stand by each other to the last extremity, where they believed their help was deserved. ${ }^{61}$

Using the outsider figures of the Carver and the Captain, both Kingston and Owgan harness negative perceptions of their own place in the socio-political order and re-present them in their narratives as central, investing them with agency and meaning. Furthermore, in turn, they de-centre popular dominant social groupings, (such as Kingston's 'Reverend'), and depict them as 'other'. Similarly, Owgan's clergyman is the 'collegian', the respectable middle class figure, but he realises that it is he who will have to change to succeed in the working-class community that he has joined:
and he began to hope that he should get on agreeably enough with his congregation, if he could only contrive to make himself intelligible to them. ${ }^{62}$

The clergyman realises that it is he who will need to learn the community's language and ways, rather than they learn his. A shift perhaps takes place in the characterisation of the Captain and the clergyman. The Captain is the original outsider, but when the clergyman arrives, although he is a stock middle-class figure of any community, he finds himself on the outside of this close-knit social grouping. Like Kingston, Owgan presents the middle class clergyman as 'other' in several encounters within his narrative: two local, young girls run away from the

[^71]clergyman, startled, he assumes, because he was a stranger. He reasons that 'the ugliest animals are not the most dangerous. ${ }^{63}$ Owgan also manipulates stereotypes here; for it is not the poor and/or working-class figures that are a separate species to be studied and understood by the middle classes, but vice versa. This theme is repeated as the Captain's history unfolds, when it is revealed that he found himself aboard a pirate vessel, whose captain is 'effeminate' and 'softly spoken', with a 'gentle, musical voice,, ${ }^{64}$ again resisting conflations of persona and social stereotypes. These allusions and metaphors substantiate the clergyman's observation of the inconsistencies between appearances and character. ${ }^{65}$

All the protagonists in the friendly society fiction possess one or more of these qualities: a superior intellect, independence, a strong social and moral conscience. However, their class origins do differ. It emerges that in both Owgan's and Kingston's stories, the protagonists had been exiled from the middle and upper classes, having suffered a downfall in fortunes as a result of social injustice. While this fate can be widely found in contemporary literature, it sits somewhat uneasily in fiction for a working-class audience. It could signify the writers' real or articulated conformity to dominant perceptions of progress and attainment. More possibly, the characters that were once of a higher class, but have joined the labouring or working classes due to some misfortune, do reinforce the writers' themes of the interconnectedness of classes. Furthermore, this crossclass activity highlights the subjective criteria, (that is, work or appearance) that

[^72]ostensibly divides and distinguishes all classes. However, to give their protagonists a noble background might simply reflect a lack of originality in their writing.

The social class of the protagonist found in Charles Marshall's story, 'Old Misery, The Miser, ${ }^{66}$ is unclear, although he does not enjoy upward social mobility as a reward for his deeds. It is not just this or the manner in which Marshall ends his narrative that distinguishes his style of writing from that of Kingston and Owgan. Marshall's writing is representative of a further range of fiction found in the journals which use more overtly confrontational representations than have been considered so far. Although sharing similar narrative strategies and motifs, alternative political positions and resolutions are mooted, and, as stated, the protagonists are not restored, nor do they ascend to, higher social positions. In Marshall's story, the motif of an outsider is again central. This time it is a youth who is the focus of the story; his character mediates between the story's images which range from the caprices of capitalism, symbolised by the old Miser, and the anger of the mob, as the portent of revolution.

A fire marks the opening scene and sets up the narrative's articulation of social unrest. The fire spreads through a factory and then a terrace of houses. A figure, sighted on the roof of a nearby house, which is also alight, turns out to be the daughter of an old miser. She had been married that day and her groom was among those perishing in the fire below. The plot follows the old miser's

[^73]subsequent loss of his newly married daughter in the fire, and his attempts to make good his misdeeds of the past:

A quantity of oil contained in the building had ignited, and the whole pile became one glowing mass. Higher and higher the flames mounted, roaring and leaping till the sky grew red, blood red, as it overhung the scene.... Suddenly on the top...on the outermost wall of the roofless building, appeared a female figure. Beneath, the flaming abyss glowed like a crater. ${ }^{67}$

Although fires were certainly a common experience in mid nineteenthcentury Britain, they were also a potent symbol of change or destruction much used in Victorian fiction. ${ }^{68}$ 'Old Misery, The Miser' appeared during a decade when the societies were again subject to investigations by parliamentary committees and the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies. Concern focused upon the burial societies and the mismanagement of funds, but Cordery suggests that these investigations, 'also provided an opportunity for old prejudices about working-class culture [...] to re-emerge under the guise of solicitude for working people's pennies. ${ }^{69}$ It was also a time of economic slump, and when workingclass independence was a national political issue, with incidents of trade union defiance leading to renewed interest in workers' organisations. The pressure for

[^74]political and educational reform ${ }^{70}$ added to the impetus of government investigations of working-class organisations.

Marshall's young protagonist appears when the fire is raging. He calls for the crowd to help. In response, a ladder is eventually fetched but an attempt to reach the girl fails as she disappears into the flames. Another spectator points to a dog on the roof, whereupon the dog's owner suddenly appears and offers a reward for its rescue. The dog's successful rescue seems to compensate the crowd for the loss of the girl, although amid recriminations from some for the slow response to the girl's plight:

When all further aid was thus rendered unavailing, and nothing remained to be done, the voices of the spectators grew imperious and many were heard to wonder why the ladder had not been reared before. ${ }^{71}$

The old Miser then appears, struggling to push his way through the crowd and, distraught, he asks why no one had attempted to save his daughter. At this point, the youth was pushed forward. A conversation then takes place between the Miser and the youth, listened to intently by the crowd. The Miser expresses his gratitude for the youth's attempts to save his daughter. The owner of the rescued dog is standing next to the Miser, 'whose child, less fortunate than the brute, had perished. ${ }^{72}$ Too distressed to remain at the scene, the Miser is urged away to a nearby inn, aided by the youth. At the inn, in a room away from the peering eyes of curious onlookers who have followed them from the fire, the Miser appears to die, overcome by grief. News of his death spreads quickly to the outside crowd:

[^75]And when the sad event was made known to them, they were not, as those within the room where the dead man sat in his chair like sleeping life, hushed by awe and terror. Comments were loudly and coarsely made. Rude men broke into noisy speech, and declared that the deceased ought to have died years before, and so have spared the world much wrong and misery. ${ }^{73}$

Here Marshall sets up the interaction between the crowd, the youth and the Miser, as the three social signifiers of the plot. The youth arguably represents the friendly societies' stance because he inculcates values of respectability and rational action, while remaining apart from the crowd and the Miser. The crowd signifies the more militant working classes, and the Miser, the excess of capital exploitation. By using three signifiers, the distinction between not only the masses and the capital-owning class is established, but the distinction between the friendly societies and the rest of the mob (working classes) is also mooted. Shocked at the crowd's reaction and keen to escape the immediate vicinity of the inn, the youth returned to the scene of the fire:

But here also - for the news preceded him-he heard the same comment delivered with much emphasis. If he shifted his position -and that, in the working to and fro of the crowd, was unavoidable - the same words rang in his ears, reaching him from every side. And at last, the youth, without being able to obtain a plausible reason for this opinion, so seemingly universal, caught himself subscribing to the uncharitable sentiment, and echoing the remark of the crowd, that the deceased should have died years before. ${ }^{74}$

The crowd is united in its condemnation of the Miser, and under pressure from this, the youth also begins to share their sentiments. His wavering allegiances in the face of the pressure being exerted by the crowd projects a vision whereby the

[^76]respectable working classes of the friendly societies could unite with the more militant of their class, to confront the excesses of capital. Hence, beneath the playing out of melodramatic events, the mysterious, anonymous figure of the youth and the Miser, and their somewhat mechanical connections as characters, dichotomise society.

The story follows a predictable course. The Miser was not dead; he had apparently swooned, and was now in bed, eagerly awaiting the youth's return. On their meeting, the Miser expresses his remorse for his past unscrupulous ways and his desire to recompense for them: ""Let us be stirring," he said, "I swear I will not break my fast till I have undone what mischief I can reach to undo." ${ }^{75}$ As in Kingston's story, the settings are merely backdrops for the characters, except where they suggest events. The tavern where the Miser 'dies' carries biblical imagery of a 'stable', where the old social order enters to become reborn into a more equal and caring political and social order.

Themes of life and death being bought or lost through the processes of exploitative capitalism are worked through. For example, the Miser, accompanied by the youth, heads for a street, described as 'the least enviable as a place of residence ${ }^{76}$ to visit a young, married couple, whose suffering is material as well as emotional:

In the lower room of one of the dwellings in the street, a woman, scarcely turned thirty - she should have been young at that age, but she was not - held a sickly infant in her arms, and drew nearer the window, that she might the better note what change had taken place in its features since she placed it asleep in the bed at an earlier hour of the morning:

[^77]"It will die, George," she said, speaking softly and mournfully to her husband, who was trying to warm himself at the scanty fire in the grate. ${ }^{77}$

The husband had been present at the fire earlier and the couple were discussing the supposed death of the Miser, when the latter arrived. It transpires that the Miser had previously wronged this couple. The father had asked the Miser for a small sum of money to save his first child's life, but had received no help. It is the Miser who now pleads for the chance to help the baby in the woman's arms, but only reluctantly, does the husband eventually accept his offer. The fact that the couple's first child had died as a result of the Miser's wrongdoing, but that he was given the opportunity to save their surviving child, elaborates on Marshall's view that not all of the casualties of capitalist economy may be addressed, although with the obvious implication that valuable attempts may still be achieved. The Miser and the youth then depart in order that the Miser may call on other people that he has injured. Sometimes the Miser's attempts at undoing his past wrongs are unsuccessful. On one occasion, he reaches a jail where one of his victims had died the day before, having languished there unjustly for seventeen years. Thus, he dramatises how the lives and deaths of working people are dependent upon the vagaries of a capitalist economy, and inevitably warns those who have not joined the friendly societies' provision.

Marshall essentially articulates class conflicts rather than seeks to heighten them. He uses the inferno imagery in a manner that suggests that all classes are threatened if the working classes revolt. He employs such imagery not as an idea

[^78]of absolute perdition, but as a threat to all. The loss of the Miser's daughter, alongside the rescue of the dog, suggests that survival or death is a random, and not a rational, process. The 'red, blood red' imagery of the opening scenes is an overt portent of violence; it constructs the threat that the narrative both expresses, and then contains. Marshall's tale shares many similarities with Dickens' earlier portrayals of social unrest in both Barnaby Rudge ${ }^{78}$ and A Tale of Two Cities. ${ }^{79}$ While both Marshall and Dickens use fire as a threat of revolution, the differences between Dickens' portrayals and those found in Marshall's tale are interesting. Marshall's mob is not violent as the mob sometimes is in A Tale of Two Cities, (1859) and this does align with the friendly societies' non-militant image. Dickens arguably depicts revolution as justifiable, but this prospect is expressed as an alternative rather than as a solution in Marshall's narrative. Perhaps more pertinent is that it is not the aristocracy that Marshall's criticism targets, but the greedy capitalist. Since Marshall's story is set in the 1830s, he may be drawing on the social unrest which gave rise to the Chartist movement during 1830s, in order to provide a parallel with contemporary injustice. Thus, Marshall is not exciting sympathy for the mob, but offering his readers other possibilities.

The fact that Marshall's criticism is of capitalism's excesses, rather than simply of the middle classes, is also evident when comparing the Miser's character to that of the man, 'having all the appearance of a gentleman in his bearing, though shabbily dressed. ${ }^{80}$ Together, these characters may signify two aspects of society. If the old Miser symbolises a capitalist economy, the shabbily

[^79]dressed old 'gentleman' may symbolise an aristocracy in decline. Certainly, much of Marshall's imagery cannot be understood purely in terms of a Marxist vision, and must be put in context with the friendly society movement and the widespread surveillance and censure that it was subjected to throughout the period. Like Kingston, he does not flinch from portraying characteristics he sees as weaknesses of all classes. Furthermore, his writing certainly does not sit within polemical anarchist or socialist thought, yet the symbolic weight of the opening scenes - the 'blood red' of the fire indiscriminately consuming both property and the kin of the Miser, along with visions of the angry mob's attempt to rescue the Miser's daughter only when money is offered - pre-empt later scenes where life and death are bought at the discretion of financial considerations, as is the case with the young couple's baby.

Marshall's use of a London crowd to denote an alternative working-class perspective is significant. The city's population grew to such an extent between 1800 and 1900 that crowds were a real aspect of London life at the time. Thus the phenomenon of crowds influenced the representations of public and private spaces in some of the literature of the period, as well as notions of public life and privacy. ${ }^{81}$ In Marshall's story, the crowd is a phenomenon arising directly out of the incident of the fire - it gathers in response to the fire, and then moves away to stalk the Miser to the inn. The mob becomes a force which equals the earlier presence of the fire that has consumed life and property. George Rude ${ }^{82}$ and Eric

[^80]Hobsbawm ${ }^{83}$ argue that a crowd which was socio-economically representative of the general population was a positive depiction of radicalism. Drawing on the eighteenth and nineteenth century European food and industrial riots, they argue that where there was a specific purpose, then riotous action by the disempowered may be pivotal in gaining concessions to their demands. Their protest is legitimated by recognition by both the people and hierarchies. In keeping with Rude's and Hobsbawm's research, the mob in Marshall's tale does emerge as a unified and politicised group, censuring the Miser's previous exploitation of the people, and like the fire, the mob cannot be controlled. It is a metaphor for the militant public voice and its presence symbolises the majority psyche. Thus, assuming that Marshall's mob is allegorical for mass political agency, the youth momentarily legitimates the mob's cause for dissent, when his loyalties waver. Hence, Marshall symbolises the crowd as an alternative perspective, without overtly condoning or condemning its actions. Although the mob may be a force or a catalyst for social change, the youth moves away from it, which suggests Marshall's rejection of mob protest. ${ }^{84}$ This more readily aligns the writing with the friendly societies' ethos of independence, and also supports the societies' public displays of respectability. Yet by offering the prospect of revolt, the writing reinforces their role as a working-class pressure group.

One further significance of Marshall's narrative may be that it appeared at the time of 'a nationwide movement to differentiate respectable, independent

[^81]working men from the '"rough residuum,", 85 Cordery describes how 'Debates over the lines between respectable and rough, and between insurance and charity, flourished within the friendly society movement during this decade. ${ }^{86}$ Hence, the juxtaposition of the mob and the youth may not only explore the friendly societies' position both in terms of the state and/or the middle classes, but also offer analysis of the organisations' internal debates regarding their allegiances. For example, components of internal and external politics are found in a range of contemporary texts from the journals. In 'The Rival Schoolmasters ${ }^{87}$ the societies' debates are explored through the life of Mr Bounce, the long serving schoolmaster of a village, whose position and authority and old way of doing things, are challenged by the arrival of a young, progressive schoolmaster, Mr Trotter, who establishes a separate school. Whilst 'easily satisfied with a glass of grog' and 'a pinch of snuff' during the good times, for Bounce and his pupils there is the ever presence of poverty:

> Poor fellow! you would have admired his courageous bearing of poverty; he never complained, even though on the brink of starvation, but bore it all with heroic resignation [...] He had kept the school in the village, time out of mind, without a rival; but now a new school was opened by a young man of four or five-andtwenty, which threatened the Bounce dynasty most terribly. ${ }^{88}$

In this story, competition between the two new establishments is mainly felt by the old schoolmaster. He taunts the capabilities of his rival, culminating in a physical confrontation, whereby the old order, Mr Bounce, is the one to suffer.

[^82]Rather than gloat, Trotter has compassion and aids Bounce back to his home, where they become 'as old friends.' The new generation in the form of Bounce's daughter offers unity, and her falling in love with Trotter depicts the way forward. They marry with Bounce's blessing. It can only be speculated as to exactly what political parallels are being drawn here, if any. Given that this was written at the time of the Enfranchisement of urban working-class men, it may be that Bounce personifies a diminishing but resistant middle class in the face of political and social change, and Northey is seeking to suggest to his readers and fellow members that the way forward must be by compromise, and their acceptance of such change. Perhaps, the Bounce regime merely suggests Tory populism and/or Northey may be articulating other internal debates of the organisations, such as their rejection of patronage, (in the persona of Bounce), which raged within the friendly society movement at that time.

A further number of literary techniques are common to Marshall and Northey's writing. There is a period of disruption in both. In Marshall's story it is the fire and the old Miser's apparent 'death', whereas in Northey's narrative it is a fight which takes place between Bounce and Trotter. The result is that each is followed by a new social order. Marshall appropriates the symbolism of fire as providential and an instrument of change, as both a destructive and progressive force. In his short story, 'The Old Wiltshire Fiddler', ${ }^{89}$ it is the symbol of fire that provokes the downward spiral for the capital owning classes. Again a symbolic outsider, the wandering fiddler is employed as a marker of otherness and

[^83]serves to explore the writer's own issues. In 'The Old Wiltshire Fiddler', the fiddler is a man whose physical appearance was 'breaking up. ${ }^{90}$ The people in one of the towns that he regularly visited thought it would be the last time they would see him:

He that day reaped a richer harvest than he usually had done. Everybody gave him what they thought would be a farewell coin; and so it proved. . ${ }^{91}$

It was the Fiddler's last appearance in the town and everybody assumed that he had gone to his last resting place. However, a year or so later, the narrator chances to see the old familiar figure standing in a graveyard of a neighbouring town, long after he had thought the Fiddler to be dead. Despite the narrator's past knowledge of the Fiddler, it is only here, that they speak:

I cautiously moved toward him, and before either of us spoke I recognised the features to be those of the old Wiltshire fiddler. An almost indescribable feeling came over me, it being so strongly impressed on my mind that he was dead. ${ }^{92}$

Death, or the enactment of it, is a significant event in Marshall's tales. In 'Old Misery, The Miser,' the Miser is thought to die at the inn, only for it to be found that he had swooned. When he recovers, he sets out to amend his past wrongdoings. Again, rebirth and resurrection are themes in Dickens's A Tale of Two Cities, ${ }^{93}$ and like Dickens, Marshall uses the imagery of death to signify the end of old social relations, thus allowing the birth of new and more equal ones.

[^84]As much as he uses the symbol of fire, he depicts death as the precursor of rebirth. In 'The Old Wiltshire Fiddler', this is emphasised by using a graveyard setting, as a device that is both socially-levelling, and enables free exchange between the characters.

On meeting, the old Fiddler proceeds to tell the tale of his life, but first cautions that, 'I must tell it at once, and be brief, as the time is growing late.' The significance of this urgency becomes apparent at the end of the tale. The Fiddler reveals a childhood passion for music, encouraged and developed by 'one of the best teachers in the neighbourhood. ${ }^{94}$ As a young man, he falls in love with the daughter of a neighbouring farmer 'who fully reciprocated [his] own feeling'. ${ }^{95}$ However, during this happy courtship, the destruction of the home of the Fiddler and his parents by fire signals a reverse in their fortunes and his 'father was now compelled to work as a day labourer. ${ }^{96}$ His parents lived only a short while after, for 'the change was too great. ${ }^{97}$ And for the Fiddler, there follows some forty years of 'precarious' living as a wandering fiddler, until he sought 'a resting place - in the workhouse, ${ }^{98}$ near the grave of his sweetheart Clara. The Fiddler then leaves quickly, for 'the workhouse clock struck the hour for the inmates to retire'99 and 'placing one more coin in his hand, at the same time giving it a gentle shake, ${ }^{100}$ the narrator bade the old fiddler farewell, 'in all

[^85]probability for the rest of his earthly journey. ${ }^{101}$ The early and mysterious sense of urgency on the part of the Fiddler is explained when 'the workhouse clock struck the hour for the inmates to retire. ${ }^{102}$ Here, the workhouse clock intrudes into the conversation between the two characters, signalling the Fiddler to withdraw. This may or may not have been the intention of Marshall here, but the sense of an intruding, authoritative voice is a recurrent feature found within this body of writing and discussion of this will be looked at in later chapters.

In both of Marshall's tales, relationships are constituted through, and constrained by, economic realities and social pressures. A fire precedes economic misfortune, which in turn leads to the characters' decline in all other spheres, ultimately determining both health and social relations. In 'The Old Wiltshire Fiddler', it is the change in the Fiddler's financial prospects that prompted the father of his fiancée to alter his opinion of the Fiddler's suitability as a husband for his daughter, and so to end their engagement. The daughter's health 'soon gave way ${ }^{103}$ and she fell prey to consumption. Although an accomplished musician, the Fiddler became an occupant of the workhouse, and the economic loss suffered by his family led to their demise.

Marshall's writing does not openly offer hope for a better future, but suggests a vision of what might happen if the old, unjust order does not reform. While his stories do not offer character development or unified action, in 'Old Misery, The Miser', the misfortune of the poor young couple derives from the

[^86]past economic actions of the Miser, as much as the latter's present suffering is the effect of his past relations with that couple. Certainly, a story purely about nineteenth-century politics might have stirred up the readers' prejudices and distracted their attention from the 'normal relations' that the fiction depicts. Thus, he does not openly seek to challenge his readers' convictions or political ideas. His characters do not die when death would mean that oppression would remain. Had Marshall allowed the Miser to die without attempting to make amends, he would be condoning political change by his use of the 'angry crowd'. Yet equally, if he allowed the Miser to reverse all of his wrongdoings, and bring about a satisfying catharsis, he could have suggested that capitalism would ultimately be reversed without any active intervention. By portraying the youth accompanying the Miser on his journeys to repair the damage that he has caused in the past, Marshall probably implies that despite many promises of reform that were uttered in public, each promise would have to be monitored to achieve actual progress.

Marshall and Kingston have no doubt accommodated their criticism within a format readily accessible to their readers. Although their stories may perhaps be considered little more than moral tales, or a throwback compared to, say, much Chartist fiction, they only loosely follow what Keating describes as standard formats of Victorian fiction. ${ }^{104}$ For instance, while some aspects of 'Old Misery, The Miser' and 'Not Gilded, But Golden', fit into 'the condition of the people'105 type of Victorian fiction, they do not attempt to transform the manners or habits of the working classes. Secondly, the working classes are not represented as ugly or

[^87]debased, but working-class characters are represented in sympathetic rather than insensitive terms. In Kingston's story, Anthony Click's unscrupulous behaviour is to some extent legitimated by his family's dependence on external factors, such as their reliance upon 'passing trade' and the Hardens' benevolence. The Hardens are not represented as all that is bad about the middle classes, but perhaps ignorant of social reality, or simply naïve. These representations of social relations suggest the writers' awareness of a complex class structure, rather than simply a dichotomy of class between proletariat and bourgeoisie.

Marshall's narrative may be read as a juxtaposition between the alternatives facing his friendly society - either change by the capital owning classes, or his movement's overt complicity in working-class militancy. The ending of Marshall's narrative sees the youth retire or withdraw after the Miser failed to compensate one of his victims. Perhaps for him to receive rich rewards from the Miser, or to acquire high status, would sit uneasily with Marshall's readers, for as Martha Vicinus notes of Chartist fiction, 'the difficulties of affecting change are insurmountable, and the reader will not believe in the promise of fulfilment. ${ }^{106}$ It may also be that the youth symbolises Marshall's failure to 'achieve a major confrontation between his protagonists and the social order from which they recoil., ${ }^{107}$ The reader is reminded that social conditions under the old 'Bounce' regime, whereby the working classes may 'consume grog and snuff, ${ }^{108}$ are also social conditions where the working classes are equally as

[^88]likely to suffer starvation. Certainly, the fictional narratives offer an alternative vision of social reality, one whereby working people are able to act independently. The themes in the creative writing relate on a wider scale to the complex interactions, pressures and disturbances of an active social history.

Working people were perhaps never as vulnerable as when ill-health prevented them from being able to work. Since the friendly societies formed the origins of formal health care provision for working people, the next chapter draws upon the writers' constructions of the physician and healthcare at a time when the working classes were regarded through a process of physiological and pathological definition. As much as mobs or crowds symbolised a growing mass identity, the interpretation of working-class bodies came to the fore in the era's political imagination.

## Chapter 3

## MedicIne and Health Care

This chapter looks at the uriters' representations of health and medical care, focusing upon their perceptions of doctor/patient relationships and the role of the physician. The stories are analysed from the writers' standpoint as patients, and also as members of the friendly society movement which provided health care, and were employers of medical practitioners. The stories' themes often reinforce the societies' wish for autonomy through expressions of resistance to medicalisation. ${ }^{\text {' }}$ with its consequent professional dominance and need for surveillance over areas of their lives. One theme is the impact internal conflicts in the medical profession have on patients. For instance, in 'Keeping A Conscience'2 the author attributes the death of a patient to the rivalries and power struggles within the medical profession. Another theme is the correlation of poverty with ill health, and this is found in 'The Pauper Funeral' ${ }^{3}$ by Y.S.N.. This tale also emphasises the 'business' which informs certain doctor/patient relationships,4 as well as drawing attention to contemporary issues about the role

[^89]of women in healthcare. At the same time as emphasising the societies' desire for independence, their interconnectedness with all classes is also depicted, reinforcing their wish for more equal social relations. To place the writers' concerns and preoccupations in context, both the prevailing health issues and the friendly societies' involvement in medical provision during the period need to be understood.

The 1860s was a decade when Britain was almost under siege from infectious disease. From 1861 to 1869, an epidemic of typhus pervaded London, the Prince Consort being its most notable victim in 1861. In Lancashire, the poverty and distress resulting from the cotton famine also saw typhus sweep through the textile districts. The cholera outbreak in 1866, coupled with a virulent strain of measles, preceded an epidemic of scarlet fever in 1869 and the century's severest epidemic of smallpox began the next decade. Furthermore, despite the public health movement, the death rate and the control of disease appeared little improved, and in 1860, life expectancy for adult males averaged forty years.5 Ill health and poverty continued as a direct result of structural factors such as inadequate nutrition and housing. ${ }^{6}$ In 1871, an estimated seventy-two per cent of

[^90]pauperism resulted from ill-health. ${ }^{7}$ This relationship between ill health and poverty is summed up by one member, William Norris, who calls for 'bread pills, frequently administered with results of a satisfying and drastic nature. ${ }^{8}$

Yet, for much of the period from 1860 to the end of the century, medical care remained piecemeal. Major illnesses were not automatically thought to require institutional treatment - the rich were nursed at home, while the poor were sometimes afforded treatment within the workhouse infirmary or sick ward. There were a few voluntary hospitals funded by charities that catered for a small segment of the poorer sections of the sick population. The poor would have to present themselves at such a hospital bearing a letter of recommendation from a subscriber or patron. Athena Vrettos notes that in George Moore's novel, Esther Waters,' 'the impoverished young heroine' 10 enters the ward of a London charity hospital where the patient has no privacy; it is 'a room full of people, eight or nine young men and women, eating sweets, discussing the latest plays and shilling novels." Although the fact that Esther Waters did have access to public health care is a positive note, her treatment highlights the class and moral differentiation in such provision. Moore shows that Esther received medical treatment not simply because she was poor and sick, but because her devoutly Christian beliefs made her 'deserving' too. Ill health was pereeived as a 'problem' not only of the poor,

[^91]but also of the poor's oun making. ${ }^{12}$ Thus, medical treatment was perceived as class-specific. Poverty and ill-health were conflated with moral debility, and the working classes were perceived as a deviant group as a whole, confirmed by their high incidence of ill health. ${ }^{13}$ Accounts of illness found in both medical and literary texts contributed to this perception, whereby social identities came to be constructed through the incidence of disease and contagion. ${ }^{14}$ For example, the character of the physician and the early promise of medicine are found in two major novels, Madame Bovary ${ }^{15}$ and Middlemarch. ${ }^{16}$ In both texts, social relations and cultural formations are articulated through the physician and interventionist medicine.

Hence, the health or sickness of an individual could be interpreted according to varying and subjective criteria. Cordery observes that 'friendly societies participated in the process by which a new category of individual identity, "the sick" emerged." He elaborates that "sickness is both an objective and subjective state, [whereby] subjectively sickness is the socially agreed definition of what it means to be ill. ${ }^{18}$ Friendly societies defined sickness as the inability to work and so they paid benefits accordingly.

It was not just the incidence of ill health and disease which formed the backdrop to the fiction of the friendly societies. The period also saw bitter rivalry

[^92]within the medical profession between general practitioners, consultants and apothecarics, which the 1858 Medical Act hoped to ameliorate, but which persisted through much of the ensuing period. In contrast to the wrangling within the medical profession, David Green describes the extraordinary success of the friendly society movement in providing social insurance and primary medical care for almost three-quarters of manual workers by the late nineteenth century. ${ }^{19}$ Largely due to the friendly societies' success in organising affordable medical provision, the 1860s saw the start of working people who belonged to friendly societies, gaining increasing access to orthodox medical services. ${ }^{20}$ This increase was in contrast to a narrowing access to skilled care for the wider population, which was a direct result of the General Medical Council's attempts to end the tripartite system ${ }^{21}$ of healthcare and to regulate the medical profession. ${ }^{22}$ The societies were so efficiently organised that they offered a range of medical care. This might be a system where each lodge retained a contract practitioner who would attend the societies' members as needed; alternatively, many of the larger societies provided convalescent homes solely for their members. The provision became even more sophisticated in some areas, where the societies opened and operated medical centres, each permanently staffed by medical practitioners.

[^93]Green remarks that so successful was this model of health care provision, that it 'formed the model for the early welfare state. ${ }^{23}$

Whether practitioners were hired to staff the friendly society medical centres, or were to be available simply when needed, the practitioners first had to satisfy the friendly society of their suitability. This entailed being interviewed by the friendly society committee, and if successful at this stage, their appointment had to then be approved by ordinary members, and their fees had to be negotiated and agreed at a competitive rate. This very process became the subject of much dissent by the medical profession ${ }^{24}$ and its goveming body, the General Medical Council, not least because their fees were considerably reduced in comparison with their normal charges. Yet, the doctors were often powerless to increase their charges due to the competition that they faced from newly-qualified doctors to secure such a post, and who were prepared to charge less. Importantly, aspects of the relationship between the friendly societies and medical practitioners incised the Victorian class structure, because the societies' success in organising healtheare meant that they became 'employers' of middle-class, professional men. Thus, despite doctors holding a professional status, they had to be 'employed,' and thus be subservient to, poor and/or working-class patients, because the latter were members of such a powerful group. ${ }^{2 s}$ The medical profession made many attempts to win the ideological highground in this situation, but they were often powerless in the face of the friendly society collective.

[^94]In summary, the relationship between the medical profession and the friendly societies was coloured by more complex and wide ranging issues than the immediate provision of medicine. Class differentiation and interpretations of what it meant to be ill, with the ever present threat of the Poor Law for those debilitated by ill health, were also features of the interaction between the societies and the medical profession throughout much of the second half of the century. ${ }^{26}$ So although the century witnessed new medical innovations and discoveries, such as anaesthesia, inoculation, routine surgical operations and the discovery of microbial infection, these were accompanied by struggles for professional and personal authority by medical practitioners, and by the friendly societies' contests to win for their collectives, both authority and independence.

Indeed, the friendly societies' ongoing call for independence and autonomy did not surface solely in the fiction. Many members were hostile to any proposal that might lead to their dependency on employer or state. For example, many were against any state provision of welfare or pensions because of the dependency these entailed, and, importantly, because they might encourage employers to pay insufficient wages for them to make their own provision. One member urote:

He needs not charity's humbling dole His name's kept from the pauper's roll And what the poor laws afford. ${ }^{27}$

As much as this writer confirms that dependence upon charity was eschewed, reliance upon medicines to maintain health was resisted too.

[^95]One article encapsulates the members' views of medical treatment, and underpins representations of medical practice in their stories:

Regimen and medicine are the means by which man endeavours to preserve health and prolong life. The former embraces the proper regulation of the diet and habits of an individual; the latter regards the administration of medicines, both extemal and internal. In heallh, little or no medicine is required, and the habitual use of it is extremely prejudicial [...] It appears to us that the importance of regiminal treatment has been very much underrated by many medical as well as non-medical persons... [...] and violent medical treatment must soon be numbered among the things that were. ${ }^{28}$

This article shows how the societies encouraged members to take responsibility for their oun health and to cultivate a sense of well-being, and also censures what was felt to be increasing medical intervention by some of the medical profession, into areas of life previously self-managed. ${ }^{29}$

Certainly, not all representations of the physician and medical treatment are harsh and critical. For example, in 'Two January Incidents', the physician is a welcome attendant in the sick room. ${ }^{30}$ A friendly society visitor is visiting a sick member, Mr Harper, at the same time as the doctor is in attendance. The worry that poverty could so easily result from ill health is aired in the wife's dialogue with the doctor. The conversation between the doctor and Mrs Harper

[^96]foregrounds the importance of financial provision and its role in alleviating stress and so aiding recovery. Mrs Harper, the member's wife, declares, 'What a blessing a Forester's Court is to a working man when he becomes ill... ${ }^{31}$ and she also confirms her love for her husband who insured his life, which 'provided a great relief to his mind. ${ }^{32}$ The doctor agrees with Mrs Harper on the benefits of friendly society provision, adding:

For the mind has a wonderful influence over the body for good or evil. And many a man's life has been saved because of his having insured it...for it relieves a sick man's mind to a great extent to know that those dear to him are provided for to some extent. And many a man has gone down to the grave before he ought to have gone, because of his anxiety for his family, when he has made no provision for them. Sickness is bad enough to bear without the addition of anxiety and grief... However, in this case, 'tis all right. The Insurance Society may sleep quietly for the time, as our friend Harper is doing. ${ }^{33}$

This part of the story ends with a friendly society visitor handing over the week's sick-pay to the wife. Outside, the doctor and the friendly society visitor discuss the patient. The doctor confides that he, too, benefits from a patient's life being insured, since:

> securing the sufferer's mind from harassing anxiety, is a very great help to a medical man, for grief and freffulness are a doctor's enemies, you may be sure, inasmuch as they ensure conditions of body entirely opposite to those which assist recovery. ${ }^{34}$

Like many stories found in the friendly society publications, 'Two January Incidents' is an overt piece of propaganda in support of the friendly society movement. Yet the sickroom scene emphasises the societies' view of their equal

[^97]standing with the medical profession, for it depicts a network of lay support in conjunction with the doctor, but not subsumed by it. For example, the doctor is constructed as a valued, but equal, carer, along with the member's wife and the visiting friendly society member. The doctor is rarely portrayed in the journals as someone superior to the patient or lay carers. At the beginning of the story, when the friendly society visitor arrives, Mrs Harper advises the visitor that she will know how well her husband is once she has heard the doctor's opinion, 'and then I shall be better able to form my own opinion. ${ }^{35}$ Although the visitor responds, 'I dare say that the doctor will be the best judge of his condition, ${ }^{36}$ the ensuing sick-room scene sees both the doctor and the visitor each holding one of the patient's hands, symbolising connectivity rather than hierarchy.

Whereas the doctor in 'Two January Incidents' is employed by the friendly society, and thus more equal relations between patient and doctor are found, some of the friendly society stories explore medical care where relations between doctor and patient are contoured by money. In 'The Pauper Funeral, ${ }^{37}$ by Y.S.N., the author describes a visit by the parish doctor to an impoverished old widow. The doctor is:
a rough, coarse man, with a dim, obtuse countenance, which indicated insensibility of heart so obviously, that you instinctively shrank from his approach [...] There was a coarse sinister grin upon his features as he entered, which showed how little he was affected by scenes of human suffering. ${ }^{38}$

[^98]The physician is little more than a caricature, and the harshness of his character is a symptom of the societies' hostility toward medical care provided through parish relief. ${ }^{39}$ However, while some of the implicit antipathy on the writer's part may be simply due to the loss of income which would result if friendly society members relied on this type of care, much of the hostility is directed at the patient's vulnerability, being dependent upon the doctor's benevolence for her medical needs. By highlighting the doctor's disregard for the old widow's plight, (he prescribes remedies beyond her means), Y.S.N.'s story emphasises biomedicine's disregard of the impact of structural factors, such as poverty and unsanitary living conditions, on health. ${ }^{40}$

To some extent, this story follows the 'condition of the people' format of fiction that featured medicine in one or more of its forms, whether that was the physician, the sanitary inspector or, simply through representations of medical authority. In 'The Pauper Funeral', the old widow is 'in her eightieth year, [and] so curved by age and infirmity as to be almost dwarfed, and so feeble as to be all but helpless. ${ }^{.41}$ Her home is a 'hovel' once occupied by cattle. It did not have a ceiling and the one window consisted mostly of paper, the glass having been broken over the years and not replaced. ${ }^{42}$ The widow's bed was a straw pallet which was invaded nightly by voracious rats. Stories, such as William Gilbert's

[^99]Dives \& Lazarus ${ }^{43}$, usually depict poverty-stricken aspects of working-class industrial and urban life, and often, the language reveals the author's surveillance of the working classes. Sometimes this surveillance takes the form of conflating the working-class individual with scenes of decay, and/or descriptions that consciously or unconsciously reveal the author's individual and social pathology. A later example is George Gissing's use of grotesque images and extreme human situations to sensationalise aspects of working-class characters in Workers in the Dawn. ${ }^{44}$ For example:

Out of the very depths of human depravity bubbled up the foulest miasmata which the rottenness of the human heart can breed, usurping the dominion of the pure air of heaven, stifling a whole city with their infernal reek. [...]Here was a dense, surging crowd around the doors of such a house, surrounding two men who had been flung bodily forth by half a dozen policemen, and who now wallowed in the filth of the gutter, rending each other with tooth and nail, till one of them was carried off insensible or dead. Here rushed along the street a band of women, raving mad with drink and the passions it had aroused, rendering the gift of speech a hideous curse by the language they yelled aloud. Here were children, all but naked, wrangling and fighting for the possession of a jug of liquor which they had somehow procured. [...]Here was poverty cheating poverty of its last pence; here was garbage sold for meat and poison for bread; from every hole and corner of the street and its foul alleys peered vice and crime. ${ }^{45}$

This was written at a time when Gissing's allegiances to the working classes were faltering, and demonstrates the possible conflicts in the portrayal of working people by those from a different class. These images of the poor are

[^100]unsympathetic and hostile. However, the narrative of 'The Pauper Funeral' invites sympathy for the old woman. The social pathology lies in the writer's surveillance of the physician; his large silver watch and his great insensitivity to his patient, depict both economic superiority and social indifference. While the physician cannot be expected to cure poverty, his prescriptions of whiskey are beyond the old widow's means, with the implication that poverty is somehow her personal failing.

The nature of the physician's visit also highlights the friendly societies' concern at intrusion in their affairs. The brusque indifference of the physician and the contrast of his manners to those of the old widow in her own home, points to the sense of contagion by the intrusion and intervention of the middle classes into the friendly societies' own sphere. This sense of interference is seen in Kingston's 'Not Gilded But Golden', where the carver is persistently accosted and questioned by the young women of the local manor house while he tries to continue with his own business. This intrusion echoes and inverts the more usual Victorian fear of contagion coming from the working classes. For example, debate which originally stemmed from concern over the increasing incidence of syphilis in middle-class families, escalated to 'theories of moral contagion arising from the proximity of the different classes in the midst of the crowd. ${ }^{46}$ Vrettos cites Dickens' famous example of this sense of contagion found in Bleak House ${ }^{47}$ and argues that Krook's "'spontaneous combustion" - the dispersal of his body over the bricks and alleyways of London - [was] Dickens's metaphor for the workings

[^101]of all disease; that is -an explosion of the private body into the public domain. ${ }^{48}$ Although disease was not solely a class-specific experience, fictional workingclass characters were often the implied carriers, like Jo in Bleak House. ${ }^{49}$

This sense of contagion is further heightened in 'The Pauper Funeral' by depicting the old widow with cholera. Mary Poovey observes that contemporary reporting of the incidence of cholera drew 'all of society's problems into a single conceptual cluster. ${ }^{50}$ For two aspects of the social issues and the public approach to this disease need to be stressed. First, cholera was endemic throughout much of the century and its incidence instigated a detailed surveillance of proletarian conditions. The social differences and inequalities that emerged from the resulting data, in particular the deprivation of the urban poor, formed the basis for reform. Yet, two conflicting hypotheses sought to account for the incidence of cholera. The miasma theory held that the poor sanitation and poor hygiene of the working classes lay at the root of the disease, and this theory was sanctioned by leading state physicians. ${ }^{51}$ By re-ordering working people's lives, it was felt that the disease would be eradicated. This theory gained favour arguably because it legitimated the need for state surveillance and control of the population. ${ }^{52}$ Medical surveillance was just part of the wider surveillance of the working classes, not only on the streets, but within their places of entertainment, such as music halls and public houses. Carolyn Steedman suggests that the 1860s

[^102]and early 1870s witnessed such fervour for observing and inspecting working people's lives that even senior police officers supported the argument that the homes of the poor should be inspected by the police for cleanliness and against overcrowding. ${ }^{53}$ Poovey, too, observes how a member of the medical establishment, (J.P. Kay), used:
> such rhetoric [that helped] assimilate the politicised violence of laborers and trade unionists to the violence of cholera, thereby displacing arguments [...] that the root of the problem was the inequitable distribution of economic resources'. ${ }^{54}$

By utilising the incidence of cholera, Y.S.N. depicts the physician as the site of, and representative of, a wider social disease. It is the physician who brings the disease of professional ignorance or class-specific indifference, to the old widow's home. Certainly, this may also voice another strand of growing fears within Victorian society, namely the suspicion that physicians may be behind the spread of disease. Such suspicions were aired publicly, fuelled by the fear that cholera was being spread especially to provide medical trainees and dissectionists with more corpses.

In spite of the predictable narrative and the doctor's possibly far-fetched brusqueness, this short story is also interesting for the interaction between the physician and the visitor. 'The Pauper Funeral' was written at a time when the struggles for professional and personal authority by medical practitioners, meant that attempts to regulate the medical profession led to the marginalisation of 'non qualified' practitioners, such as women midwives and lay health workers. Only those people with professionally recognised training were able to register as

[^103]physicians and this advantaged men, since women were largely excluded from access to this training. Thus, the discriminatory registration process effectively contributed to the rise in power of the male-dominated orthodox medical profession. As a consequence, female counterparts of the medical profession, such as sanitary workers and midwives, became marginalised, while the profession of doctors gained a high status. This inequality was resisted and challenged during the 1860 s and 1870s by the Female Medical Society and the Obstetrical Association of Midwives. Hence, as much as interpretations of health were class specific, what constituted a health 'professional' was gender specific.
Y.S.N., possibly a female sanitary inspector, explores these contemporary questions regarding the role of women in health care in her story. The dialogue between the doctor and the visitor in the old widow's home codifies the wider power struggles between lay workers and physicians. The female visitor, who is the narrator, had gone to the old widow's home with the intent of offering any help that could be obtained. The physician prescribes whiskey for the old widow, among other things, and charges the visitor to obtain them on behalf of the widow. The narrator replies, "I shall, sir [...] though I have not much faith in the prescription." ${ }^{55}$ The physician scorns: "What should you know about it? -A shedoctor, I suppose. Ye had better leave this, ma'am, to men."56 The physician had ignored the woman visitor until he makes the derisory retort of 'she-doctor'. He is presented as didactic and misogynous, emphasised by his use of such terms as

[^104]'mother' when addressing the old widow, and accusing the latter of relying upon 'old wives' tales' when she protests that she is very ill.

This misogyny within medical practice surfaced in many forms. By questioning the physician's prescription, the female visitor had thereby questioned his authority. Much resistance to women gaining medical power focused on a woman's perceived lack of 'visual authority', namely that childbirth precluded women from abstract reasoning and the sentiment of justice, as well as rendering them intellectually and emotionally incapable of serious study. ${ }^{57}$ Vrettos notes the link between visual authority and patriarchal dominance of medicine, whereby 'the doctor's vision was a crucial symbolic territory. ${ }^{\text {.58 }}$ Harriot Hunt, a physician, challenged this dominance by calling for women to be present at dissections, maintaining that 'women's eyes become stronger the more they are allowed to see. ${ }^{59}$ She argued that:
to transfer the power of clinical vision to female physicians was to purge medicine of its patriarchal authority over women's bodies and to disrupt traditional associations between femininity and passive, limited, or obstructed forms of viewing. ${ }^{60}$

Thus, these concerns about women in medical practice may be discerned in 'The Pauper Funeral' when Y.S.N. empowers the female lay visitor, not the physician, with visual authority. She foregrounds the old widow's poverty as a key determinant of the quality of her life and her death. Overtly and covertly her

[^105]frailty and lack of means are presented to the physician, but he ignores this successively. The widow states that she cannot walk, but the physician rejects her complaints. Oblivious of the old widow's poverty-stricken home which he has entered, he prescribes treatment that is obviously beyond her means. His insistence ends with his blaming the widow and then her visitor, for not adhering to his prescription. He effectively passes responsibility for her condition back to the patient, thereby being seen to discharge his own role. Here, the physician is not a privileged interpreter of the working-class body, but constructs a prescription that is not tailored to the real disease, that of poverty. His prescriptions are superfluous and inappropriate in the face of such poverty and his harsh approach perpetrates indifference to those reliant upon him. So, as well as seeking to foster new arguments for a more feminine model of health care, Y.S.N. ultimately uses the female narrator as the authoritative observer and interpreter of the old widow's living conditions. It is her lack of 'faith in the prescription'61 that counters the dominance of the physician over the lives of both working-class patients, and women.

Finally, perhaps an off-hand reference at the end of Y.S.N.'s tale gives a further inkling of the author's criticism of the delineation between lay and professional medical workers. She reduces the physician's status to that of his having 'purchased a diploma somewhere, ${ }^{, 62}$ and on informing the physician of the old widow's death, she requests he notifies the 'parish authorities,' highlighting the fact that the doctor was in the employ of the parish. ${ }^{63}$

[^106]While Y.S.N.'s tale is overtly biased in favour of the friendly societies' own provision of medical care, members also argued that the quality of medicines prescribed under this arrangement was superior too. One member notes that friendly society members:
> are no longer under that despotic system from which sprang the everlasting "magenta and water" which did them no earthly good, and from whence also they were continually hearing the remark, "what can you expect for a penny a week." ${ }^{44}$

The 'penny a week' was the cost to the parish for providing medical charity, and the 'magenta and water' was a widely prescribed concoction which members felt held few medical benefits, but was primarily dispensed to justify the parish doctor's consultation fee. Also, as mentioned earlier, members were urged to take some responsibility for their own fitness since the dominant biomedical model's emphasis on prescribing medicines to treat ailments was regarded with some suspicion. This suspicion was two-fold, both over the effectiveness and safety of the substances prescribed, and also the requirement of the individual to submit to the superiority of medical knowledge and thus relinquish control over his/her own well-being. These tensions are expressed in 'Keeping A Conscience'. ${ }^{65}$ This story draws attention to the detrimental effects that the over-prescribing of medicines has on a patient, as well as the disastrous consequences that the conflicts within the medical profession has on one who falls victim to its professional power struggles, jealousies and ambitions. Nevertheless, the narrative invites support for the role of a physician, depicting him becoming powerless

[^107]within his own profession in the face of its medical hierarchy and the 'business' of medicine. Furthermore, as much as 'Two January Incidents' depicts the connectedness between the friendly society, the patient and the doctor, Hinchcliffe's manipulation of the interplay between professional interests and the interests of the patient, also implies that the outcome of conflict between these groups affects all classes.

The plot of 'Keeping a Conscience' is the struggle of a young and dedicated physician who is trying to establish a living in an area which is already dominated by an indifferent surgeon who frequents public houses and consumes large amounts of alcohol to court favour with prospective clients. To a great extent the story is a temperance tale, and its warning against the over-prescribing of stimulants reflects the concerns of the mass temperance movement of the nineteenth century which sought a ban on the sale of alcohol. ${ }^{66}$ However, Hinchcliffe's tale also serves as a caution against the over zealous prescription of narcotics. It opens with a young wife, Jessy, waiting at a window for her husband's return:

It was a rough winter night. The wind, in long heavy blasts, swept a wild moorland tract in the north of England, and rushed down upon a little town that lay just over the edge of the moor, with a fury that soon cleared the steep ill-paved streets of all passengers but such as were compelled to face its rage. ${ }^{67}$

[^108]The husband approaches and stops to gaze for a moment at his wife's anxious face. Then entering the house, the narrator describes the comfort of the room:

> Yes! comfortable - that was the word for the meal and the room. It was very plainly furnished - a round centre-table, a few cane chairs, a well stocked book-case, full crimson curtains, now drawn closely over the one wide window, and a hearth whose bright fender and irons multiplied the dancing light of the glowing fire, and gleamed o'er the neat checked carpet. ${ }^{68}$

The husband's name is Walter and it transpires that he was a young physician who had earlier been given the news that his application to become the parish surgeon had been turned down. Further into the text, Walter and his wife sit and discuss the day's events. Walter expresses his concern that the surgeon who had been elected to the parish in preference to him was one who spent much of his time cultivating undesirable social connections and drinking heavily. Then a sound coming from outside disturbs them. It is Walter's Uncle Smithson, and they 'met their unexpected visitor on the threshold with many words of greeting, mingled with a surprise they could not check. ${ }^{69}$ Their surprise was because Smithson, also a physician, had been to a consultation at a neighbouring town, when it was assumed by those who knew him, that he had retired:

For Dr Smithson had suddenly given up practice some years before, no one knew why, though as he wrote extensively on medical subjects, it became gradually the general opinion that he wanted to devote himself to the literature of his profession. His skill was undoubted, but he refused all applications, though his means were far from ample. ${ }^{70}$

[^109]It was explained that, only 'At the urgent solicitation of an old personal friend, that Dr Smithson had attended this evening's consultation. ${ }^{71}$ A description follows of their visitor:

Dr Smithson was a small thin man, with an anxious nervous expression of countenance. He was bald, his high forehead was furrowed with deep lines of care, rather than age, and an agitated twitching of the mouth told a tale of irresolution that the clear grey eyes contradicted. There was evidently a contest in his nature. ${ }^{72}$

The cause of the contest evident in Smithson's demeanour emerges as Jessy proceeds to describe to their visitor her husband's disappointment at not securing election as the parish physician, and also of his feelings that such a post could only be procured by sacrificing both his moral and ethical principles. This news was met by Dr Smithson with silence and then:

He fell into a deep reverie, which neither Jessy nor Walter disturbed by a single word. This reverie was eventually broken by their uncle asking, "You find keeping a conscience expensive, no doubt, but you must not flag, for if you do not cling to a conscience as a friend, it will cling to you as an enemy." A sigh so heavy followed the words, and the speaker after a while resumed, saying, "I'll open a page of my experience for you, a page I had thought closed for ever- and if you are halting irresolute as to your course, what I have to tell may be useful." ${ }^{73}$

Dr Smithson recounts why he gave up his prospects of a successful career and 'sunk in the prime of [his] life into a mere recluse. ${ }^{74} \mathrm{He}$ continued:

Among my patients was the family of a merchant, one of those delightful households that remind one of a better world. ${ }^{75}$

[^110]Detailed description follows of the family, the Morrells, and a romantic connection between Dr Smithson and Mrs Morrell's unmarried sister, Maria, is also implied. After knowing the family for some time, a freak accident results in an injury to Mrs Morrell's knee, which 'threatened serious consequences. ${ }^{.76} \mathrm{Dr}$ Smithson called in a celebrated surgeon to consult on this case:
C. _ the celebrated surgeon was my coadjutor in the treatment of the case. Though he was consulted at a very early stage, his skill was baffled and there was no hope of saving the limb. When amputation was resolved on, I trembled for the result, for Mrs Morrell's constitution had been weakened by the many demands her family had made on it. ${ }^{77}$

The story then censures the seemingly unchecked dispensing of stimulants, as well as criticising the medical profession which stifles the concerns of one lower down in its hierarchy. Dr Smithson observes that although the patient bore the operation with 'fortitude, ${ }^{78}$ that he and his colleagues:
resorted, both before and after the operation, to stimulants, to sustain nature, as we say. I knew that women were often the victims of medical advice, but, coward that I was, I yielded my judgment, stifled my convictions. The potion was taken daily in all innocence by the patient until such time as she found it indispensable. ${ }^{79}$

The patient's condition deteriorated, but then:
in a fitful way she began to mend. Narcotics as well as stimulants were freely administered...[...] The effects of the stimulants were such that the patient alternately clung to life for her children's sake and at other times, her soul soared heavenward. ${ }^{80}$

[^111]On one visit, Dr Smithson found Mrs Morrell in a state of 'strange incoherence'. ${ }^{81}$ He advised a change of environment, suggesting that she go to a cottage that her husband had taken on the banks of a river, with woods about it. The next visit found her still agitated and it transpired that the nurse had been administering stimulants freely. Dr Smithson declared that 'in vain I tried to reduce the dose', 82 and that he would have 'given my right arm to have undone the injury that stimulants, scientifically prescribed, were doing to both mind and body. ${ }^{83}$ Dr Smithson also called in a further colleague physician and expressed his concerns, but he also dismissed Dr Smithson's plea that the dose of stimulants be reduced.

Dr Smithson's growing concern about Mrs Morrell was justified.
On a visit, and finding her missing from her sick room, he and Mrs Morrell's husband and her sister, Maria, searched the house and garden until their attention was drawn to a well at the bottom of the garden:

Even in the darkness of night, [Maria] found that the cover of the well, placed there as a precaution against accident to the children, had been removed, and by the brink Maria's feet were entangled in some obstacle. She lifted it in her hands, and by the feel she knew it was Mrs Morrell's Angola shawl! The maid servants, aroused by the cries, and after what seemed to the distracted sister a dreadful delay, brought lanterns to the well, and there in its depths, to their amazement as well as horror, lay, in the stillness of death, the wellknown form. ${ }^{84}$

The family is distraught and the narrative elaborates on their consequent despair.
Soon afterwards, Maria too dies, through 'losing her mind.' Dr Smithson relates

[^112]the effects upon himself. 'I gave up my practice, and went abroad as you remember. ${ }^{85}$ Jessy interrupted, "But no-one blamed you, uncle." ${ }^{86}$ Smithson replied:

No; but my own conscience blamed me. For a time I was a wanderer. I visited the most famous hospitals in Europe, and gave myself up to study. I rallied, and wrote, as you know - not, I trust, without benefit to science; but the practical part of the noble art for which I was trained has been to me a dead letter from that time. Perhaps in this I have been wrong. ${ }^{87}$
'Keeping a Conscience' is a lens for reading the themes and traditions of the political, social and economic implications of Hinchcliffe's subject. For the most part, the text reveals the author's focus on the social and moral responsibilities of the physician. The death scene is crucial. Mrs Morrell was the hub of a social and family network - that is, she was someone's mother, wife, sister, friend and neighbour. Hinchcliffe sets this vision against that of Dr Smithson gazing down at her corpse, depicting the doctor's helplessness in the face of the patient who has become the victim of the failings of medical practice.

Furthermore, the characters of Walter and Smithson represent the polarisations in the practice of medicine. First, Hinchcliffe depicts the life of Walter, a newly qualified young surgeon, at the bottom of medicine's hierarchy. We are informed that Walter is an orphan who became the charge of his uncle, Dr Smithson. The use of an orphan figure as a literary device often symbolises a character's isolation from society. Writing about the child orphan, Melanie Kimball suggests that:

[^113]the figure embodies the hope for future growth and change, and this is observed through the character's development. The character is a blank canvas with no conflicting background to interfere with their creative direction...[but] the same orphaning which allows fictional writers freedom of expression, generates a never-ending nightmare of unanswered questions for the orphans themselves. ${ }^{88}$

The character of Walter reflects Kimball's vision of the orphan figure being a blank canvas. His first appearance in the story is as a solitary figure, a traveller and his unanswered questions surface as Walter listens to Smithson's account. The latter's character fulfils the parental guide who encourages Walter to make the best of an unfortunate situation in his life and Walter's response is to utter enlightened phrases, such as the need to make medical care available to the poor as well as the wealthy, while noting that in order to treat the poor, one must gain the favours of the rich and influential. Dr Smithson is one who is further up the medical hierarchy but who has been injured by its practices. Thus medicine is represented within a social network of both physicians and patients, as a microcosm of the medical society. The other representations of the medical profession are the indifferent great surgeon C $\qquad$ and the colleague Smithson called upon in desperation when he saw Mrs Morrell's health was declining due to the very prescription of her doctors. The 'stimulants' which destroyed both the patient and ultimately her physician, may be read as the tangible effects of intervention, and the method of their being dispensed, as both destructive and symbolic of corruptions within the medical profession and wider societal pressures and inequalities.

[^114]Hinchcliffe's portrayal of the medical hierarchy and its practices connects with nineteenth-century realist novels that revert to physicians articulating the early promise of medicine, ${ }^{89}$ as does the character of Walter with his determination to champion the health of the poor. This notion of the promise of medicine is developed through the character of Dr Smithson, who becomes the attentive physician to his patients and enjoys a social as well as professional relationship with them. Parallels may be drawn between the structure of the story and that of Madame Bovary, published some seven years prior. The amputation of a leg in both texts precedes the decline of all the characters involved. In 'Keeping a Conscience', the accident sees Mrs Morrell falter between life and death according to the treatments she is alternatively given. Finally, medicine in the form of surgery, cures the ailment but kills the body; it has become what Smithson calls 'the destructive art of healing. ${ }^{90}$ Hinchcliffe also reinforces the interconnectedness of all classes, as did the writers in Chapter 2, by the fact that Mrs Morrell is a middle-class patient, and this in some ways adds to the cautionary vision he sets up. Were he to focus upon a poor patient, then the drama perhaps would be too obvious and inflammatory, and reduce his writing to a two-sided, class-based confrontation. By using the middle-class figure of Mrs Morrell, Hinchcliffe is expressing the potential for destruction faced by all social groups, both from the inappropriate prescription of drugs, and from potentially conflicting interests among those in the medical profession.

[^115]The censure found in both Y.S.N.'s and Hinchlicffe's stories is symbolic of the concerns expressed by these writers over the perceived business of medicine, whereby they felt that medical practitioners gained an ideological stronghold in defining their individual and social bodies. Dr Smithson extolled the necessity of retaining moral values, that is, 'keeping a conscience', and thereby expresses a desire for an ideal 'medical' society, yet many directions and many options are presented in his search for his professional and moral identity. For Dr Smithson and his wanderings through Europe after the death of Mrs Morrell, none of the choices seem worthy, nor provide a solid foundation, from which he can rebuild his existence. Smithson's encounters with those of his own profession lead him to write the literature of medicine, for he states that its practice had become 'a dead letter. ${ }^{91}$

By examining the fictional narratives of the friendly society writers as a component of cultural history, the ways in which the writers engage with, and resist, popular assumptions about their identities, emerge. Indeed, it is the symbolic force of medicine in the context of Victorian culture that suggests why health and disease were popular subjects for fiction writers in the nineteenth century, and the ideological purposes these served. Victorian medical texts expounded medical knowledge not only as a scientific venture, but as the key to unlock most aspects of the human condition. ${ }^{92}$ Vrettos suggests that:
the ways in which people talked about health and disease are not only issues of medical history, but also forms of cultural fiction making, providing a set of collective stories middle-class Victorians told about their social and material and relations. ${ }^{93}$

[^116]The friendly society writers also provide 'a set of collective stories', but from a working person's perspective. They appropriate the normative role of medicine to represent their own views of physical and social reality, in a climate where medicine increasingly assumed the status of defining human potentials, powers and prohibitions. This power encompassed deciding which literary genres were suitable for males and females, and defining and fixing gendered roles. Thus, the friendly society writers' portrayals of the physician and poverty may be perceived as their negotiation to reshape traditional constructions of authority, and like Y.S.N.'s female health visitor, to question Victorian concepts of class, gender and their relationship to power. Although the characters and textual narratives in both 'Keeping a Conscience' and 'The Pauper Funeral' share the values and fates of much contemporary fiction, they also make some resistance to dominant ideologies. For these writers, the boundaries of the medical profession might be considered as the outcome of socio-political struggles rather than being based entirely on scientific knowledge.

Having looked at the writers' representations of surveillance and intrusion within the wider context of the Victorian programme of progressive statism, the next section moves on from their fiction to their poetry. The writers' articulation of their lowly place within the labour market, and their own place as individuals within an industrial economy, are explored.

## Chapter 4

## Poetry <br> Labour, Identity and Death

The popularity of poetry in the friendly society publications is suggested by the frequency with which members' poetry appeared, often alongside the work of Shakespeare, Thomas Holloway, George Milner, Edwin Shute, Milton, Byron, and Shelley. The inclusion of canonical authors reflects the members' earnest endeavour and engagement with what Jonathan Rose describes as 'the passionate pursuit of knowledge ${ }^{1}$ in the period. Again, the focus of this chapter is upon the writers' expressions which reflect the nature of the friendly society movement, notably their position within the labour market and their place in the social order. While landscapes are prominent motifs within this range of work, the poems do not neatly fit into a single linear tradition from the major working-class predecessors, Stephen Duck and John Clare, through to Joseph Skipsey at the end of the century. The poems are textured with allusions from many sources, both literary and lived. It will be argued that some poems suggest a tension between the writers' pride in their labour, while censuring its poor rewards. Furthermore, while the focus of many poems is ostensibly upon leisure and the writers' escape from labour, their poems are explored for a link between 'the exploitation and

[^117]oppression of nature and the exploitation and oppression of the lower classes of society. ${ }^{2}$ Perhaps the overriding voice that emerges from this body of poetry is the communitarian 'we', namely that the friendly society's unified centre is either implicitly or explicitly expressed, 'as a site for insisting upon the connections amongst persons above the assertion of the inwardness of a single subject., ${ }^{3}$

Altogether, the publications do contain a diverse range of the members' poems. Many are amateur versifying, maybe hailing the seasons or celebrating the spiritual warmth of Christmas. Perhaps the most frequent theme that emerges from the majority of their poetry is the writers' sense of unity and belonging to a collective. For example, typical poems call for solidarity, and largely follow the form of 'United Efforts,' by J H Eccles, whose rousing six stanzas assert the necessity for collective effort:

WHY idly stand, and live alone, My brother, day by day -
Is there not work for willing hands
Upon the world's highway?
Oh yes! my good and faithful friend, There's work for me and you ;
And what can labour not attain, When men are firm and true?

United efforts build the ship
That ploughs the stormy main;
By many hands the decks are mann'd, And thus great ends they gain.
United efforts form the bridge That spans the road and stream-
O'er which the pond'rous engine speeds
By giant power of steam.

[^118]"What need have I to join the cause?"
You sometimes hear men say, As if there was no place for them Upon the great highway; Yet 'tis but want of earnest thought That prompts them thus to speak : There's need of each and every one Who man's advancement seek.

The woodsmen of the olden times
Found need of friendly aid, When hunger'd and athirst they roamed Beneath the forest shade ;
And though but rude their thoughts and ways, And oft in feudal strife, By unity they raised themselves To social forms of life.

The brave old woodsman loved his clan, And lived not all alone, But met in forms of brotherhood, Around the altar stone ;
And there the groundwork first was laid, And first was form'd the plan-
'Twas in the ancient forest nooks Progression first began.

And on and on, through centuries fled, The work hath still progress'd,
While generations wiser grown, Their happy fate have bless'd.
Then why stand idly on the road, My brother, day by day, While there is work for willing hands Upon the world's highway? ${ }^{4}$

Eccles' calls for solidarity and brotherhood clearly identify the ethos of the friendly society movement. The positive tone of this poem draws on a collective history to offer strength to the movement's contemporary brotherhood, to 'form the bridge/That spans the road and stream-'. This sense of history links the

[^119]members of the Ancient Order of Foresters to their possible (although not substantiated) origins as 'woodsmen' who loved [their] 'clan' and this vision offers a united, communitarian past to members in their otherwise often isolated industrialised lives. Many of the friendly societies gave themselves names which implied that they had enjoyed a long history, but this had little basis. The purpose of this practice was to engender an image of historical permanence which was important to their success. More importantly, it is suggested that the implied historical links 'helped to preserve stability in English society. ${ }^{5}$

Their predecessors' meetings 'in forms of brotherhood/Around the altar stone' legitimates the societies' modern social gatherings and rituals, where the sense of brotherhood continued. Eccles' address focuses on existing friendly society members, with just a short reference to dissenters, "What need have I to join the cause?/You sometimes hear men say.' By contrast, William Heaton's poem, 'Brotherly Love' makes a wider appeal, this time for cross-class unity as well as for the positive prospects of brotherhood:

## Brotherly Love

This world would be a world of love, If each one acted as a brother ;
Life's bitter weeds would soon be gone, If men would feel for one another.
The golden calf would quickly fall, Which causes so much grief and sadness ;
While right would triumph over might, And fill the earth with joy and gladness.

[^120]This world would be a world of love,
If man were measured by the standard
Of that great instrument - the mind ;
Too oft by wealth and folly slandered.
Merit would meet its due reward, While growing hopes would not be stunted;
Man's actions would outweigh his words, And wrong with right would be confronted.

This world would be a world of love, If candour governed every action; If man would sympathize with man, Instead of bowing down to faction.
Labour would meet its just reward, While each to each would act with kindness;
The sword would rest beside the spear, Forgetful of each other's blindness.

This world would be a world of love, And peace flow through it like a river, If that dread enemy, termed war, Would not two kindred nations sever, Joy, universal joy, would crown The good and wise of every station, While golden words and famous deeds Would be the glory of our nation. ${ }^{6}$

While Heaton's wish is for 'the world' to be united as brothers, his tone is perhaps more accusing than that of Eccles, since he alludes to contemporary inequalities by calling for a time when 'Labour' and 'merit' would meet its just reward and when people would be judged by ... 'that great instrument - the mind.' His reference to war in the final stanza could have had multiple associations in 1864, which was a turbulent time. He may be addressing the riots in Ireland, the war between Denmark-Germany-Austria, the American Civil war, or even the 'war' at home between employers and employees.

[^121]Heaton's vision of brotherhood was actively shared among friendly society members, and the death of a prominent member was occasion for eulogising the deceased, often in verse. One such verse is titled, 'Lines, Sacred to the Memory of John Roach - Boiler-Maker Late of Manchester: A Son of Labour - a True Democrat - a Firm Friend - a Determined Advocate - an Unpaid Patriot a Pure Philanthropist - and AN HONEST MAN!' and takes eight verses to praise the deceased, who 'inspire[d] the humble muse to try the stream'. ${ }^{7}$

While Stott's lines were obviously penned for a specific occasion, a number of the other selected poems show an influence by, and engagement with, the poetic forms they enjoyed. As stated in the Introduction, many working people were aware of the uses of literature, and it was noted how they appropriated and interpreted dominant forms for their own purposes. ${ }^{8}$ In this context, it is perhaps possible to discern, in some of the poems, a thread of resistance to the exploitation of their labour (rather than to labour itself). Whether or not their poetry was intentionally political, the recurrent themes do suggest that the writers were often able to express their experiences in conventional pastoral or anti-pastoral images. For example, the Introduction to this thesis mentions a Mr. J. Plummer, a factory operative from Kettering, who attacks the poor rewards for labour endured by working people. Given his antagonism towards this injustice, could it be that the energetic images of labour in his poem contrast with the inadequate rewards for the worker, the 'lowly

[^122]homes in the byeways dim/ Where the sun scarce smiles on the poor man's door', and thus operate as muted criticism?:

From the glowing forge, where the red sparks fly
And the anvil bright with the loud stroke rings;
From the rich cornfields where the lark soars high,
And the ripe ears fall as the reaper sings.
From the swift-paced looms, where the weaver's skill
Into fabrics gay, bids the soft threads twine,
From the crowded halls of the storied mill,
Where the toilers' brows with the workdew shine.
From the workshop's dust, from the factory grim, Where the engines pant with a muffled roar;
From the lowly homes in the byeways dim, Where the sun scarce smiles on the poor man's door-

From the deep, dark mine, from the green hill side, From the cool, soft shade of the leafy grove;
In your brawny strength, in your stalwart pick, With your toil-stained hands and your hearts of love

As weary peasant, who at evening close
Gladly lays down his daily load of toil
And in the land of dreams shakes gently off His heaven appointed burden. ${ }^{9}$

The visions of rural industry, 'the glowing forge,/And the anvil bright' sit easily with the pastoral landscape of cornfields, larks and the reaper, and suggest the writer's pleasure in labour itself. In the first two lines of the second stanza, the setting is ambiguous. It is not clear whether it is a rural weaver that 'bids the soft threads twine' or whether the worker has moved, in place and time, to 'the crowded halls of the storied mill.' Yet this stanza does link the pre-industrial to the industrial landscape. Also, there is the irony of 'workdew' having supplanted

[^123]nature's dew in the industrialised landscape. The third stanza continues a removal from the natural world, with images of the 'workshop's dust' and the 'factory grim', where 'engines', rather than plough-horses, 'pant'. There is a sense of growing darkness and enclosure, which continues as the sequence moves to the centre of the poem, and the heart of the industrialised landscape, where the lowly home of the worker is found.

Is it possible that the anapaestic rhythm of Plummer's stanzas imparts the mechanical, cyclical pace of labour? This rhythm persists throughout the sequence until the final two stanzas, where the alternate rhyming scheme falters. Here, the movement of the journey is halted and the final stanza sees these visions of industrial landscapes, peopled by labourers, buffered into a resolution that appears consolatory and heaven ordained. The use of 'His heaven appointed burden' may suggest Plummer's positive perception of work, and that he does not question the labourer's place in the social order, but is merely criticising the scant reward for this labour. While this conclusion would have reinforced the respectability of the friendly society member in the eyes of observers, and most probably would sit comfortably with some of the friendly society's church-going members, the change of rhythm and imagery might also render the final stanza bathetic. William Christmas notes Stephen Duck's use of Sisyphus in The Thresher's Labour, and how this image 'serves [...] as polite reference point...'10 Plummer's image of labour being 'heaven appointed' may similarly question the Church's and

[^124]society's bait of heavenly rewards to justify or to compensate for earth's lack of them for working people.

While Plummer seems to both affirm and undermine the solace of Heavenly rest, his poem is of a unified workforce, engaged in wide-ranging forms of labour. Referring to Stephen Duck's, The Thresher's Labour, Christmas argues that:
work is shown to have lasting psychological effects that the worker cannot simply escape from when the day is ended. Though ostensibly removed from work, [...] the work is not so easily removed from the laborer...[...] Duck realizes a sense of hopeless inevitability with regard to labor. ${ }^{11}$

Taking Christmas's analysis, the cyclical inevitability of work and sleep in Plummer's poem may also be read as a protest against the exploitative labour processes. Plummer's poem seems to have a stronger edge when taking into account his outspoken attacks on the scant rewards for days spent labouring. It would not be unreasonable to place his work in the history of working people who wrote poetry to articulate their fight for social and economic justice. ${ }^{12}$ As in Plummer's poem, the ambiguous endings of other poems may suggest the writers' problematic relationship with their labour. The tension between an ideal and their experience is indicated in these poems' absence of closure or resolution.

Many of the friendly society poems evoke moments of longed-for leisure away from their workaday worlds. For example, in this untitled poem, the bluebell symbolises a yearning for the peace of the natural environment:

[^125]Away ! Away ! From my noisy loom, In fancy I go where wild flowers bloom,
Transported, as if by magic spell, In sight of thy graceful, nodding plume, Fairy Blue-bell !

Again I see the sunny beam
Over the white foam sparkle and gleam,
Where the turbulent waters swell;
There in beauty grows, beside the stream, The bright Blue-bell !

In fancy, I hear the cooling breeze,
With its gentle rustling through the trees,
Where happy birds contented dwell;
And the drowsy humming of the bees The chorus swell.

Over rustic bridge, through damp morass, The well-known landmarks I, dreaming, pass,
Farther down to you bonnie dell,
Where thou did'st wave 'mid the quivering grass, This morn, Blue-bell !

Short-lived thy beauty, alas! sweet flow'r;
Was it wrong to pluck thee from thy bower
And kindred, who loved thee well,
To beguile, from the passing hour,
Mine own, Blue-bell ?
In lifting my heart above Earth's strife,
To the Land where Death no more is rife
(Of fadeless flow'rs thy blossoms tell),
Not vainly spent thy fair young life, My sweet Blue-bell ! ${ }^{13}$

Although rather linguistically trite and sentimental, the use of 'In fancy' echoes John Keats's use of the term in 'Ode to a Nightingale' ${ }^{14}$ where he recalls a

[^126]brief escape from an intolerable period of suffering. Keats is transported by his imagination, only returning when his 'fancy' fails. Thus for Effie too, the mental escape is from her 'noisy loom'. The contrived repetition of 'Blue Bell' and the sequenced scenic descriptions invoke the poet's journey over the countryside, leading to a possible solution or resolution in the final stanza. Here, the journey ends as she confronts her own mortality and possibly, the only escape she can foresee, 'In lifting my heart above Earth's strife/To the Land where Death no more is rife.' When she asks, 'was it wrong to pluck thee from thy bower/ And kindred, who loved thee well', she is comparing the bluebell's removal from its natural environment with her own removal to her industrial loom. Her 'young life' is compared to that of the blue bell and the final pathetic image is of 'fadeless flowers' which suggest that the bluebell's life is 'not vainly spent', but that her own life will be.

Although Effie's real or metaphorical journey is into a rural idyll, it is set up in opposition to the opening images of being at her loom. While the journey offers an escape, it is from, and in reaction to, her working life. While Emily Bronte used the symbol of the blue bell to express her longing to return to her home, ${ }^{15}$ for Effie, it projects a sense of alienation and separation from her natural world. The oppositions between her industrial 'noisy loom' and a pastoral idyll, present the conflict between systems of industry and commerce and the humanising and consolatory effects of literature, especially poetry. ${ }^{16}$ Like Effie's

[^127]'Bluebell', Ruth Wills' poem, 'The Summer Sea', published in 1862, engages with the contemporary drive for the pursuit of leisure:

## Summer Sea

When summer days were longest, And Nature's face most fair, We sought for health and pleasure Afar from daily care, We turned our backs on labour, Our hands and brains were free; We went to dwell with Leisure Beside the Summer Sea 0 , the golden Leisure, The precious, prizéd Leisure, The cheery, welcome Leisure, Beside the Summer Sea.
'Twas pleasant, sitting, strolling, Upon the sun-warmed sand, With faces all turned seaward, And losing thought of land;
To rest or roam at pleasure In perfect liberty, How sweet to dwell with Leisure Beside the Summer Sea.
0 , the blessed Leisure,
The needed, God-sent Leisure, The brief, but glorious Leisure, Beside the Summer Sea. ${ }^{17}$

The sequence is that of an outward journey, with a pause for recollection, and then the return journey. The repetition of 'Leisure' is like a mantra, culminating in the final stanza whereby representations of escape become a vision of Leisure, as 'god-sent'. Although the rhyming is restricted and the rhythm rather a jog-trot, there is something of Shelley's desire to imbue familiar and well-defined

[^128]abstractions such as Liberty and Freedom with a mythic importance. Leisure, as the signifier for freedom, is articulated in opposition to labour, as the seascape reflects back to the world of work. By equating the brief vision of escape into nature purely as a metaphor for being free, Wills is more interested in juxtaposing the sense of freedom with incarceration, rather than in the ethereal qualities of the natural world. The imagery of 'sitting, strolling on the sun-warmed sand' points to opposite states of being, when 'hands and brains' are not free, and when 'backs' had to be engaged in labour. There is the sense that Wills occupies two worlds, and that in moments of leisure, the worker mentally, cannot leave the world of work. ${ }^{18}$

Furthermore, the mantra-like use of 'Bluebell' and 'Leisure' may be read as signposts, emphasising the writers' brief absence from the world of work, which has become their norm. Describing literary responses to the industrialised cities and the overwhelming stress which such an environment could bring to the individual, Raymond Williams observes that 'its people were often seen in a single way: as a crowd, as 'masses' or as a 'workforce.' ${ }^{19}$ He cites George Gissing's observations of London in the 1880s and his description of the crowds, 'a predictable movement[...] has replaced the sense of randomness and variety ...And the people are then seen through their general condition: the majority had to leave to wend stablewards. ${ }^{20}$ In this context, Wills replaces the sense of spontaneity and relaxation of a day spent away from factory discipline, with the predictable movement of what her industrialised life has become; even in a

[^129]moment of a brief escape, she knows that she has to 'wend stablewards.' This reading is further supported by Brian Maidment's view that 'escape' into both the countryside and into introspection is also constantly shadowed by 'the unspoken, yet invariably implied, presence of the city', that is, their world of labour. ${ }^{21}$ Thus, industrial labour becomes an assault on all aspects of their private lives, and ultimately on the individual's sense of self, rendering the word 'Leisure' ironic. ${ }^{22}$

Put in context, after 1850, the growth of 'respectable' leisure pursuits for the working class was encouraged by the middle-class desire to stabilise society from the prospect of working-class unrest, as well as to address the unacceptable level of health endured by the urban poor. Yet for workers in the new industries, lack of free time was a major constraint upon any prospect of leisure. This was not helped by the increasing restrictions to their access to land following the enclosures, further highlighting a sense of entrapment within the industrial processes.

Perhaps Wills felt alienated from her work-a-day world, but not from her fellow worker. As in Eccles' poem 'United Efforts', the plural 'we' of Wills' poem stresses the collective experience. Again, this shows the sense of unity that the friendly society movement seems to have afforded its members. Writing about the significance of poetry for the Chartist movement, Anne Janowitz usefully notes that:

Poetry was both a flattering mirror to a movement-in-formation, offering conventions for group identity, and a social matrix within

[^130]which people could discover themselves as belonging to an ongoing set of traditions, goals, and expectations. ${ }^{23}$

Whereas Eccles's poem does embrace the group identity of the friendly society movement, other writers within the group's social matrix express their identities by collective rejection of popular perceptions. For example, 'The Age of Gold,' by Ruth Wills, unsettles the role of the poet as privileged interpreter of their lives:

## The Age of Gold

POET, away with thy golden age,
'Tis a myth, 'tis a shadow, a dream of thine own;
I find not its record on chronicled page, It lives in thy dream-haunted fancy alone.

No era of time hath been wholly dark,
Each age hath been blest by some stray beams from heaven,
But none standeth out with such radiant mark
As to warrant the worship thou often hast given. ${ }^{24}$

It also undercuts any implication of a classless homogeneity. The ironic title, 'The Age of Gold', alludes to the cash-based, industrialised society, and a pastoral ideal of a 'Golden Age' - one where democracy and equality may one day be restored. Wills' poem takes the form of a mock epistle to her contemporary poets, criticising their grand vision of the world. The notion of a poet's 'dream haunted fancy' suggests that the 'golden age' is merely a reflection of the contemporary poets' own imagined identity and place in society, rather than having an external existence. Her elevated language, such as 'thy' and 'chronicled', parodies the

[^131]outworn rhetoric she censures. Similarly, she mocks suggestions of complicity with her contemporary poets' vision, by the sequential use of first and second person pronouns, ie ' I ' and 'thy', to distinguish her own view of humanity and society. Like the anti-pastoral poets George Crabbe and Stephen Duck, Wills distinguishes between poetic vision and the material world and her distancing from their unified vision perhaps suggests her own sense of distance from the literary and social worlds. She calls attention to the limitations of contemporary poetry as a force in the face of economic and cultural determinants. Like Wills, Effie too parodies the role of the muse. She must find her own creativity, outside of the 'shady wood and stream':

## Muse

Alas, my Muse ! no more thy theme Shall be of shady wood and stream !
One morn I sought the pleasant grove, Where I was wont at will to roveWith bolt and bar, oh, hapless fate ! An unknown hand had closed the gate.

Along the old familiar way Fain would my willing footsteps stray :
In vain I gaze with wistful eyes, While memories dear and bright arise,
To mock my grief with visions fair
Of dewy mead and wild flowers rare !
Here have I heard gay warblers sing
Their welcome carols to the spring ;
Here found the first sweet primrose pale ;
'Twas in this dear secluded vale My Muse its first faint utterance spokeMy silent heart to song awoke!

I thought once more, 'mid roses bright, To cull the fairest red and white, Entwining all with careless art, To cheer a patient sufferer's heart : Their brightness might long hours beguile, My sweet reward her loving smile.
'Tis always thus; in silent grief
I turn away-earth's joys how brief!
In vain for me wild roses bloom;
I may not breathe their sweet perfume;
With bolt and bar, oh hapless fate !
An unknown hand still holds the gate. ${ }^{25}$

Effie's imagery unites the physical restrictions to her access to the countryside, with the social exclusions that face her as a working-class poet. If the gate is locked to the countryside, she claims that she cannot enter the realm that inspires her to write poetry, 'this dear secluded vale/My Muse its first faint utterance spoke.' Outside the gate, she recalls what she has lost, 'In vain I gaze with wistful eyes/While memories dear and bright arise.' The 'unknown hand' of the final line juxtaposes the 'bolt and bar' of the gate that prevents her access to the land, with the symbolic restrictions that symbolise her workaday life, the 'bolt and bar' of the loom at which she works. For Effie, it is not just an isolated and physical incident of exclusion, for she confirms that, 'Tis always thus.' Hence, the state of exclusion is both permanent and wide ranging, reflecting her awareness of her position in society, and her dissatisfaction with the inequalities and restrictions that had to be endured because of it.

[^132]It may be that in Effie's 'Muse', both the restrictions she feels because of her class, and those as a woman, vie almost equally to restrict her access to the public domain. Susan Zlotnick's observations of Fanny Forrester's work could also apply to Effie's poem. Zlotnick considers whether Forrester's poetry can be read as:
a rhetorical effort to make a poetic identity, or more precisely, to construct a poetic identity out of the constituent elements of her social identity. Twice removed -by class and gender- from the center of the English poetic tradition to which she aspires ... ${ }^{26}$

In this context, Effie's parody of the Muse extends to her isolation as a woman from the centre of literature, and perhaps the 'unknown hand' is not only a middle-class one, but possibly a male one too.

Some of Wills' critique of the privileged place of the poet may relate to the fact that many of the poems refer to the difficulties of snatching time to write, since the demands of their working days meant that many resorted to writing at night. In T. Williams's poem, 'Changeable' the poet becomes a night worker:

Changeable
When weary nature sinks to rest, And rosy Sol drowns in the west, And when the silence of the grave, Rests on the world of cold blue wave; When dews fall unobserved apace, Like tears bedewing nature's face; Oh! then I feel as if my soul, Would fain dissolve and join the whole. And to oblivion float away, Where melancholy holds her sway.

[^133]But when the morning sun doth glow, And nature waketh bright below, When modest daisies scan the sky, With tears of gladness in each eye, When rows of pearls, and diamonds rare, Hang on each thorn, and hawthorn fair, When with sweet notes on airy wings, From unimpaired throats, the welkin rings, Oh! Then my soul swift takes her flight, And blendeth with the love and light.

But when the cloud hangs overhead, Where thunder storms are born and bred, Or when the lightning cleaves the sky, Or when the whirlwind passes by, When cataracts roar, and spout, and splash, When all seems one tremendous crash,
To battle then. I'm nerved and bound.
My foes by millions strew the ground.
It is not I , 'tis nature burns,
I'm poet and warrior all in turns. ${ }^{27}$

There is a connectedness between the poet and nature's cycle. The first stanza depicts all-consuming decline. Images of 'sinking' and 'the grave' find the author too, 'fain to dissolve and join the whole', while the second stanza is regenerative, for as 'the sun doth glow/And nature waketh bright below', so his 'soul swift takes her flight.' Similarly, 'tears bedewing nature's face' become 'tears of gladness' in each eye. The final stanza sees the connectedness become empowering. Williams describes thunder storms as 'born and bred.' Although ostensibly a colloquialism, this could also distinguish natural thunder storms from those that are 'bred' (ie. conflicts that arise from artificial social divisions and inequalities), and would predicate the final four lines where the individual becomes, in the face of threatening, stormy conditions, both 'poet and warrior.'

[^134]This ambiguity could allude to Wordsworth's 'Happy Warrior' - engaged not in arms, but in social reform, bearing in mind that Williams was an active trade unionist as well as member of the friendly society movement. The mood, imagery and diction of the poem often struggle, not least due to the awkward hyperbaton, 'diamonds rare' and 'hawthorn fair.' Similarly, the dawn chorus is stretched into, 'When with sweet notes on airy wings/From unimpaired throats, the welkin rings'. Williams' use of 'rosy Sol' in the first stanza, becomes 'the sun' in the second. Whether this implies a more powerfully destructive, god-like force in the first instance is unclear, although this would sit awkwardly with the equally strong, powerful images in the second stanza. However, images of Phoebus and the sun in the first and second stanzas, are countered with that of Thor in the final one, where the writer gains strength in more turbulent periods. The progress of the poem culminates in an image of Keatsian wish-fulfilment as it moves from 'melancholy' in the first stanza, to the 'poet and warrior' in the final stanza.

The effects of the impersonal processes of industrialisation are frequently transmuted into a sense of loss. Visions of the Romantic pastoral are countered with a material realism. For example, in the poem, 'The Notch in the Tree', the poet acknowledges that although the pastoral idyll may once have given an individual solace or inspiration, this has now gone:

The Notch in the Tree
Ah long loved spot, I visit thee
But not, as once, without a care;
My favourite bower again I see,
And all the past seems present there.
Oh what a little scene is this
We flutter like the flies of Spring
And seeking Summer's transient bliss
Are snatched while on the sportive wing. ${ }^{28}$

This poem echoes Thomas Gray's 'Ode on the Spring' (1748) in which Gray's 'insect youth' (line 25) become the 'flies' of Spring (line 26). Both poems use the term 'sportive' when alluding to the youth and both contemplate how man's life is led and ends. In 'The Notch in the Tree', the initial private felicity of that 'long loved spot' is intruded upon by contemplation of the tension between the short life of humankind and the unpredictable and ironic transience of life itself; the 'notch' of the title suggesting the impact of human life in proportion to a tree.

The sentiments expressed in 'The Notch in the Tree' are often repeated. In Peter Burn's 'Lilies Of The Valley', ${ }^{29}$ there is an acknowledgement that once the landscape did bring solace, 'There was a time ye lilies spake', but life's events overtook and diminished this: 'My lot has been the common lot-/To find that love abideth not,/But nestles in the skies.' This sense of dissatisfaction or dislocation is amplified by many writers and cannot be defined by any chronological reference to timelines. It is as evident in poetry written at mid century, as it is in that written at the end of the period. It is explored here in the following poem,

[^135]'Again', which plays with the sense of being cut off from both a past and a future: confused, they 'are not the same/ oh never, never more.' The physical landscape has become one that is hostile; the vision of waves that once 'sang' but which now 'beat' the shore:

## Again

Oh sweet and fair ! oh rich and rare!
That day so long ago,
The autumn sunshine everywhere, The heather all aglow,
The ferns were clad in cloth of gold,
The waves sang on the shore;
Such suns will shine, such waves will sing, For ever, evermore.

Oh fit and few ! oh tried and true !
The friends who met that day,
Each one the other's spirit knew ;
And so in earnest play
The hours flew past, until at last
The twilight kissed the shore ;
We said, ' Such days shall come again
For ever, evermore..' 30

The initial hope in the early stanzas, that 'suns will shine and waves will sing/ for ever more,' shifts in the third and final stanzas to a psychological landscape:

One day again, no cloud of pain
A shadow o'er us cast,
And yet we strove in vain, in vain, To conjure up the past;
Like, but unlike, the sun that shone, The waves that beat the shore,
The words we said, the songs we sung,
Like-unlike-evermore,

[^136]For ghosts unseen crept in between, And, when our songs flowed free, Sang discords in an undertone And marred the harmony.
' The past is ours, not yours,' they said, ' The waves that beat the shore, Though like the same, are not the same, Oh! never, never more!'

Any continuity between their past and present becomes fractured, and an ensuing loss sees the communal 'we' become dissipated, dislocated from the physical environment. The poet describes how the people's own 'past' has been taken, "'the past is ours, not yours," they said.' This sense of dislocation from their own sense of identity and place is then blurred with an image of the real landscape, one where 'the waves beat the shore'; but even these waves are 'like the same' but 'are not the same,' for whilst they once 'sang' on the shore, they now 'beat' upon it. The mix of the past, present and future tenses completes this sense of dislocation from a past when the 'suns' shone.

Another important feature of 'Again' is the dialogue between the first and second voices. The use of quoted phrases within poems was fairly standard poetic practice, but can also be read in context with the history of the friendly societies' struggles to resist intrusion and dominance. Sometimes the quotation marks within their poems are a device for distancing themselves from received wisdom. The technique might reflect the writers' resistance to what is being said, or highlight an issue of concern. In 'Again', for example, the second voice, ('they') is claiming the collective experience of the past which the poet expresses, "The past is ours, not yours,"' they said': this mysterious 'they' is in conflict with the
writer. Similarly, Henry Owgan's ${ }^{31}$ poem, 'January' on one level describes a hostile landscape, with the reassurance and consolation that there was "a soul of good" in all this ill:

January
Stern January, like a giant, now hath come.
Trampling with marble feet on everything; Yet, though the tortured forests create and swing, And sturdiest bushes to the snow succumb, And th' unsheltered beasts are cold and numb, And bats for warmth close to each other cling, And e'en the well housed feel the frost's sharp sting And the warp'd streams are paralysed and dumb;

There is "a soul of good" in all this ill;
For, 'midst the weather's havoc and turmoil, Calm nature is at work beneath the soil, Tempering the 'stubborn glebe' for ploughs to till, And nursing half formed flowers in Spring to rise From their death cells and look up to the skies

Owgan catalogues the disaster and suffering in the physical landscape, the downside of winter's effects: that of January's 'trampling' with 'marble feet'; of 'tortured forests', and the 'sturdiest bushes' succumbing to winter. The second stanza may be a justification for this suffering. Yet, by enclosing 'a soul of good' in speech marks, maybe, as in 'Again', this voice is in conflict with the poet. Furthermore, the use of 'stubborn glebe' could symbolise an alternative perspective. Whilst it may comment on and support Thomas Gray's use of the phrase in his 'Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard' (1751) and thus his acceptance of working-class compliance, equally, it could allude to Shelley's use

[^137]of the phrase in Queen Mab (1813), and his revolutionary vision of a regenerated world:

> The drones of the community; they feed
> On the mechanic's labor; the starved hind
> For them compels the stubborn glebe to yield Its unshared harvests; ...

If this latter reading is favoured, then visions of 'half formed flowers' rising from their 'death cells' to 'look up to the skies' suggests suffering rather than any sense of hope; 'half formed' being imagery of retarded growth. This interpretation may extend to the image of the working classes 'rising up,' from their 'cells', as a portent of revolution or social change, rather than being consolatory. Whatever was intended by Owgan, the ambiguity might have his allowed his fellow members alternative readings.

Although the political intent of these poems is open to debate, many poems do urge the reader to bide their time, possibly from taking retaliatory action. For example, in a poem titled, 'True Nobility', the message is that 'Our part is to work and to wait' and asserts that, 'For he who is honest is noble/ Whatever his fortune or birth. ${ }^{32}$ This call supports the argument that the friendly societies acted as a safety-valve for working people. ${ }^{33}$ By engaging with such a unified and powerful collective, it is suggested that their self-help ethos mirrored the gradualism which allowed England to avoid the revolutionary climate of Europe, by involving the members in public debate, and taking them 'beyond their

[^138]immediate mill-level or even town-level. ${ }^{34}$ E. Williams' poem, 'To The Quaking Grass' expresses similar calls for patience:

## To The Quaking Grass

Quivering with timorous doubts and fears, When not a foe in sight appears, How like art thou to my poor life! The summer insect fluttering by, Prompts thee to yield the tremulous sigh, With apprehension rife.

The glittering drops of pearly dew Which deck thy stalk, oppress thee too, With weight beyond thy strength to bear; As honours bow the head of worth, In deep humility to earth, Beneath increase of care.

But yet though feeble, thou art wise, And in thy wisdom, safety lies, Far from the fury of the blast Meek cowering to thy humble bed, Thou stoopest low thy pensile head, Until the storm has passed. ${ }^{35}$

Williams, a working man from Bristol, depicts his own life as that of the 'quaking grass' which reacts with fear to even the passing of summer flies. Yet he says that even a blade of grass, 'cowering to [its] humble bed' is wise to wait until 'the storm has passed.' Williams sees the self initially posited as an autonomous reflexive, 'stooping'. Although at first this suggests little agency, the final line shows that this is a temporary situation, one which is adopted 'until the 'storm has passed.' Thus, Williams' verse serves as a caution to his fellow members to bide

[^139]their time. As discussed, the friendly societies did not 'cower' during the period of this project, but their approach was one of apparent consensus and compliance, while they negotiated their own agendas.

The majority of poems do reflect the writers' sense that they are writing for a considerable audience, in terms of the societies' presence in the period. Robert Leighton considers the place of the individual in terms of 'the wheels of history.' The opening stanza mimics the whimsical observations of an individual's progress through the urban landscape. The solitary progress is initially rewarding, a 'sweet yoke':

Solitude
How sweet the yoke of chosen solitude With the allurements of the town, and To take or leave according to the mood, How easy to withstand.

We let the buskind stage spend its wit, The panorama of the streets go by, The orator declaim unheard, and sit At home in lonely joy.

But solitude afar from all that moves
The wheels of history; the hearts of men, Beyond the range of life's accustomed grooves, How hard the yoke is then!

We do not live, but longingly exist
Upon the combustion of the heart. ${ }^{36}$
His appeal is for unity. The opening imagery marries an easy, Biblical vision of the 'yoke ${ }^{37}$ with the gentle sense of freedom and pleasure to be found within the urban landscape, where solitude, is 'sweet.' He shifts from using the collective pronoun, 'we', (to indicate solitary individuals) in the second stanza, to a

[^140]universal, collective 'we' in the final stanza, since the solitary 'we' finds the 'yoke' hard. Here, it is only 'upon the combustion of the heart,' 'combustion' implying love, that one is afforded the opportunity to 'live' as opposed to 'longingly exist.' Perhaps Leighton may also be distinguishing between those who enjoy 'chosen solitude' from those historically isolated; those who live beyond 'life's accustomed grooves,' emphasising all the more the need for solidarity.

Unlike Leighton's urban landscape, some of the poetry explores a dystopic panorama, expressing images of uncertainty and tension. These images may reflect the concerns within the movement in the 1880s that changes in the organisation and structure of friendly societies were needed to stem the spectre of insolvency. Such concerns were exacerbated by public fears that malingering was endemic among friendly society members, due to the safety net that insurance provided in times of ill-health. ${ }^{38}$ As discussed in Chapter 1, the awareness by both the state and the friendly societies that more universal provision was needed in the face of widespread poverty, brought with it the realisation that the movement would not continue in its existing form. This necessarily brought anxieties for members who relied upon its provision and who drew strength from their association with such a powerful group. Perhaps it is this tension that may be found in the destructive iconography of a poem, 'Pontypridd', ${ }^{39}$ written by Edward Spawton in 1887. Its themes are of the individual being consumed, or vulnerable to, predatory forces, 'Shadows of Death fly here and there/Despair comes swooping by/Horror wrapped in mantle of fear/Drowns the voice of

[^141]hopeful cry.' This sense of doom is countered in the final stanza by the assertion, 'But Courage and Science again and again/Are storming each stronghold dim., ${ }^{40}$ The uncertainties expressed in 'Pontypridd' are also found in Spawton's later poem, 'A Lonely Path' (1893), which also contains a fin de siècle, apocalyptic vision, but one which is left unresolved. Comparisons may be made with W.B.Yeats' 'The Eternal Moods' (1899) in the sense that perpetual elemental forces encompass and permeate human beings:

## A Lonely Path

I wandered on - all else save this was still. And as I strayed the gloom denser grew, 'till sense of feeling took the sense of sight, As, when the dungeon's space enclosed, the mind O'comes the body with dark dismay And finds instinctive knowledge to afright...

Spawton removes the senses from the persona by immediately setting up a solitary physical journey, 'I wandered on - all else save this was still'. Then, the use of 'strayed' and 'gloom' removes the natural focal pointers until the third line where there is a transition from the physical to the mental world, 'till sense of feeling took the sense of sight', and where the mind ' 0 'comes the body with dark dismay.' This sense of descent or loss is accentuated by the imagery of the human moving according to 'instinctive knowledge', where actions cannot be controlled by reason gleaned from awareness or familiarity of surroundings. The vision of solitude is devoid of comfort, or of resolution, and there is an implicit radical counter-dialogue to the solitary amble found in the first stanza of William

[^142]Wordsworth's 'Daffodils; Or, I Wandered Lonely As A Cloud' (1804). The hesitation in the pace of Spawton's poem heightens the mood of the work; the sense of moving forward, losing 'sense of sight', then moving on to a state of entrapment. It may be that the lack of a physical landscape in Spawton's verse, or simply the absence of any physical referent points, reflects the artificial landscape of one whose life is spent within an unnatural, industrialised or urban environment. The Shelleyan impulse toward the heavenly is reversed. The complicated sentence structure of Spawton's verse, adds to the sense of hesitation and uncertainty, however unintentional that might have been.

Spawton's future is explored in terms of fear and uncertainty, and these motifs can be found in this poetry throughout the second half of the century, and may reflect the precarious existence of many members' lives. Written at the end of the century, Spawton's poem contains many widely recorded concerns of the fin de siècle. The recurring motifs found within this body of poetry reflect the dark moods of late Victorian poetry, negotiating with the prospects of degeneration, cultural or racial. E.P. Thompson suggests that:
the best and most honest literature at the end of the nineteenth century is marked by a profound disillusion, a searching for private reassurance, limited personal objectives, in the midst of a hostile environment. ${ }^{41}$

The environment in 'The Orange Tree', published in 1878, is flushed with a strange ripeness, where the future portends horizons of ' Fear and Joy', but 'dimly mark[ed]':

[^143]
## THE ORANGE TREE

THE man lies darkling in the boy, The Future dimly marks its morn :
Flushed with strange ripeness, Fear and Joy, Which fit our later life, are born.

The boy springs brightening in the man, Frolics, at times, as years before, Runs gay and wild, as once he ran, Breathes the free life of days of yore.

Happy the boy in manlike thought,
Happy the man in boylike play;
Heart unto heart for ever wrought, Our earliest and our latest day !

Thus dark-bright trees by tropic floods Mingle the coming with the old; The deep-hued fruitage shades the budsThe bud lies white amid the gold. ${ }^{42}$

The vision of the poem is cyclical and the connectedness between man and boy encapsulates the friendly societies' vision of the interdependence of all people: 'the man lies darkling in the boy' as much as the 'boy springs brightening in the man.' The poem ends with the vision of 'tropic floods,' which tempers any sense of growth with fear as well as joy. The alternate rhyme scheme adds a sense of regularity and inevitability to what is being said. The selective use of capital letters, 'Future, Fear, Joy,' are focal signposts and the whole form flows from a sense of birth, through to that of life spent in a strange landscape, ending in the final stanza with regression, or progress, back to a beginning, 'the bud.' All imagery returns to the knowledge that the child is the father of the man, as much

[^144]as the man is father of the child, a theme much aired through the societies' emphasis on family responsibility and duty.

The cyclical vision of the 'Orange Tree' extends and contrasts with the range of poetry on death. These poems are reminders of death's ever-immediate proximity to their lives, and the climate of religious understanding. ${ }^{43}$ Most friendly societies aimed to provide funeral benefits for its members, such was the fear of a pauper's funeral. All friendly society members could expect a prominent member, as well as many ordinary fellow members, of their local branch to attend their funeral. The importance and ritual of this ceremony aimed to ensure that working people did not suffer the indignities in death that they had so often endured in life. Importantly, the society's own non-liturgical funeral service was read at the graveside to distinguish that the deceased was member of a distinct collective.

As mentioned previously, this non-liturgical funeral service attracted much criticism and censure from both the middle classes and the Church. This was in a climate where religious doctrines were under scrutiny. The publication in 1860 of seven essays on religion ${ }^{44}$ covering topics such as the Biblical researches of the German critics, the evidences of Christianity, religious thought in England, and the cosmology of Genesis, engendered widespread outrage. Appearing one year after Darwin's Origins of the Species (1859), the essays challenged Biblical history. One, by Benjamin Jowett, titled 'On the Interpretation of Scripture',

[^145]argued, amongst other things, that the Bible should be read like any other book, namely that it should be read for the authors' original meaning within their own context. The impact of these essays paralleled widespread thinking among many other Victorian intellectuals. These questions about religion perhaps gave added authority to the friendly society poets, who use the depiction of death and its ceremonies to appraise the conditions of their lives.

Many writers, but by no means all, unsettle the elegy's conventional consolation of an 'other worldly' existence after death, despite being religious in the 'church/chapel going' sense. Others, more typically, contain visions of a heaven, or the sense of an afterlife, which frequently offer release from human suffering, rather than as a spiritual goal. The churchyard is often the place from which to look out to the living and society, and the inequalities that existed. This reflects the wider preoccupation with social issues towards the end of the century. ${ }^{45}$ Criticism is levelled at religious doctrines that preach acceptance of the writers' unequal place in society, and occasional vehement attacks on the institution of the Church can be found. For example, a poem written in 1850, but which appeared in an 1865 publication, was written by a William Whitmore to his local Reverend:

> Priest! Wilt thou, in this ripening age, restore Old outworn, monkish customs, and by strict Routine of prayerful services, addict The poor thy church's shrine to bend before? Thine is a hopeless task! Since Monkery bore All-powerful sway, the book, steam, commerce, thought, Have amongst us wondrous transformations wrought:
> Usage of the past befit no more

[^146]Hear'st not, on every hand, the anthem swell
Of work-devotion, though with pain and care
Commingled? Rest assured, the ancient spell
Of priestly might, for age is broken! Spare Thy thriftless pains; for hark! The factory bell Is more imperative than thy call to prayer! ${ }^{46}$

While the allusion to high Anglican reforms may serve as the opening subject of the first two lines, the whole poem moves to compare churchgoing, if not religion, to the dominance of industrial progress. Not just industrial progress, but 'thought' has relegated, 'Thy church's shrine' so that it will no longer 'addict' the poor. For 'The factory bell/ Is more imperative than thy call to prayer.' Whether the writer regrets the dominance of the 'factory bell' over the 'church's shrine' can only be guessed at, but he points to the gap between the religious rituals and the lives of the poor. In general, the writers did not reject religious faith, but they tried to articulate their own versions of a religion that encompassed the working classes too.

Much poetry moves out from the churchyard, or graveside, to the living world that has been left, exploring social divisions and inequality. There is an absence of an 'other-worldly' existence in some of the poetry found, as in the following poem by Thomas Hind:

[^147]
## THE SNOWDROP

I come in bright angelic robes array'd, To bloom in garden or in woodland's shade ; I come in Nature's brightest, gentlest form, And bow my head in either calm or storm.

I come, an emblem of sweet Spring's return, And sing in silence, Winter's nearly gone. I come the border'd gravel walk to grace, And in the field or meadow find a place.

I come to deck the statesman's marble hall, Alike I bloom beside the cottage wall ; I shed my lustre on the palace ground, And on the meanest peasant's plot I'm found.

I come to glitter on the hill's green top, And in the vale is seen my silver cup; As pearls upon the garlands fair I shine, And oft my nature's said to be divine.

I hang my drooping head o'er mould'ring clay, In form I weep for man that's passed away;
And there in mourning attitude I grow
Where some fair form in death's cold arms lies low.
I preach to all, whilst on the grave I mourn-
"From dust thou art, to dust shalt thou return.". ${ }^{47}$

The snowdrop is a favoured symbol of life for these poets. It is symbolic of the fragility of the human form. Hind draws this image through into the last stanza, closing with the line which was read at many funeral services. ${ }^{48}$ Here, this line reinforces the levelling effects of death more than it extends to any sense of a

[^148]heaven. As much as the fiction reworks representations of all classes, Hind's images are not class-specific and may be read as both consolatory and political. The snowdrop is a classless symbol since it lives both with the wealthy and on 'the meanest peasant's plot'. It is an arbiter between life and death and stands as an observer, 'on the grave'. The natural form of the flower may be likened to the adopted pose of the mourners, and perhaps urges the reader to look back from the graveside to the living, to consider the way their lives are spent. The sense of loss here is universal, with the loss being that of human understanding. This imagery certainly reinforces the friendly societies' calls for a more equal society, and the writers' expressions of a shared humanity.

Indeed, one symbol of the inequality endured by working people was that of the workhouse. Discussion of this institution and its penalties was prolific throughout the friendly society journals and publications. The consensus was that the workhouse was a further weapon in the middle-class armoury to punish the poor. However, the staff of specific institutions were sometimes commended for their attempts to ameliorate otherwise dreadful conditions. ${ }^{49}$ In Charles Marshall's poem, 'The Pauper's Funeral', the workhouse is treated as if it were a site for the production of pauper's corpses. Marshall often attacked the hated place, no doubt also as a warning to those members of the friendly societies who were thinking about stopping their subscriptions. In his poem, he depicts the low social position of the working classes being perpetuated in the very processes of burial. At first his image of the pauper is genderless, a being whose only status is

[^149]that of poverty inflicted by the regime of the workhouse system. His bleak vision is of the corpse being brought straight from the workhouse and 'laid in the mould' not so much to be buried, but to be disposed of, or of being cast out:

## The Pauper's Funeral

Into the churchyard a pauper is borne
Brought from the workhouse and laid in the mould, Not from friends nor from home, by death was she torne,
The world to the pauper is silent and cold.
Her ashes will mingle with those of the great,
No more will she feel the neglect or the scorn
Of those who live on in the splendour of State.
Death levels distinctions, the daisies will bloom
The wind passes oft and the robin will sing
As sweet o'er the grave, as the rich marble tomb
Wherein lies at rest, the prince or the king. ${ }^{50}$

The starkness of the pauper's burial is in contrast to the grand Victorian death ceremonies of the churchyard. The frequent monosyllables and the sombre rhythm mimic a death toll and march: although the tone is elegiac, the voice does not pay tribute to the individual being buried, but speaks to the living, to 'those who live on in the splendour of State.' With disarming simplicity, Marshall points out how the treatment of the pauper at their death is a continuation of a pauper's treatment in life: 'The world to the pauper is silent and cold' [my emphasis]. At the same time, the graveyard and death level social distinctions: 'No more will she feel the neglect or the scorn.'

[^150]Death poetry for these writers tends not to eulogise a specific individual.
The poems instead reflect the shared sense of suffering for
those left behind. Maybe the futility and strife of the deceased's own life also explains why some of the poetry does not overstate the sense of loss from a world that holds much suffering. Often, life appears to be little more than a brief or temporary reprieve from death. For example, the image of snow encapsulates life's hardships and brevity:

## Under The Snow

Sweet little loving thing, low, low, low, Down in the cold, cold grave she lies:
Deep 'neath the daisy-knoll under the snow, Silenced for ever her carols and cries.

Sweet little dimpled chin, how she would dance! Dear little laughing eyes, how she would smile!
Still are her tiny feet now, and her glance
Beams not on me for a weary long while.
"Dead"! do my neighbours say? Death is a dream;
In the mid Maytime she went out to play;
Daily I see her by meadow and stream, Couch'd 'mid the golden cups, sunny as they.

Weep, my eyes, scalding tears, weep, weep, weep; Bleed, my soul; throb, my heart, heavy with pain!
When shall my tender one wake from her sleep?
When shall I gaze on my beauty again?
Sweet little loving thing, low, low, low,
Down in the cold, cold grave she lies;
Deep 'neath the daisy-knoll under the snow, Silenced for ever her carols and cries. ${ }^{51}$

Although death is no more than 'a dream', the final stanza acknowledges that death silences 'for ever.' Perhaps there is a hint of a world-weary scepticism that sits alongside the poet's religious beliefs. This theme of death being no more real

[^151]than life, and 'living' meaning being kept alive in memory alone, is explored more overtly in 'Dead':

Dead
"To live in hearts we leave behind is not to die." - Campbell
Dead? No! thou'rt living yetFor, while fond memory holds thee thus, And love we give not to the dead Is thine, thou still art one of us;

Not dead till we forget.
Living, but far away; Distance divides our hearts from thee-

But Time shall bring thee here again, And brighter than all dreams shall be

That one glad meeting day.
Alas! not so thou'rt dead!
For it was sadly dear to me
To think thy spirit might be near;
From Earth's restraining bands set free,
Yet here, by memory led.
"Sweet could our hearts be known
Now, by some keener sympathy."
Such my first thoughts when thou wert gone;
But soon the fancy ceased to be:
We felt thy soul was flown.
Dead? No! thou'rt living yet-
Distant, but we shall meet again,
And heart be read by faithful heart,
When Love more closely draws her chain
Round hearts for ever met. ${ }^{52}$

The use of the vernacular generally makes no pretensions to elegiac formality or to grandeur. While the substance of this poem is perhaps little more than a series

[^152]of images loosely based on awkward, familiar clichés, there is an ambiguity between a religious vision of death and a secular one, affording varying interpretations of the meaning of resurrection and the after-life. For example, while there is the sense of a future where the living and the dead 'shall meet again,' there is also a sense of vagueness about the nature of such a reunion, for the wish that, 'Time shall bring thee here again' inverts the more usual vision of the dead ascending to a heaven, perhaps accentuating the writer's spiritual rather than religious beliefs. Although this poem is less successful than, say, that of Williams or Marshall, its emotional appeal cannot be doubted, and its content and form were popular amongst these writers, as can be gauged from how very frequently such work appears.

By no means did all of the poetry shun an 'other worldly' vision. Millicent Langton's religious beliefs do offset the daily grind of her life to a great extent, giving it both perspective and purpose. Millicent Langton is recorded as describing her life as 'one of constant toil, morning to evening,' and for a great portion of the time, 'amid the monstrous din of machinery.' She remarked that, 'I have thus been deprived of the benefits of a liberal education. ${ }^{53}$ Birth and death so often quickly followed each other and this is reflected in her poem about a visit to a child's grave:

To A Snowdrop, found on an Infant's Grave
Welcome lovely flower, sweet snowdrop, Bending down thy tiny head;
Where infant form lies sleeping, O'er the cradle of the dead.

[^153]> Harbinger of laughing hours, Come to cheer the drooping heart; Light the stricken cheek of sorrow, Bid each phantom shade depart.

Tell of fruits and flowers now hidden, In the bosom of the earth;
Smiling, bursting into being, 'Mid a new creation's birth.

Woodbine climbing up the casement, Sending forth a fragrance sweet;
And the meek-eyed modest daisy, Standing humbly at its feet.

Lily blooming in the valley; Rosebuds peeping through the bower, Cowslips, jessamine, and bluebells, Kissed by gentle summer showers.

Orchards groaning 'neath their burdens; Waving fields of golden corn ;
Notes of spirit-stirring music, Waking up the dewy morn.

Hopes of weary hearts reviving ; Faith, which penetrates the tomb; Tells of summer hours undying, And of flowers which ever bloom.

Of a new creation dawning, When the dead their bonds shall break ;
Bodies glorified, immortal, From their long, long sleep awake. ${ }^{54}$

The poem celebrates the proximity of nature continuing to grow amongst the dead, where images of the snowdrop and the baby are paralleled as metaphor for each other; the foetal pose of the snowdrop is mirrored below, 'Where infant form lies sleeping.' The dead child shares the same place as the snowdrop's 'birth.' Alliteration of 'sweet snowdrop' projects the atmosphere of a hushed visit to a

[^154]nursery to check on a sleeping child. There is the vision of 'sweet' life above the 'cradle of the dead,' and the silence of the dead infant, 'sleeping' below. Oppositions are presented as natural, rather than melancholic. The ubiquitousness of death in life is a recurrent theme in Langton's work. She counters the loss of life with the hope of 'a new creation dawning.' The presence of overtly religious poetry in the friendly societies' publications, alongside verse which shuns any visions of an afterlife, confirms the diversity of the membership which assembled under the unified banner of the movement.

If any homogeneity could be found in this body of poetry, it is the articulation of a collective spirit and shared experience. The poets build up the solidarity which was integral to the ethos of the friendly societies in the face of life's adversities. Although not often sophisticated in a literary way, they draw upon the dichotomy between rural idealisations and growing industrialisation common in this period. For example, Wills' poem, 'The Golden Age' shuns rhetoric of grand, universal progress and 'The Notch in the Tree' suggests that passing time has eroded, rather than enriched, the writers' lives. Or maybe the writers' visions simply foreground the daily work cycle that their life has become, as in Plummer's poem. Effie's 'Bluebell' and Wills' 'Summer Sea' ostensibly recall or construct a rural idyll, or an excursion, but both are written in the knowledge that their escapes must ultimately see them 'wend stablewards.' Although their work-a-day worlds are not always overtly recorded, they are writing from, and are thus contained within, the daily cycle of labour. Often, a rural idyll offers its own form of oppression, rather than solace, as expressed in Williams' poem, 'Changeable'. Similarly, the
'Notch in the Tree' and 'Again', also suggest that any physical retreat or escape to nature may be a form of regression, or at best, futile.

As noted, the communitarian 'we' is predominant in much of this poetry, although towards the end of the century, ' $I$ ' becomes the more dominant pronoun. In terms of the history of the friendly society movement, the last two decades of the century were the period when the responsibility for providing support for working people in the form of pensions and medical care, began to shift from the societies' private domain to that of the State. It may be that this shift to the individual speaker parallels the 'voluntaristic identity' that Anne Janowitz suggests:
> offered the means for choosing positions of solidarity [...].This movement pushed liberalism to accommodate aspects of a community vision of society, and put pressure on it to make sense of the developing selfconsciousness of the 'new unionism' and working-class self-organisation in the 1880s and 1890s. ${ }^{55}$

The poems discussed are characterised by mixed feelings about work and other hardships which typified their lives. Poetry allows them to express and to explore some of their inner conflicts and tensions and to invoke concepts which they do not know how to, or do not dare to, express directly. Sometimes, there is the impression that writing poetry is an end in itself, a source of release and pleasure. By contrast, the small, but distinct group of protest poetry discussed in the next chapter, is the most public of all of the texts. The poets want to reach an audience, desirous of stirring up the collective spirit.

[^155]
## Chapter 5 <br> Poetry <br> Unity and Protest

This final chapter examines a range of radical poetry which appeared in the friendly society publications in the late Victorian era (1880 to 1900), and where the form's inherent public address demonstrates the more militantly collective spirit of the organisations. It will be argued that the majority of the poetry in this chapter does not defuse frustrations, but foregrounds them. All of the poems spread a sense of solidarity and communality, and the content is humanitarian and outspoken.

The late 1880s and 1890s witnessed the move to more radical politics, with the rise of New Unionism and the formation of the Independent Labour Party in 1893. It was also a period when uncertainties about Britain's future prosperity surfaced.. The rise of Germany and the U.S.A. as trading rivals led to a sense of crisis, although this was not wholly supported by economic indicators. Any widespread sense of insecurity was likely to have emanated from a perceived threat to Britain's dominance, rather than an actual one, and this reformulated into a desire to defend the British Empire. Rhetoric of Empire, as a cornerstone of Tory Democracy, sought to unite the classes under a flagship of imperial pride. ${ }^{1}$ For the friendly societies, any sense of malaise was perhaps more justified. The success of the organisations often proved, ironically, to be the downfall of many of the smaller societies, because although an increased membership base meant

[^156]more revenue in the form of membership fees, it was also correlated to a greater increase in expenditure in benefits. In particular, expenditure on pensions increased considerably due to the lower mortality rates.

The prospect of insolvency, although not always actually absent, loomed ever more during this period. Added to this, the friendly society movement saw competition from members leaving to join specific trade unions. The sociability offered by the societies also became just one of many possible options for leisure pursuits. In the face of this, many societies cut back, or even cancelled, hitherto annual social events, with competition coming from the music halls, or the popularity of watching local football teams play. ${ }^{2}$

However, the friendly societies continued to be politically active. In 1897, London's India Docks Company launched a compulsory friendly society scheme for workers, whereby failure to join meant the loss of the workers' jobs. Yet this company friendly society (or shop-club society) gave the employer, rather than its worker-members, control over its administration. The London India Docks Company declared that it was forming the society to end 'malingering.' The response by the friendly society movement was considerable. They joined dock workers in demonstrating against the company society and spearheaded a campaign to the Home Office to make this type of society illegal, taking part in demonstrations and protest meetings. However, as the new century arrived, and in the face of the growing inability of the societies to cater for a population that experienced increasing levels of sickness, and lower levels of mortality, their call

[^157]for a ban on shop-club societies faltered when it became evident that only the state could mobilise sufficient resources to cater for the people. Yet Cordery argues that these events at the end of the century:
stripped away the fiction of the friendly societies as apolitical...Though they claimed to stand above politics, the societies were devoutly and habitually engaged in political activism. Banning political discussions from club nights [...]should not blind us to their long-term involvement in the national political arena, as it seems to have done. ${ }^{3}$

As British socialism gained some momentum in the early 1880s, poets were among the many artists and writers who became involved with the socialist movement. As a consequence of their involvement, poetry could be found alongside reports of industrial unrest in the socialist periodicals of the time. ${ }^{4}$ William Morris's Chants for Socialists (1884) and The Pilgrims of Hope (1885) and Edward Carpenter's Towards Democracy (1883-1903) articulated the hope for a socialist future. Ruth Livesey ${ }^{5}$ describes how both men were actively engaged in supporting socialist organisations, creating a high profile link between aesthetic expression and socialism from the early 1880 s. ${ }^{6}$ Livesey also notes that at:
gatherings of the Socialist League and within the Labour Church movement popular in the north of England, socialist verse in hymn metre was sung to familiar airs from Christian worship...in some cases the singers were invited to appreciate this re-scripting as an explicit piece of socialist commentary.' ${ }^{7}$

[^158]Again, this evidence of working people adapting doctrines or literature to articulate their own political identities, in tandem with the wider political climate, informs the reading of the more radical poetry found within these organisations' publications. Some work was written for a specific occasion, or surfaced in response to a particular protest and was frequently revived in one form or another as the need arose, like this verse by Thor Coles:

> An Elegy (National Insurance is as dead as Queen Anne)
> The Canon's scheme is dead and gone, No patriot could approve it. And if in case it came full blown, 'Twould take a power to move it.

> In English hearts, it ne'er would float, Had it been set in motion.
> And like a leaky craft or boat 'Twould sink ere't reached mid ocean ${ }^{8}$

The 'Canon' is Canon Blackley who devised a plan in 1878 for the compulsory purchase of pensions. This plan was met with great hostility in the friendly society journals - a key argument being that it was wrong in principle to make compulsory deductions from an individual's wages.

The specific business areas of the organisations were often encapsulated into forms that resembled those found in the popular street Broadsides. The following two are typical. The first one attacks the medical profession:

When any sick to me apply, I physics, bleeds and swets 'em If after that they choose to die, What's that to me? - I lets 'em. ${ }^{9}$

[^159]The incidence of low wages meant that the members were still kept in poverty, even when in work. This concern was often expressed in verse, like this one by G.H., who was a labourer and then a travelling carpenter:

Stitching with maniac haste To gain a scanty meal That I could live on what many waste, I far too keenly feel. ${ }^{10}$

Much poetry called for action that would directly benefit all humankind. Tom Coales suggests that a neighbour is one who is found everywhere, in all places and people:

## Thy Neighbour

Thy neighbour $?$ It is he whom thou Hast power to aid and bless; Whose aching heart, or burning brow, Thy soothing hand may press.

Thy neighbour? 'Tis the fainting poor Whose eye with want is dim ; Whom hunger sends from door to doorGo thou and comfort him.

Thy neighbour? 'Tis the weary man Whose years are at their brim;
But low with sickness, care, and pain-
Go thou and comfort him.
Thy neighbour? 'Tis the heart bereft Of every earthly gem ;
Widows and orphans helpless left-
Go thou and comfort them.
Thy neighbour? Yonder toiling slave, Fettered in thought and limb, Whose hopes are all beyond the grave-

Go thou and ransom him.

[^160]
## Where'er thou meet'st a human form

 Less favoured than thine own, Remember 'tis thy neighbour born, Thy brother, or thy son.Oh ! pass not, pass not heedless by, Perhaps thou canst redeem
The breaking heart from miseryGo share thy lot with him. ${ }^{\text {II }}$

This type of versifying was popular in the journals because its sentiments were 'adapted' to reflect more closely the friendly societies' own inclusive ethos, and to instil this sense of shared purpose and focus to members. The response to the opening question of who is a neighbour, affirms the friendly societies' ethos of collectivity and mutuality, where all members are 'neighbours' to be helped in times of need. The themes of the fifth stanza are much-found. They criticise justification of working-class suffering on earth because of the rewards that await them in an after-life. The call to 'ransom him' articulates a radical vision of holding the worker (and hence his labour) to ransom until a better reward is offered.

Typical of the poetry which combined overt protest with calls for unity is 'Capital and Labour.' This poem was read at a meeting of the Boiler Makers' Society and a local branch of a friendly society:

[^161]
## Capital and Labour

Firm and fast in closest bond, Stand we one and all ;
In compactest Union strong, Who apart would fall;
Onward is our noble aim, To upraise the workman's fame, Diligence and skill,
And by thrifty store laid by, Stave we off the needy's cry, In the day of ill.

Blind mistake and harsh mistrust, 'Gainst us raise a few;
But we'll prove their slanderous dust, Utterly untrue ;
For when food and fuel were high, ...
And our dames for their supply
Asked for a trifle more,
Then, by whom we all respect,
Our just want was duly met,
And the case was o'er.
Capital and Labour seem
By our Maker joined ;
Are they not like giant twins
In the world of mind?
What can Labour do alone?
Grind its nose against the stone, Turn a gristless mill !
What can Capital indeed By itself? But hoard its seed, Eat a golden pill. (4th stanza)

But 'tis true that Capital All the risk must run,
Like a ship exposed to all Winds beneath the sun ;
Feels the first trade's ebb and flow, Most keen competition know, So 'tis just and meet, Labour should co-operate, And to help with all their might Masters to compete. ( $7^{\text {h }}$ stanza)

In this age of enterprise We must never lag, When within our port there flies Every nation's flag; Nor permit to meet his eye, Who so keenly could decry, German, Frank, or Russ; What has been exposed too far, Trades disputes and social jar, In the midst of us. ( $8^{\text {th }} /$ final stanza) ${ }^{12}$

Although the rhyme scheme of the eight stanzas is uneven and the language is awkward, the imagery reinforces not only the unified stance of the societies, but also their interconnectedness with 'Capital'. Perhaps the strongest censure here is the 'slanderous dust' found in the second stanza, but this reference to a specific dispute is mitigated by the prospect of co-operation and cohesion with the 'Masters'. This poem is more specifically trade orientated and offers a rare glimpse, in terms of the friendly society publications, of the common ground between the trade unions and the friendly societies, in the face of industrial disputes and international competition. Importantly, it distinguishes between the members' calls for responsibility in the reciprocal relationships between employers and employees, as opposed to visions of socialism.

Towards the end of the century, a stronger sense of anger is found in a selection of the poetry. M. Moor's verse rejects Thor Coles' images of 'patriots' and 'English hearts':

[^162]I have heard of freedom. Men say Her name is on British ground. To sweeten the toil of the passing day To brighten life's dull round. Yet she is but little else to me Than an empty, meaningless sound. ${ }^{13}$

The personification of freedom as an absent companion adds weight to the writer's personal expression of despair, thus making 'her' absence felt all the more keenly. As mentioned, much of the later poetry echoes this writer's stance. It perhaps reflects the loss of individual control over the friendly societies' domain as it began to be absorbed by the state. Alternatively, it may solely express scepticism about public life.

Moor's anger is forcefully voiced in the poetry of miner, James Welsh. The militant tone of much of Welsh's poetry reflects the friendly societies' more public militancy in the final years of the nineteenth century, and their support for striking trade unionists, as discussed in Chapter 1. His writing probably drew added strength from the growth of the Socialist movements of the time, and more particularly, from the emergence of the Independent Labour Party, which he was to join later. Welsh combines personal anger and social injustice with a literary method at once accessible and profound, marrying social and economic systems with the mining landscape, as in his poem, 'Labour':

## Labour

Born to the thorn and the rod With only the dreams of sublime, Where life like a storm shod god Romps down the halls of time; Bright gleam the stars in the sky,

[^163]Sweet is the wind on the moor, Grovel I must and pass by
To die, 'mid the slime and the hoar
I know not the sweets of the rose, Bend, grind and labour I must, Wind 'mong the pines never blows For me - only wild storms of lust, Surge through my big hulking frame, (Love for me was never meant,) Braised by their force and their flame, Tamed only when they are spent.

Robbed of the laurels of life
Robbed of the power to enjoy
Robbed of desire to employ
Ideals and efforts and dreams
Tastes that are almost divine
Giving the poet his themes, Ah!, what a heritage mine-

Conceived in the mine and the murk
Born in the slut ${ }^{14}$ and the slime
Rocked in the tempest of work
Fed on the garbage and grime.
Lasted thro' the dungeons of life
Like sins thro' the horrors of hell
Stabbed by the storm like a knife-
Curse on the things that I tell!
Brute-lust and self rule my lot, Ideals for me can't exist. Fancy with me cannot float Where gods by the angels are kissed;
Braised in a hell upon earth
Scorched in a hell when I die
I should have sought better by birth
When calling to life passing by. ${ }^{15}$

[^164]For Welsh, there is no freedom of will. One is, 'born to the thorn and the rod.' Such a life is predestined to be lived and to end, 'mid the slime and the hoar.' Welsh's speaker is perhaps parodying Satan. In the Miltonesque hell of his world, perdition is a result of birth rather than circumstance. For example, Milton's Satan was:

> Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' Ethereal Sky With hideous ruin and combustion down To bottomless perdition, there to dwell In Adamantine Chains and penal Fire,

In Welsh's imagery, his speaker does not descend to hell, nor does he escape it, for he is 'conceived' and lives there, in 'the dungeons of life'. The sublime powerful forces of nature capture and merge the miner's human form with the subterranean landscape. Even lust is not accompanied by love, 'Love for me was never meant,' but lust too, becomes a quickly spent force. The speaker has been, 'Robbed of the power to enjoy.' There is no journey to a Garden of Eden. The physical body is a victim of a world of brutality, and the spiritual self is reduced to one where, 'Ideals [for me] can't exist.' The mind is not a temporal site imbued with a spiritual love for the world, but reduced to its physical output, 'a big hulking frame' where 'Brute-lust and self rule my lot.'

Welsh's poem neither appeals for help nor does it call for action; its images are ones of degradation and oppression. His ironic reference to his own environment and inspiration, that of 'slime and hoar', are contrasted to those which give a 'poet his themes' in the third stanza, and which he has been 'robbed of.' The poem's strategy is realised through the interrelation between its title and the imagery of being 'conceived', 'born' and 'labour[ing]' amongst the slut and
the slime. Images of 'laurels' are a play on words between those found in nature, and material rewards. The irony of the penultimate line, 'I should have sought better by birth' alludes to hegemonic domination, knowing the impossibility of 'seeking' better by 'birth.' Unlike, say, Plummer's poem, Welsh censures the dreadful nature of his work, rather than simply its poor rewards. His anger takes a more specific focus in this next poem. Here, he relates coal, as the product of his labour, back to those who consume it:

## THE MINER

Down in the deep, sunless murk, Guiltless of laughter and mirth, Playing an epic of work, Here in the guts of the earth; That which was forests of treesFlowers of the ages long gone, Come we to hive-human beesHoney of gold for the drone.

You who in comfort and ease
Sit by your fireside and mourn, Torn by imagined disease, Know ye 'tis life that ye burn ; Life in the lives of strong men Crude with the task of their toil, Work that's a prayer full of pain Prayed to the gods of the soil.

Prayers that are curses and groans,
Agonies moulded in tears, Pictures in jettest of tones
Paint we to portray our years ;
Hope of the ages we know
Only in times of our dreams...
Masters, why should it be so?
Why should life prosper your schemes?
We've fashioned your fabric of dreams, Built by the gold of our blood. Passions we spill as Life streams And roars to its rim in full flood;

> We'll laugh at the threats of your god, We'll yet mock the things that you tell, Death cannot equal Life's load, We'll live a Utopia in Hell.

You've built from our lives your success, Ye swear now 'tis war to the knife, Your progress is shaped to oppress,
Ye spare neither children nor wife;
The gold ye have set for your crown We'll melt in the streams of your blood, By the god that ye worship and own We'll whelm all your schemes in its flood.

Down in the deep, sunless murk,
Guiltless of laughter and mirth,
Playing an epic of work,
Here in the guts of the earth;
Hell has no terrors for men
Born to forbear with such load,
Scorn we its promise of pain
And laugh in the face of your god. ${ }^{16}$

Again, confinement in an underground Miltonesque hell is narrated through a vision of the sublime. The mine becomes a site for the realization and rising up of human potential, 'in the guts of the earth/Hell has no terrors for men'. The irony of the opening images is in the counter-pastoral, antonymic rural scene of, 'That which was forests of trees-'. The trees of the subterranean forest are now coal, the pastoral landscape is subverted into a dystopic world where the 'Pictures [are] in jettest of tones'. His creativity is reduced to 'Playing an epic of work' amid the 'sunless murk.' The hegemonic relationship between the worker and the 'drone' is imbued with visions of exploitation and oppression; the miners have become 'human bees' to 'hive/honey of gold for the drone.' This imagery is extended in

[^165]the second stanza with the charge to those that burn the coal, 'Know ye 'tis life that ye burn.' This assessment of hegemonic relations is escalated by the shift from the 'drone' of the first stanza, to 'Masters' in the third stanza. Although the metaphor for 'gold' becomes a little vague - it starts as 'honey' in the first stanza and becomes 'fabric' in the fourth - this does not detract from the intense voice of Welsh's poem, nor its rich and powerful metaphor.

Tommy Armstrong, also a miner, wrote ballads during the 1880s and 1890s. Martha Vicinus comments that Armstrong's works 'are closer in feeling to the protest songs of an earlier generation. ${ }^{17}$ She argues that one of Armstrong's songs, in contrast to the songs written during the 1844 strike, articulates 'a sense of self-pride that the candymen cannot destroy. ${ }^{18}$ This sense of self-pride is implicit in Welsh's poems. His tone reflects authority and confidence in his collective class position, to the extent that he challenges the 'Masters' with the threat that, 'The gold ye have set for your crown /We'll melt in the streams of your blood.' The final stanza repeats the visions of suffering of the first stanza, but charges it with an uncompromising threat to his exploiters to 'laugh in the face of your god' since, 'Death cannot equal Life's load'. Thus, Welsh does not identify with a higher cause, which Vicinus observes to be present in the writing of miners during the first half of the century. ${ }^{19}$ An active trade unionist, Welsh declared that, 'Miner I am, poet I may be - but let not the world think there is a

[^166]virtue in the combination. ${ }^{20}$ Perhaps Welsh felt that the increasingly organised working classes did not now need this religious imagery to give them the courage to pursue social justice. He was anxious that his writing received recognition for its working-class culture, its politics and economics Obviously, coming from a mining family, the history of the miners' struggles would have been part of his education, and he was active within the trade union movement from an early age.

The vision of collective and united action in Welsh's poems is found in varying forms. Many of the poems appearing during this period leave no doubt as to their purpose, such as the following poem by W.S.Rennie:

## Lines to the Zurich Congress

Ye comrades bravely toiling through the turmoil of the years,
See, at last, the sacred cause ye spread in every land appears;
The toilers of the nations, with a grand accord through all, Uprise to smite oppression down and bid their tyrants fall.

Through immemorial darkness, now the sunbeams burst their way. The dreary night dispels, and lo! the dawning of the day ; And the glow of freedom's morning, from the nations evermore, Scatters all the sullen shadows and the bitter strifes of yore.

No barriers shall divide them when the tyrant's vain commands Shall not rouse the poor to smite the poor, and stain the smiling lands.
The onward sweep of progress halts not for the great of earth;
They may hug their gods unheeding till they perish in their mirth
The patient, deathless Right shall mount her own imperial throne, And bid her hosts of every clime to march relentless on, Till want, and woe, and fraud, and hoary shackles of the past Are dead and done and crushed to earth, and men are free at last.

To live the lives that seers dreamed, in harmony sublime, Unknown upon the face of earth since e'er the birth of time, Oh, fair and free the world will be, and glad its harvests then For the neighbourhood and brotherhood of all the race of men! ${ }^{11}$

[^167]The pluralistic address delivers an uncensored vision of social action. Images of oppressors 'hug[ging] their gods unheeding' projects the poet's vision of how the world could change in the face of united working-class uprising. The poem is also populist in its address, directed to an international audience who shared a long history of injustice. The somewhat awkward composition does not detract from the writer's anticipation of successful, collective achievement. Also written in 1894, by Cameron, the following poem demonstrates melodrama, pathos and declamatory energy:

## Freedom

Daring thoughts to-day are moving in the world's uneasy breast. And her fitful hopes are streaming with an ominous unrest; Now a vague suspense is brooding over court and mart and slum, And the Czars and Kings are dreading that their day of doom has come, For the world upheaves for freedom and she will not strive in vain, As of old when racial hatred darkened all her heart and brain. The estranging bars are falling from her children ever more, 'Till the foremen turn to brothers, knowing neither rich nor poor; Sharing all the gifts of science and her wonders manifold; All the glory of her triumphs over nature's want and cold; Sharing each in her revealing of the wonders near and far, All the sparkle of the shell and all the splendour of the star...

So the poet sheds his glamour, but the miserable poor Have no share in winter's glory, but for them disasters sure, But the sordid, slushy alley, and the broken mouldy stair, The dripping roofs and cheerless streets, their ugly homes are bare. They know how little children, in the weird December light, Shiver round their empty grates, and how their mothers in affright, Shun the drunken wretch who sought him, from his frenzy of despair, Refuge in the deadly gin shop, till he left his manhood there,

[^168]Oh, the hapless sires that infant lips so vainly ask for bread. While the shameless idlers riot in the wealth their hands have made. Ah; the human souls that sink to gulfs that hold them ever more When the winter's icy spectre brings starvation to the poor. ${ }^{22}$

The poet identifies himself with the suffering poor. For Cameron, poetry is to do with oppression, and not pastoral idylls: what can the 'miserable poor' know of winter's glory. The address is populist, accentuated by rhyming couplets. His reference to a poet 'shed'[ding] his glamour contrasts a poet's idealised vision of winter to the misery winter brings to the poor. This reference may also allude to the involvement of many well known poets in the socialist movement of the time. The lack of metaphors enhances the contrast between the images of the first stanza and that of the last, the shift from a national vision to a local, domestic one. It is unashamedly polemical, and its sentiments are designed to appeal to the shared experiences of a working-class collective, as its intended audience.

While reflecting the era's socialist movements more closely, it would be difficult to argue that the friendly societies envisaged (or indeed, wanted) socialism as a future prospect, despite their writers' most radical verse. Although the incidence of this protest poetry is small, its significance is in the historical sweep of the narrative, and the sense in which exploitation is the product of a long history of injustice. This gives the poetry both a sense of seriousness and a sense of purpose. It also points to the writers' view of poetry as a trans-historical discourse on national matters.

[^169]
## Conclusion

The little researched area of the friendly society movement prompted this project while the work of historians Simon Cordery and Trygve Tholfsen were the most relevant to the task of sifting and evaluating it. Both historians identified the tension between the societies' public discourse, which appeared to support the mid-Victorian 'consensus,' and the societies' 'conscious and responsible decision not to surrender to middle-class values. ${ }^{1}$ They also argued that the friendly societies were engaged in an ideological contest to gain independence from both the state and middle-class supervision, and that they were 'politically active, ${ }^{2}$ and this approach was applied to the creative writing, which has been selected for its implicit political edge. While Tholfsen's dismissal of the publications' fiction as merely 'sentimentalizing social reality and romanticizing relations between employers and employees, ${ }^{3}$ may apply to some of the work, much of the material that has been examined here, as has been seen, engages with the political tension identified by these historians.

It may be that such writing is significant not only for its touches of literary skill, but also for the articulation of its authors' place in society. Certainly, being able to write imaginatively at all is notable, given the demands of the

[^170]members' working lives. As for merely supporting consensus values, their writing suggests a tension between establishing a balance between artistic form and expression of their movement's position in Victorian society. For example, the young protagonist in Charles Marshall's story, 'Old Misery, The Miser', is the mouthpiece for the author, carrying the moral dilemma of condoning or condemning the 'mob's' actions, or supporting the miser's attempts to make good his past wrongs. He does not conform to the character-type that Jonathan Rose observes in novels, namely that the working classes may be represented as many things, but not thoughtful. ${ }^{4}$ The portrayal of the working person as rational and thoughtful may be seen not only in Marshall's writing, but also in Kingston's, 'Not Gilded, But Golden' where it is the carver who challenges the middle-class Hardens' negative summary of working people. Kingston's story also represents the organisations' wish that they be allowed to work independently, without intrusion into their lives. He also depicts the interrelation of all classes through work, and the cycle of dependency this entails for all social groups, but importantly, without one group being subsumed by another. Sometimes, the political and social messages in their fiction may appear to be confined by the societies' desire to present a 'respectable' face to the ever vigilant observers of their organisations during the period. The political consciousness that these writers sought to engender, however couched, would affirm their organisations' continual exposé of their members' vulnerability and their struggle, as did John Hinchliffe's depiction of the medical hierarchy and its impact on all classes.

[^171]The focus on medical provision highlighted working people's resistance to their health and welfare being constructed without regard to the impact of structural factors upon their lives, such as extreme poverty. This response may be viewed as a locus of State intervention into this previously self-managed area of people's lives, a debate that is current today. Their perceptions may also suggest how health and disease, and health or sickness-related behaviour, may have fitted in with the everyday pattern of their lives. The relationship between biomedicine and individual accounts of health is, of course, ongoing.

Apart from constructing sequences in their stories to reinforce their own respectability, the absence of overt class bias (as opposed to censure of the excesses of capitalism) in their fiction may serve to mediate between their own political thinking and that of their working-class readers; they thereby sought to awaken or heighten the latter's political awareness rather than use literature to increase social tension. In places, they amalgamate and re-present class conflict in ways which counteract the negative stereotyping of their class and which explore the potential for change. The most common feature of the writing is the emphasis on collective interests above individual ones; additionally, it stresses the reciprocal responsibilities of capital and labour.

The poetry too, frequently speaks in a collective voice. The poets' subjects range from wry comparisons of their own class position in context with their lives as poets, to contemporary social concerns of inequality and injustice, and to the sense of alienation wrought by their newly industrialised lives. For instance, Ruth Wills's, 'Age of Gold', questions the universal visions of poetry, whilst Williams juggles with his vision of himself, as both 'poet and warrior.' Effie's poem, 'The

Muse', questions her exclusion from not only the poet's world, but also her enforced exclusion from the natural environment. James Welsh's sense of exclusion from the natural world may be a metaphor for varying degrees of entrapment. There was a certain shift towards the end of the century; perhaps this indicates that there was an increasing sense of alienation, and this was considered through E. Spawton's expression of dystopic, psychological landscapes.

This feeling of alienation or isolation may not have resulted solely from top- down power structures by any means, for the respectability that the friendly societies sought to achieve for their working-class members as individuals, was undermined on many fronts, not least by the contemporary fictional representations of working people. In the writing of Arthur Morrison's, A Child of the Jago ${ }^{5}$ Morrison's representations of the working classes added to earlier negative stereotypical images of working people. These counteract the image of sobriety and responsibility which these organisations worked to develop, and the reworking of such negative images surfaces in their writing. As such, their writing adds to the literary histories of that time.

On a wider scale, their fiction intercedes and adds to contemporary fictional representations of working people's place in a nation where the population was being increasingly represented as an aggregate. It engages with many naturalised assumptions or external agendas and contradictions that are characteristic of the complexities of Victorian society. For example, the writers expose attempts to conflate their identities with social problems, legitimating

[^172]surveillance and ultimately intervention into their lives, both within contemporary literature and in the public sphere.

However, as with any other historical source, the writing contains inherent distortions and biases. Certainly, the writers are not entirely representative of their organisations' membership, if only because they are unusually articulate. Furthermore, the obvious bias in favour of collectivism is to be expected given that the essence of the organisations was co-operation rather than individual striving. However, having said this, in many ways it seems likely that the writing is representative of the outlook of a large proportion of working people, since the membership was made up of people who could see that help could only come from their own class at that time, and only through financial support. This bias can also be mitigated by the fact that the majority of writers were not prominent members of these organisations. Although Tom Coales achieved the position of Provincial Grand Master, and Charles Marshall did rise to the position of secretary of his local branch, many others held no position at all. As such, they would have little vested interest in promoting the aims of the organisations above their own.

Other limitations of this thesis stem from locating sources that are representative of what is ultimately a large body of writing. For example, the two main friendly societies alone, the Oddfellows and Ancient Order of Foresters, produced monthly and/or quarterly publications throughout the greater part of the century, and there were regional variations among these. Furthermore, the extent of loose leaf extracts of others friendly societies' publications can only be guessed at, since many record offices have some local friendly society material. Also,
some friendly societies which still exist, but have become commercial assurance organisations, may possibly have further holdings in their possession. This has necessarily meant being selective. Some individual writers deserve a complete study of their own, as no doubt do some who do not appear in this project at all. Certainly future research could experiment with a different sample or approach. For instance, selecting writing by women only might provide a fascinating, but equally substantial investigation, where a critical feminist approach might allow for wider readings. But as mentioned in the Introduction, this would be more fruitful if taken from an earlier period when women-only friendly societies, or friendly societies where women played an active role, were more plentiful than in the period of this project. Having said this, it may be that other organisations that were formed with a specifically feminist agenda, such as The Women's Cooperative Guild, founded in 1883 as a female mutual improvement association, would possibly prove to be a valuable source of writing by working-class women during this period. However, since the majority of the friendly societies were formed to protect the position of the working class individual in relation to the harsh conditions that prevailed for both men and women, social relations between classes, rather than specifically gender relations, were considered to be paramount for this study.

A further limitation of this study is that by considering their work from a cultural materialist stance, there is the danger of merely constructing an alternative identity for the writers, by applying the very tools of a cultural pedagogy that the writers sought to challenge. However, perhaps only by being incorporated into the debates centring on literature, values, attitudes and moral
and social distinctions of the period can their writing challenge ways in which norms are contested. We must presume that the writers wanted their imaginative writing to be read for its own value, without the focus of attention being merely upon them and their lowly positions within society.

The organisations were undoubtedly successful in setting out to provide for a large number of working people in the absence of any wide-ranging state provision during a period when both the economy and also political tensions fluctuated quite drastically. Against this background, the very characteristics of class-consciousness and solidarity that united these writers were also the characteristics that isolated them from a middle class public who feared and mistrusted their demands for better wages and working conditions. Choosing to represent their class position in the context of these external forces, both fictionally and within the conventions of the literary establishment, the writers suggest an intellectual as well as a political command of their relationship to both literature and to the state. To dismiss the creative writing without first considering its potential for agency ${ }^{6}$, would leave the writers marginalised and outside of literary discussions and histories, which is, without question, what they sought to redress in all aspects of their lives.

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 Arrpywani









Onlwacrla aud Jonneward Bound.



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 Smtinn"
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Outward and Homeward Bound. 247

chapter in:





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## 248 Outvorrl and Homeward Bound.



























[^175]











 Gmily had mado on it. Though but a young womn1, sho had not the
datrixity of foutl, and we resorta, both boforo and after the operation, tostimulnants, to sustain nanture, as ne sixid Sho bora tho amputation




 5
5
$5^{2}$
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 drings were pulleal carthwnank by littlo hande, thero mecre tiucs when tho -Kot my will, but Thine be dona'
 Namencement of her illness; and as tho more urgent symptoms abated,

Keeping a Conscience.
 ten tho young courlo lernail that their relativg, who was a phrsicici



 Tofused all applictions, thought his means wore far from ample Ho Et implanted the strict temperanco principlo which the young surgea $\boldsymbol{w}^{\circ}$ fully carricid out-as yet, it nust bo ownou, to his professional injur;
At tho urgent bolicitataion of an old personal friond, Dr. Smithsin


 mouth told a talo of irresolution that the clear grcy cyees controdidtod
 thoo fell into a decp roveric, which neither Jessio nor Walter disturtad

 will cling to you ns an enemy." A sigh, so hachy that litlle Jessie bobdidy "losed for or orr-and if you are haltivg irresoluteo ns to your courre, whet







 hor husbhand was somo four years oller, her sister five ceare joongex it

I\&\&




 thoogbt her nuusually conposed, sud without any misgiving, left her for


 retarring from the bed-rovom along the passnge to the frout parlour.
Yis Dighy did not. speak, but looking at her watch by the twilight, she
 se retired to rest, and slept soundly for three hours, when she ras
aroke by a loud shriek. . She sat up-the cry was repented; her uame was called frantically by the nurse. To leap out of bed, throw a dressing-gown .round her, and rush down stairs, wns the work of a
moment. All was darkness The nurse had risen to visit her patient, and on entering the room was startled to find her night-light extinguishled:




"' What have you done with niy sister $T$ was the momentary cry ; for,
ses "bhe afterwards explaiucd, the helplessmess of the invalid was so
caplete-slec liad never yet boen atlo to use a crutch, and was carried moplete-she liad never yet boen atlo to use a crutch, and was carried
abonat jike an infaut- that the idea of her moving of hersclf vever
eteled ber mind. Fearing she knew not what, Nuria went back to her



 by the early autumn gale. To lenp down from the windorr, and run ilogg the path, fulluwed by the slirickiug nurse, was Maria's frst inpulse.
So roice reppied to their culls, pud a terrible iwstinct led her to a well at the rerg bottom of the long garden. Even iu the darkness of the night, ase found that the corcr of the well, placed there as a precaution against
acrident to the children, had beeu removed, and by the brink- Diaria's serident to the children, had beev removed, and by the brink. Maria's
feet were entangled in some obstacle. She lifted it in her hauds, and by
 a dreadful delag, brought lanterns to the well, and there in its depths, to

[^176]
## ๗

rere shaken, my confidence gone; I gave up my practice, and went
"But no one ever blamed you, uncle"
 up to study. I rallied, and wrote, as you kyow,--not, I trust, without benefit to science; but the practical part of the noble art for which
rus trinined has been to mea a dead letter from that time. Perhaps in this I have been wrong. I do not set myself up to you, Walter, as an



 «. Dear sir," interposed Jessie, as she ventured to take the hand that
Dr. Smithoon had presed



 of his gold. My enemy, Trebvosy, may act as he pleases'; I'll pursue
the soler course. "Trelvooss ; what of him ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ " said Dr. Smithson.
 my tennerrance, and elected him their medical ofticer."
a Well, if they did, he $l l$
not be able to accept the post. The police are by this time after him. His career has been long and reckless, but its orer. I was called in by my old friend, Farmer Sutton, of the
Grange, who begged me to sce his housekeeper, and meet Dr. Quicksect. The pow woman was dying, nud from poison. Treboosy, from his own


 practice in a few moutlis. The others were neglect, and he mannged to
 Of arousell, and all the cistillers and vintners in the district will not be
 morderous practice. So if. Treboosy has been your obstacle, Walter, that
is remered. But I warm you by the failure of others, whatever be the The sep a conscience. made the promise, not merely to his oncle but to bis own soul in the sight of God, nond though old topers talked of his Ybim, and 4

## Kesping a Conecience

## 332

Changes in the Jauning of Eayliah Worls. 33.3

 sarat accichistiva yields a annvenicut and eron a currect scoses still





 Emply in eltige, huug up lyy the hevil, his zentechcon blottel, his spear


 te: wroris nlxore quoted wimld havo conveyel to them a much mere
 If which those who nre bot anwra of the chnnges thant have taken place











THE AU'THORSHP OF THE 2Bu CLAUSE OF THE

11
"But you see I cun't look at the thing throngh your ppectacles.
However, thanke, good day." And the fricnds parten, Matthews However, thanks, good day." And the fricnds parted, Matthews
continuing his walk at increased speed, to make np for lost time.
chapter in.
 "GGood afternoon, Mrs. Harper ; how are you to-day? You look "I am rather fatigued, Mrs. Natthews, I must say; but I am very well else, thank yon. How are you? for I think you look
palcer than asual."
"O1 perhnps walking quickly has made me rather pale; but I he is not worse?"
"I can hardly tell yon. The doctor is with him, and I expect to
henr his opinion about poor Harper's state, directly, and then I shall be better able to form my own opinion. He las been dreadfully ill
" I'm very sorry to hear that. However, I dare say the doctor will be the best judge of lis condition. Has he been here very
"Oh, no. He had only just arrived when you turned the street
 call " me, please, doctor ?"
 the person come up. But quietly, plense ; he cannot bear much
"Will you go up-stairs, Mr. Matthews?" snid the anxious wife. Mery quietly the Woodward ascended the stnirs, nund entored the sick man's room, where the doctor snt holling the wrist of his "How d'you do, Matthews?" said the doctor. "I suppose you "Certainly, I do, doctor. I liope he is improting:" nud, taking Haryer's wasted hand within his own, he nsked, "How do you feel "I hope I'm better," said the sick man languidly. "I'm glad
 while a sickly mmile brightened his features. But, being overcome with even this siight exertion, he closed his eyes, nhi hay back on the
pillow to recover himself, his friend still holding his hand.
pillow to recover himself, his riend stinuoldang his hand
After a slight pause, Harper continued, "What do you think of
his wifo brow-beaten by a " Relioving Officer," or a set of guardians of their own pockets. But what then Y You know I nover had a
dny's real illness in my life; and to all appearance $I$ am not likely to be ill yet. Then what need have I to pay to a club ?". . a My dear fellow, no man can be sure he will retain his health for have the benefits when he becomes sick, or when an accident happens to him. Then if it is so desirable for a man to join while his health member, to leare a Society. Suppose an epidemis breaks out in
your part of the town, and seizes you among the rest-and you your part of the town, and seizes you among the rest-and you
cannot be sure it will not; or, suppose you break a leg, say, for instance, would'nt your Court' be useful to you, do you think? Twelve shillings a week, you know, would be better than nothing to
' keep the wolf from the door,' as they say.. And then, too, there would be the doctor, free of further charge to you, nnd you know it be a lawyer's." Turner laughed heartily at this, for it seemed to him the most
unlikely thing in the world that he should require nssistance from the Court, or the doctor either. "Bless my life, Mattlews," he exclaimed, "I think you should have been a lawyer yourself, instead
of a Woodward; for with proper training you would mnke a capital syocial plonder. "Well, old friend, at any rote" said Mothe "I hove will consider what I Ihive just said, for the sake of your fanily; and 1 am sure your wifo will be quite as glad for you to continue your
membership, as she was for you to join the Court at first." "I am sure I ame very much obliged for your well-meant advice, Jim; but, as I snid before, I don't seo that it matters to one so
healthy as I am. Oh, I understand what you would say more," he continued, smiling, of he saw his friend was about to make a further remark. "But, you see, with all due respect to you and the rest,
still I don't think 'tis worth my while to pay to keep up the funds for others. That's about the long and the inort of it now." functs "I am very sorry to hear you say this, Edward; and I only hope
your good health may long continue. Still, my advice is, continue your membership. Perhaps you'll be glad of it some day. No "Thanks to you all the same, Jim. I know you mean well ; but
 to better myself, so 1 shall be too far off for you to call on me if $I$ get "My dear fellow, I hope you will not get a 'crack,' as you call it," replied Matthews, "but a Forester can find friends in Foresters, and reccive his sick-pay, stmost anywhere now; so distance from
your own Court would matter little. Well, I must say good-bye for

85
 And so all threo quitted the sick-room on tip-too. And the Woodward having handed the week B Bick-pny to Mreg. Marp.
doctor bule her good dny, nad left the house together.

## chapter III.

 said Natthews, when they had reached the open nir.-" He seems
to lave had a sharp attack, doctor. Don't yout think so ?" "I do, certainly. But in the first place you see, on the other hand, been promptly and carefully attended to. Thirdly, he lias full
 nerse in time to fret. And fifthly, there is that fortunate circumstance ve mentioned just now-his life being insured woulo secura
sufficient sum to ennble lis wife (if she becmae an widow) to commence some busimess for hor support and her children's. And the thonght of this, securing the sufferer's mind from harrassing
anxiety, is a very great help to a medical man; for grief aud fretfulness area a doctor's enemies, you may be sure, inasmuch as they
ensure conditions of borly entirely opposite to those which assist
 full confidence in his medical attendant. From this and a previous remark, I conclude that you think such confidence so important
that your chance of successfully treating a patient would be mall
without it." believe if it were possible for a medical man to have two patients at the same time, of the same nge, the sanme tempernuent and constitut-- mame medicine and nutrition in eqnal quantities, bnt rith this enle difference between them, that once of them hind finh connitionco
doctor, while the other hind none, then the possibility, - nay, in a doctor, while the othacr hind none, then the possibinity, - Day, in
virulcut disenne, the prountility is, thant tho first would recover and
the other would die."
the other would die." ${ }^{\text {TThen }}$. suppose it might have been true that tho grent Refommer, when
told of the rejoicing of liis enemies nt the prosicect of lis speedy told os the rejocing of his enemies nt, said, 'I shall not dio, but live,' sc., nud at once begnn to
${ }^{\text {recover. }}$ There is no donbt about it. Now, I'll tell you nu instance or two I have known of the effect of the mind on the boily. There was a commercial travellcr, of rather a nervous temperaments, who
was on friendly terms with a fellow student. of mine, in our


"' ' I tank you, mine good friend,' said Franz, "I feel better now.





 soon. Vot shall I pay you ?
"' I shall not take a penn, old fellow, from a friend like you.
Not a word, now ; shall take nothing. This is New Year's Day.

 toowards the Commercinl, who grasped it fervently. 'Good day,
mine friend, r'll be mit yon on dat day. All right.' mine friend, Im or old Christmas day arrived, and so did we; and a
 Vernon's. The young German, in proposing it, aladed to his iate
indisposition. I got ap, said he, to go on mine business. I I
felt shust von lette beet queer; dat's all. Noting more. Meester felt shust von leetle beet queer; dat's all. Noting more. Moester
Vornon came. He snid 'Franz, you're Uad, selr krank,' and I ras



"You should have heard the ronrs of liaughtor that followed that
it wonld lave rone you as much good as a dose of real apeech. It wonld have lone yon as much good as a dose of real
medicine ; for a good langh is one of the best things in the world, and as the old proverb says, ${ }^{\circ}$ draws a nail out of your coffin.'"
And the merry doctor lnughed limself, at the recollection of that new year's freak.
"T Then," snid our friend, the Woodwnrl, " the mind does exert "Then," snid our friend, the Woodwnrd, "the mind does exert
great influence over tho boly in thint caso. I hive heard of fevers, cholera, and other disenses being canght, from fenr; and of a
Frenchman, who died on fancying he wns being bled to death. But
 great secret of success in charms, as they are called, is the influence of the mind, in placing implicit confilence in the efficacy of the
charms. The mind does much to kill or to cure. Now I'll tell you
 men who were employed at the same establishment, and who,
 or a monkey, determined to experiment on the Commercial, who,
ly tho
tho yo, wwan $a$ nantivo of sonnc parto of Ciermany, and nover ontiroly young traveller, one Monday morning as he was preparing to depart on his rounds; nad after the usual salutations and romiarks
about the weathor, Vernon stopped slort and looked intently nt his countenance. " My dear follow,' he snid, 'What's the matter with yon, you look really ill ? 'riend?' said the German, laughing. 'Den looks are deceptive, for I am not at all ill.' never sair you look so pale and hollow-cyed. Something is the matter, you may rely on it. And I strongly adviso you not to atart
to-day. Leave your journey till to-morrow ; for it may be serious
 "At this the young man began to look renlly pale, while my friend
put on a more serious air. 'Do you incheel think I am not well ?'
he asked. "'c'Certainly $I$ do' was the answer. 'Now take my advice, and "" 'Vell, now you romind mo, mine friend, I did feel shust a leetle "' A little bit 1' snid Vernon. ' You are very ill, and likely to be "A Sho you tink I'm very $m$ mell, do yon? Den I'll shust lie down " ' 'The wisest thing yon cani do,' bnid the embrjo man of medicine,'"' Tanks, mine vriend,' he replied, 'I hope you'll cure mo soon, i' All right, Franz, 'rll fit you up eoon, bail Vernon And he. bounded into my room, and laughed ingmoderntely, while I joined in the fun. Thep we rolled some trenclo and brend with a dnsh of bitters water, mulding a small quantity of braniy, and naeroly flavoured it with cinnainon, and a drop or two of essence of peppermint, by way
of variety, and duly lablelled phial.and box. 'Two teappoonsfull of the mixture to be taken every forty minutes,' and 'two pills every
" Never did a patient seem more exhansted in one hour than poor Franz did. He took his medicines with scrupulous punctuality, and
in the evening my friend called ngnin to see him, and duly examined
"Frang watched uny friend's face so anxious symptoms. that he had the greatest difficulty to restrain his risibility. However, in a feri moonents, ho ceclared his patient to be much better,
telling him at the same time that he must be very careful not to catch a fresil cold, for fcar of a relapese, and congratulating hot to
his not having gone on his rounds, to be laid up among strangers.



 Sindry ill-cind, nid some nimost shocless hus, oferad pipe-



 wants of the very poor passed unhecied by those iot pinched by ant and hunger themselves.
One traveller loitered, as if looking for soine person expected to nrive, while he observed, without secuming to do so, the ill-success
of the enger venibr. Something in her countennce told of suffer-
 He passed by her slomly, and was implored to purchase. "No,"
thank your," he replied, "I don't snoke, or require any toy, to-day.". "Eut plense, sir, woon't you buy some triffe for jour children, or
a friends. I am anxious to sell something, but noboly wants to "I dare say your trade is dull, for it is too cold for people to stop,
in general; and I should think it is hardly worth your while to stand shivering here for the little you seem to sell to-day." - It was evident thate the poor woman with difficulty restrained tears, as gle replied. "But, sirr, I must try to earn a little, thougg
I aun nearly frozen; for I have a sick husband and three huugry
cliidren at home. OI this is hard. What we shall do to get children at home. Ol this is hard. What we shall do to get
through this winter I don't now, sir;" and she turned off to offer her wares to others, to hide her emotion.

The stranger left her abruptly, bit soon returned, carrying a parcel carefully ticd. "Will you oblige me by taking this to your
littlo ones? I houe they'll enjoy it as a Neiv Year's gift and a arbinger of better the por wo provisions, sund tears flowed copionsly Tho poor woman took the provisions, and tenis flowed copionsiy
lown her checks. ITer gratitulo and astonishment prevented lier saying more than "'lhank you, sir 1 " And before she conkl further
ecover her power of spreech, the strager was gone.
The grateful mother inumedintely took the present to home, and thanked God, who hiad so opportanely sent relief for her little And all that Jamnary day the stranger trausacted his business with thint feeling of glainess which only the conscionsuess of having syupphiniset with the suffering or the tistress
gencrous mind.
not both at the eame time, however. One of them, whom I will
call Pcter, was $n$ man rpprently gound, nnd in the jrine of life. IIo was high-spinited, sha sensitive to a hrent degreo. Ho was Mnyor of his town, in declaring the decision of tho Bench, reprimanded him severely, before the whole audience. He paid the fine,
and returned home in a very dejected state of mind, aaying that ho and returned home in a very dejected state of mind, paying that hever be able to hold up his head agnin in his native town. He caught a slight cold; soon took his bed, and sank rapidly. His
spirits were broken, and he declared that he should die. In spite of a good constitution, and good nursing and medicine, he was soon
 and family; and that only because he had not the courage to live. The other man had a weaker constitution, and ultimately became consumptive. But he resisted the disease, fighting it, ns it were,
 firmness of mind would have died of such $n$ disense long before ho "Now these are only instances ninong many that could be men-
tioned, showing that duration of life as well as health nad disease, and consequently the welfare and prosperity of your Courts, and other siminar societies, are, to a great degree, dependent on the
con mind."品
In less than nine inonths after the occurrence related in the first chapter, Edward T'urner was laid on a bed of sickness, and more than
four months of suffering was experienced before he could resume his four months of suffering was experienced before he could resume his
occupation. In the meantime his family becnme rednced to great straits, as the little savings of years were soon expended. Well may the Word of Sacrod Writ say--" Let not the atrong man glory for charity, or to inform their frieuds that they had no means of
support. Bitterly did the sick man regret lis not having followed Matthervs' gool ndvice whilo his henlth continued sound. For the weekly sick-nllowance from the Court would have provided breml,
nad a few comforta for tho invalid, at any rate.
As it was, however, the mhaply man's recovery was greatly re-
tarded by his grief at the thonght of his hungry littlo oncs, nud the sadness depictod in his unconaplaining wife's counteunce, as she "Let me once get strong agnin," he said, "and Ill rejoin the As Turner appronched convalesence, his good wife would often self on the plea of liaving some affairs to attend to at a distance.

## 

## DI KREDT XECcston.


"IT's AN ILL WRND TBAT ELOWS MOSODY ABTY COOD," ETC, ETC.

## CHAPTER I.

Ar the foot of a very steep hill, about three miles from a villace known at Boetaronod, stood a amall inu. It had, no doubt, once pomeesed a nign, but whatever had been painted on the old poet leaning towards the roadway had long cince become unintoligible. The ind was a low-boilt tenement of wood, and was fast turaing to decuy, but the ing creaping over it hid many imperfoc tions from right. A few old troen stood in fromt of the dimal dwelling, and bant their bouglis down towards it, and a belt of high chalk clint atood at the back. The roedway in front wae very narrow, and on the opposite side chalk clifts again wore to be sean. This inn, being the only houve of refreshment withic a diataoce of about fiftera miles from the ncurrat town, occacionally Lad a paving viaitor, but the liquors retailed were not of the mont invitiog dewcriptiun, consequenthy the trade done was very amall.

Tho inmates were three in number-an old man, whow whitaned hair and furrowed chocks proclaimed the allotted term of years to fruil humanity to have wearly rua out; an old dame, his partaer, over whowe bead the vintar of aco wis fant descending; aod thair eon, a rough-looking fellow, fully grown to man's antate. This mid son, Antony Clicks, had the appearance and mannere of what might le termed a bushranger. His hair had not made the soquaintacco of thooe unoful articies called brushem for a number of yeara, and his whiskers had beoone asentengled as the covering of his hoed. He alwaye. rove a thiok wrapper of one particular pattern and colour around his thront, and as be maldom Eaw arangers he was not very particular as to the atyle of hin clothing. Being the oaly oflopring, be had always had his own way and dowe an he Iiked; his otd fither was afruid to fier opposition, rand his mother friled to detect any faulta is her only child. If a enitomer ceme to the inn perhape Antony would condencend to wait upon him, perhape not, but he always took good care to " make up the reckoaing," and to find out all about his cuntomer before he left.
The now was falling fant, and Antony burily employed himelf in the roadway oppocite the ins in eweeping the soow 20 as to form a berrive that could not be pasmed. He woll knew which way trevollers would come who would be compelied to pat up at the inn, and therefore he worked the hander. He reared up a formidable bloctade in time, and beat the anow tagother with his apade, than surveyed it with a malicious chuckle. Ho pulled the wrapper round his throat a little tighter, and then slouebed indoorm. The cat happenced to be sitting on the table an be pumed, and received a alap from Aaton't snowy cap,
"Wie shall liave company to-night, dad, excelmimed the gon, as he conted himself in the littlo back room, which was dimely lighted with a politary candle.
"What makee you so sure, Antony, my boy!" responded the old man, blowing a heary cloud of mnoke acroes the room from his lone pipe.
"The clif's exteoded, dad, chac'e why, and the mow keepa all on falling."
"Ah! Antony," maid ofd Clicks, agrin clouding the room, and ahating his soows lockn, "I dim"t like thin game of jours I mover did it and trade wes bottar then ; beaiden, it gots us a bad panne."
"'That's junt it, dad; Huat's junt it If we ain't got no trade we mont mabe if: and as to nawe, where can you find the man as will say that Antony Clicki's
has got a foul mark on it! None dare do it, or elee the woll would have him." Here Antony thumped bis heavy fist on the slender table, which made the glasses on the ahelves tremble. "Now, dad, lets you and I have a game at cards. It's no use your asying $\mathbf{n o}$, nor shaking your head like that; I'm going to play, and so are you. Mother, bring us some beer. Now, here's the cards ; and now, my ancient, just you play a little more careful to-night, and none $o^{\prime}$ your cheating like you did lant time wheu I turned my back for a minute."

He hid the cerds down, pointod the old man to the table, got a short pipe, took a long drink from the large stone mug containing the beer he had calleri for, and then sat himself opposite his father. The cards were cut, and the old man statad it wan his frot deal.
"How do you make that out? Cheating already? We'll call it mine for a change anyhow," said Antony.

Old Clicks had long aince found out the adrisability of keeping quiet now his son had so long had his own wilful way; so with accustomed resignation he nodded assent.
"Now, governor, lend off."
"Ten," began the old man.
"Two tens; that'a two to me," said Astony.
But old Ciicks happened to heve another card of like value, and triumphantly played it.

Why did'nt you say what you'd got f' demanded his son. "You know I hate cheating."

Away puffed old Clicks at his pipe, leaving Antony to mark the scores.
Again the cards were dealt round, and Antony laid his on the table whilst he took another drink of the beer. Then he walked outside the inn, and as the znow had accumulated on the ground the broom and upade were again called into use. Once more he went in, and neated himself at the table.
"Hallon, dad; here, come on, I'm zure it ain't cold to-night; getting so close to the fire. You should take a turn outvide-that 'ud warm you. Oh, losve off that head-ahaking, and play on."
The old man chanced to hold some good cards, and perhaps it was more luck than management that caused him to make a good score.
"I might 'ave been eure I couldn"e trust you," said Antony; "but IIl have you yet. He thuffied away at the carda, dealt thom out, but suddenly stretchod his head as far as he could towarda the door, then startod up, for sure enough ho heard the sound of horses' feet outaide. He threw the carda over to his father, oxclaiming, "Here, dad, clear awny sharp, for it don't look nice or reapectable to see an old man lize you trying to bounce a youngater like me out of his ha'pence afore a stranger."
"Hallos, there," shouted a voice from outside.
"All right, wo're e-coming," replied Antony in no amall voice, se he motioned to his father to atow away the cards. When he thought everything was ready to his liking, he walked outside, and innocently asked, "Where aro you I It's mo precious dark, I can't see."

The stranger urged his horse up nearer to the inn door, jumped from his anddle, handed the reins to Antony, anking as he did 00 , "What place do you call thin, my man to
"Beetsmand, sir, is the name of the village, and this is the inn. You'll find good accommodation both for yourself and horse; nice snug parlour for you, and good stable for the steed ; and we're very quiet sort $0^{\circ}$ people, sir."

With this cut and driod speoch Antony wared his hand as an intimation for the atranger to walk inside, while he proceeded towards a small shed used to atore the fire loge, which would have to serve as a atable now for want of any othor larger building.
As the stranger entered Mrs. Clicks arose from her accustomed seat in the
chimney corner, and wheeled a massive old square built armchair towards the fire, then curtseyed to her visitor, and "hoped he would be comfortabie;" whilst old Clicks wan juat visiblo behind a cloud of smoke, touching a ailvery ringlet hanging over his wrinkled forehead with the forefinger of his left hand.

The stranger glanced round the rcom, and no doubt wondered whererer he had got to. The feeble light emitted from the solitary candle standing upon the ligh pantelshelf enabled him to discern tha contents of the apartment but imprerfectly. His long cost almost touching the ground was thickly coated with snow, and his furry travelling cap, drawn down to protect bis ears, had vith snow, and his furry travelling cap, drawn
alro obtained a thick layer of the "spotlens whitn; "and as his beard was also thickly plantered with the cold gift of inature he looked not unlike the plastar repromentations of old Father Christmas. The ever-ready Antony was quickly in from the atable, and at once proceeded to help the guest to take off his big cost A otony took the cont to the door to shate the snow off. "Roogh nights air," anid Mr. Clicks, jun, violently ahaking the garment. "Snow's as thick on't as can be." More violent slaking followed, and this had the effect of brioging a amall packet from one of the pockets to the ground. Antony contioued to abake the cont, and as he did so he pushed the fallen treasure under the door mat with his foot; then be turned inside the parlour, and hung the cont up on a mail in the wall.
The atranger had in the meantime meated himself in the big chair, and Antony now came forward to take off his boota.
"Wait a bit, my man," eaid the stranger, as Antony made a vigorous clutch at the articles. "Wait until I loosen the strapa"

Antony's eyes glistened as he asw the ailver buckles, and reckoped that he bad now landed a big finh.
Old Clicka had been quietly puffing away at his pipe, but now removed it from bia mouth, and imued the usual cloud, remarking, "You'll find Antony a very handy chap, air." Then he had another puff, and continued, "but he's sot-m

Eia son turned sharply round, and gave the venerable parent such a look that the apeech remained unfinithed.

The boots were removed, and placed in the corner of the room.
"In my horse all right, Ancony?"
"Right as a trivet, sir. I understands borzes."
"He's a very handy chap," again remarked the father, "only he's got a_"
The young man alluded to happened to be behind the bif chair, and this time he alook his fist towards the venerable speater, and as the argoment th us madifested wan sufficiently conclusive for the old gentleman, he cuntented himself by fisishing the interrupted speech with again sajing "a eery handy chap."
Aatony prorluced some warm drink for the visitor, and then amused biunelf by loungiog over the back of the big chair and speculating upon the worth of the rings upon his visitor's fingers, and the probable total he could make the bill ror loclging, \&ce, come to. The risitor dozed off to aleep, thertfurs the handy attendant had the more opportunity of acrutinising him, and junt as Antonly was about to form an opiniun of the stranger from a front view the ovecupant of the chair opened his ojes, and called for his boots to be brought.
${ }^{\text {"In ll }}$ nec to the horse, sir. You must be tired," pleaded Antony.
"His's uned to horses," climed in old Clicks-"Alonost born in the stable, and although I say it, jou'll find him a handy chap, only ho's got a crooked arm." This last shot was two much for the filial affection of the heir to the house of Clicka, and he being near the silver-buckled boote raised one as tho' about to lurl it at the offender, but the stranger tarned round in time to stop such a procooding.
"Hey ! Antony, what are jou doing?"
"Just a-looking to see if there's any snow on 'em, sir, that's all," replied the young man.

Antony took an old lantorn, and a rusty key, and proceeded to the stable, Wherefrom he returbed in 2 short space of time, remarking that the horse "appeared to know he was well carea for, and that he could 'teud to 'em better than any man breathing."
The old dame exbausted the store of ber slender pantry to adorn the table for an erening meal, and bedtime daly arriving, Antony volunteered to show the stranger to his room.
(To le continued.)

## Eife exantefiore commemoration.

## iy e. C. EEAR, f.g.

Novecoser 8th, 1883, must henceforth assuredly rank as the most memorable day in the history of Ramsgate. The occasion was unique in all respects, for where could be found an individual, like Sir Mosen Montefiore, who bs Almighty blessing had been spared in health and vigour to cootinue into the l00th year of life, the noble and self-sacrificing wort of promotiog in many lands the happiness and welfare of his fellow creatures.

In unanimity it was a model meeting. The local committee formod comprised the names of the Arabbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Cambridge, Earls Sydney and Granville, the Deans of Canterbury and Widsor, Lord Brabourne, dc, whilst as a representative of the working classes, Mr. F. E. Heivett's (the delegate of the Ramsgate Oddfellows' Lodge) mame was included.
Ramsgate is not prone to public processions and display, lacking, as it does, the nucleus of "mayor and corporation;" but this deficiency in no wise detracted from the success of the procersion organised for this occasion, and which formed about two miles long on a line of road-at the rest of the town, and wonded ita way by the grandly decorated route (to and from East Cliff Lodge) of nearly four miles distance. Conspicuous in the procession were the members of the Isle of Thanet Lodge, bearing banners, \&c., headed by their deputation (P.G. Bear, P.G. Ifewett, and Per. Sec Acock) with engrossed address, the District boing represented by Prov. G.M. Bro. Sandwell and C. S. Millard.

On arriving at East Clif Lodge various deputations assembled in the library. Each and all had a cordinl reception, the kind and encouraging words of "the worthy hoat" to the deputations testifying to his mental rigour.

Below is the text of the address of the Isle of Thanet Lodge, which was presented by P.G. Bear, senior member of the lodge:-
"The Loyal Ithe of Thanet Lodge, No. 6,511 of the Independeat Order of Didfellows, Mrancheter
 Lodge of Oddfellow, Kanchestar Unity, in general moeting assembled, unapimounly deaire horeby to give formal expreadinh of their sincere and boundleas joy apon the occanion of jour entering on toc hundredth year of your life.
$\bullet$ Permit us, dear sir Mosen sincerely to offer our beartielt congratulations on this happy ovent We humbly pray that your raluable life may be prolonged with health, happinass, and every blessing.
"United as we are under the banners of 'Friendehip, Love, and Truth,' 'Paith, Hope, and Charity; we yield to none in high appreciation of your long and noble services on behalf of the suffering and oppressed
"Be anaured, dear 8ir Koses, these words of ourn can only feebly expreas the gratitude of our hearts.
"R.C. Beaz, P.G.
"Aacd. E. S. HEWrIT, P.G.

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## BT KEEDT EMRGston.

ACTHOR OF "gige OLD TOLL HOUSE" "ALONC DYE-WATS AND HEDGES,"
"IT's AT ILL-wRID tEAT nLOWB NODODY AXY COOD," ETC., ETC.

## CHAPTER II.

"Thras!" exclaimed Antouy, rs he placed the candie on a small table near the window in the bedroom, "I think you'll ngree with me, that a saugrer room couldn't be found no where. Directly you wakes you look out of this rindy, and you'll see the mont lovely country in the world. That bed is the softest and the comfortablest jou con have; I'va alopt there meny a night, and so I ought to know." The stranger, no doubt, thought he was not in a position to refute tho assertion, and therefore said nothing.

Antouy ralked downstairs. First of all he stopped at the door mat, and picked up the fallon packet, which he put carefully in his pocket, then he sat down in the big chair, and thus accosted his venerable father:-
"Now look hore, govinor; you keep those fine apeeches of yours to yourself thero's no occasion for you to interfore I kuow what I'm up to, and can manage without your halp; co leare off:"
"He's a decent sort"" began his father.
"All the more reason you should keep quiet. We don't get a customer every night, aod it it hadn't been for me we shouldn't have had him," remponderl Antony.

Old Clicka dropped the argument.
Antony took the light from the shelf, and placed it on the table, fumbled in his pocket and brought forth the packet, which proved to be a pocket-book Thim he opened, took out some letters and read them in turn, then replacerl them; took out some caris, handed oue to his father, saying, "Look, that's his name-Eustace Claremoutly;" put them back again, aud drew forth a larger card, on which be found the portruit of a lady. Antony drew the oandle closer to him, opened his eyes as wide as he could, lonked more earnestly, rubbed his dirty coarse hands across his forehencl, and exchimed, "Well, that is a face and no mistake, I could look at that for hours."

The room door upstairs was opened, and the stranger called "Antory."
"Coming, sir, coming," exclaimed he, as he bundled the portrait into the book, which ho laid upon the table
As Antony left the room Old Clicks thought his time had now arrived, 50 he took the book and itn contents in hand; but the old man's ejes were too dinu to notice the letter he dropped on the floor as he raised the pocket-book.

Antouy returned, sontched the article from his father's hauds, gare his venurablo parent anything but a benediction, and then rusied apstairs with the itranger's overcont, placing the book in the breast pocket as he went. He ent in the old chair aguin on his return, but did not notice the letter on the floor until some timo aftor his purents luid retired to reat.
"That pottering old nuisance" ejaculated Antony, as he picked up the letter. "Just at though he couldn't ast me for anything he wanted to inow, instead of meddling with other poople's things. He's always prying into what don't concern him. ${ }^{.0}$ During the while he turned the envalope over and over, and noticing it had not been opened, he woudered what was in it. "Of course, everything goes wrong. There's my pipe up in that chap'a room. Never mind, hero's dad's; thit'll do," and accordingly he took up the old
gentleman's long clay ; but as the sive was not to his liking, he broke the stom down to a suitable length. From the shelf he took down a tin quart can, filled it nearly full of water, and placed it on the fire. He lounged back in the big chair enjoying his pife until the water boiled, then he placed the can on the table, and laid the envolope over the steam. In a little time the vapour had moistened the fastening of the wrapper, and Antony carefully opened the envelope and unfolded its contonte, which he propared to read aftor snuffing the candle. As he beld the opened letter in his hand he could not refrain from exclaiming, "I've stolen a march on the old man now, and shan"t let him know it."
Carefully ho perused every word of the epistle, then read it again and again; then, apparently satisfiod, le stuck the envelope down after enclosing the letter; but the thought came to him as to the diaposal of the same. He couldn't put it in the coot-pocket, for the coat was upstairs; it wouldn't do to place it on the shalf an though left by the postman, because no one could possibly know where the ownor was staying for the night However, ho thought ho would put it momewhere for to-night, and chance all about to-morrow. First ho looked at the toapot, but that wouldn't suit; then he looked at the big boota with the silver buckles, but that idea wae quickly passed by. Once agrain he thought of his fathar, but not very affectionately, and that didn't forward him. He walked across the room, and looking on the sideboard saw a few books lying there, and taking up the top one, which wa an old hyraunl, he concluded he might anfely deposit the letter inside its an old hyrauna, he concindei
cover, as "no one reade that."

Antony was now quite at ease, and as the hour was getting late, he prepared for a night'a rest on the hearthrug, taking one of the stranger's topboota for a pillow.

## CHAPTER III.

Tus bedroom occupied by Eustace Claremontly was something of a curiosity in its way, therefore a description of it may not be unacceptable. An old four-poster occupies quite two-thirds of the apartment, and this necemary piece of furniture is decorsted with a remarkable patterned array of chintsin fact, oue might rafely eay that Solomon in all his glory never had anything to come up to these long curtains and bangings, and perhaps he didn't wish to have. Then there were two very old rush-bottomed chairs, and a small deal table beneath the leadened-sashel, diamond-paned window. In front of the fireplace stood a screen, blocking up the fire grating, and on the screen were pasted various pictures cut from penny illustrated periodicals, and papers of like character, both ornamental and useful. In the first place thoy served to hide the dirty canvas, making the blocking look more pleasing to the oye than it otherwise might ; and in the next place koeping out the wind, which would otherwise have poured through the coarse texture. On the mantelsholf stood a fow chimney ornaments. I'here were two or three grotesque-looking models in china, which did duty for match holders. There were two highly-polished hoofs of horsen, a amall fancy cardboard box, a few frames containing what were mennt to be portraits, no doubt of some of the members of the Clicks family-bends cut out of black paper and pastod on a white ground. At one end of the shell there stood an old ink bottie with a piece of iry atuck in it, and at the corresponding corner was' broken saucer containing a dirty clay pipe. The wall wan ndorned wifh an old engraving, representing a poor auferer with hia hands clutching hold of the arms of a substantial-looking chair in which he was meatod, whilat reeling backwards was a molancholy. looking individual with long hair, spectacles, high collar, knee breeches, and luw shoes, holding in his hands a pair of tonge, with between them what wes
meant to reprosent a tooth. Next to this valuable engraving hung a collection of butterfies and motha, but the specimens had remained exposed for ouch a length of time that each insect now looked of the same hue and deecription as ita neighbour. Down by the place where a fender would be deposited stood a pair of boots, of extraordinary size and manufacture, possibly purchaced by weight.

All these attractions had as yet been unnoticed by the occupant of the room, who was seated by the scant table garing intently on the portrait which some little time previously had been favoured by the admiring glances of Mr. Clicks, jun. Antony had not nllowed the risitor a very large piece of candle, and gradually the slender luminary burnt itself less and lese until a flicker and a sudden flare proclaimed its life was spent. Being in a strange place and vithout a light is anything but comfortable, but after travelling a good distance man is apt to feel tired, and can genorally manage under the circumastauces to enjoy a loug sleep-at any rate, such was the case with the visitor at the inn.

Antouy wno awake long before daybreak and out, clearing away the embankment he had made during the previous evening. Spade and pick were in constant requisition, and lump after lump of the battered soow was thrown aside: The labourer frequently went iudoors to revive his energica with a dose of what was there known as "London porter," and the task of hewing down the ridge ras in due time accomplished. Antony next proceeded to the stable, and got the horso already saddled for its master, for he feared the stranger might want to pny the place of shelter a visit, and perform the work himself. The animal's feet seemed to have especial attraction to Antony; he surveyed each one in turn, looking intently at the ahoes, and going so far as to try which particular piece of steel could be removed the ensiest, for ho much disliked parting with his customer so soon. However, he refrained from putting his theory into practice in this case, but wanderod round and round the horse as though he were of opinion that it was part of his duty towards himself to do a something to cause Mr. Clarcmontly to stay a longer perien at Clisliky_Conene than he intended to at prevent. It was too lnte to physic the horse, and evon were it not, Antony had no decoction (excepting thant supplied by the brewers, and adulterated by himself) wherewith to preacribe for the animal, therefore his thoughts on this score were in vain. He viewed the harness and had some few thoughts of dissecting various portions of it, but then the strictures might be made rood enough for a ahort journey, and he might be unable to persuade his guest to believe that the rais had eaten the saddile, so he decided to lesve that alone and make a virtue of necossity, or rather compulsion. Having come to this determination it was surprising to soe with what an air of eatisfaction he viewed the result of his grooming, and with what care he examined hin charge to soe that evergthing was as it should be. He even went so far as to rub the animal down with the neck wrapper he valued and wore $e 0$ much, and finished off the polish with an application from the furry cap, no doubt fully intending to remember these little attentions when presenting the bill of charges for pasment to the visitor, and perhapa thinking they would in some measure compensate the horso for the acanty supply of provender.

Autony had his visitor's bill made out before the stranger had partaken of the modest breakfast piacod before him, but the various items he had put down had taken a deal of time to consider over, and at last the sum total reached auch figures as clearly proclaimed that "the most reasonable charges" were not known at this establismenk Antony partook of the meal with his visitor, and occasionally tried to enter into conversation, but the latter personage did not feel inclined to talk, beyond asking whatever information be wished to gain.
"Hor far is it to Hardwicke Place, Antony ?" asked the stranger, as he procoeded to buckle up his boots, ready for another journey.

## "Atot citded, but botacu."

## BI KERDT KATCSTOX.

AUTHOR OF "thy old toll house," "alonc bye-ways and hedges,"
"rt's an ill wind that blows nodody ant OOOD," ktC., ETC.

## CHAPTER IV.

As Eustace Clarmoontly proceeded on his journey, he recognised the old familiar lindmarks. On either side something or the other attractod his atten. tion, and called up the memories of the past. Here he noticed an old stile, on which, when a boy, he had sat and carved his name; there in another place Le noticed the old trysting tree, where many a happy neeting had taken place; and, as he turned round a bend in the lane, the high tower of the old cburch he know so well reared its majestic form before him. He urged his horse gently forward, and before many minutes had elapsed he haltod in front of the sacred edifice. The church was a substantial old building of huge stones and fints. The front was almost covered with ivy, the windows and doorway only being left uncovered by the verdant mantle. The old dial, or clock face, was almost lidd, but the worthy church warclens had given it a coating of bright blue paint, and had causod the figures to be fresh gitt, and so old Father IIme's tale-bearer now poeped out from its leafy frameworl with something near approuching impudence.
It was some fow yeans since Eustace had gazed upon the old place, therefore le lingered. How many times had he trodden the paved flooring and admired the beautiful stained windows-how frequently had he read the inscriptions carved upon the tablets placed by loving hande upon the sacred walle-and how often had le listened to the tones of the grand old organ chanting the hymos of praise and peace ! All these thoughta crowded upon him, and made him resolve to taste those aweet sounds again at no very remote period.
The chinning of the old bells told bim that he must not linger, therefore a hanty but fond look at the sacred edifice mas given, and the road takan once agnin towardis Hardwicke Plice.

The horse, as though conscious of his master's mission, trotted gaily along, and although the distance travolled lad been great, still the animal's strength tired not, neither did his pace felter. Many a cheerful pat wat administered to the arched neck of the faithful ateed, and these friendly greetings performed results not to be attained by the use of apur and whip; the animal recognised the authority of its master at all times, and had learned to obey through the medium of gentlenese and kindnesa.

A cheerful gallop down the lane londing from the main road brought Eastace within sight of Hardwicke Place, and before many minutes bad elapsed the horve wan led into lecent quarters, whilst its owner proceeded to one of the luxuriant apartruents of the hall
Mr. Harden, the owner and occupier of the mansion, was looked upon by the outside world as a very fortunate man, chiefly because he was wealthy. He, Lowever, used his riclies to good ends;-he patronised many charitable institutions, lookod after the wauts of the poor in the surrounding districts, and withhold not the aid sought by the wayfarer.
IIia fanily consisted of his two daughtera, Mabel and Gertrude. Doth young lidien were possessed of come anount of personel beauty; but whilst a abel
was the type of serene quietude and grodlinees, ber sister Certrude bespoke by her fertures a nature of coquettish pride and firtation ; but perhays some excuse could be made, as Gertrude was the joudger of the tivo, and bed been petted somewhat during her childhool.
Mabol would frequently visit the villagers, and present the neeny with some substantial token of her good nature towardn the relief of their sufferings ; but her sister, although she would frequently walk part of the distance with her, would not enter the cottages of the poor, because she used to say, "Mabel can talk to them in the manner they weem to like, but I don't know how to preach !" The arrangement was to the mutual satinfaction of the sisters, for Mabel preferred bsing alone on such occasions. She aimed not at having her good deeds carved on stone in letters of gold, but chose rather the better part of knowing good had been done without the laudation of all empity vanity.
Upon the arriral of Enstace Claremontly, Mabel was seated at the piano, singing a ballad called "Sunshine and Shade" (the words of the song comparing the different phases of life with the glories of pure effulgence and the beauties of undisturbed repose); her sister was stunying the latest publication and plates relating to those inportant articles of feinnle attire-dresses and bonnets-for she could perccive more beauty in these things than in comparisons with nature, howerer poetic; and Mr. Harden wis fully enjoying the aweet theme of the ballad expressed by the harmonious roice of bin eldest daughter. Perhaps be thought of the shadowe forming around his fading light; but he had the satisfaction of knowing that the good deeds he had wrought in his lifetimo, although not now crying out for recognition, weuld remain hereafter as fidger-posts pointing out the paths of pleasantness to those that follow.
Mnbel had just concluded the first rerse of her song when Eustace was announced, and Gertrude had fully made up her mind that it was vers requisite sho should have a new bonnet.

Eustace wis an old friend, and receired a cordial welcome. Gertrude chatted away, and hardly allowed anyone clse to nay much for some little time. She wanted to know where Eustace had Jately been atajing, and where he had just como from, and received prompt answers in each case.
"So you stopped at 'Chalts Corner" last night, din rou?" exclaimed Gertrude ; "sin't it a queer cld tumble-down place !"
"Well, it certainly is a quecr place an jou term it. Gertrude,". replied Eustace; " but I don't know much about the tumble-down propensity."
"Don't you really? Well, I do, sou see. It belongs to papa, so of course we know all about it," added Gertrude. "Pertapk, though, you don't mean the same place as I do. I mean the inn near Bectsmand kept by Hark Clicks."
"Yer, yes, that's the one, Gertrude," replied Eustace.
The young lady, however, brought a small portfolio and teking a diraming therefrom, handed it to the visitor, saying, "That's the place I mean."
Eustace looked at it, and procluimed the picture a faithful cops.
"That's Mabel's sketch. You dnn't know how clever she is, Eustace."
A quiet remonstrance from Mabel only serred to loose Gertrude's tongue the more.
"You writ and see for yourself," added the jounger sister. "We look after everybody and ererything -sometimes hold quite a levé one way or the other. The postman bringe us a lot of tracts, and these are followed up by a visit from a 'Rev. Mr. Someone;' then off gees Xabel to distribute them at the cottrges, and-well, jou'll see for jourself."
Mabel remained rery quiet, as though enjoring a flow of thoughs that she did not wish disturbed, and Eustace gradually found bimself intently thinking of her. The pieces of music lying on the table were slowly turned over one
by ono by Mabel as though she were looking for a particular copy, and Eustace chd his hand towards her receiving the copies she placed on one side
Mr. Harden hail been wntching his eldest daughter. Ho had noticed the 3rr. Harden hal beens that hal befure been pale, and he rejoiced to believe that Maboll found more than a frieud in Eustace Claremontly.
"Are nut jul going to sing again, Mabel r" asked her father.
"If you wish me to, father deur," she replied.
"Arv you fond of music, Eustace 1" questioned Mabel.
"Aro you fonc of music, kustace the reply. "Music and books I look upon as two of the best cumpanions a man can have. Ench has a roice peculiurly its own; the first raices thoughts that no tongue can translate, and no imagination realiee ; and the socond gives langunge that enriches both heart and mind. One builds up a glorious theme of indescribable beauty; the cther hiye the foundation of true wealth."

Certrude was astonished at his mentimentality, as she termed it, and asked how long he had turned philosopher.

## CHAPTER V.

Nor.1, Arched Alley, was a very dilapidated building, if building it may be called. The outsicle of the structure was certainly composed of bricks, but time and London enoke bad mado them so black that they were hardly recognisatle. The door did not possess the slightest adornment; tho paint unce upplioll had vanished years ago, and if ever there had been a knocker no ono in the alley could remember seeing it. There wha a hole in the centre of the door, from which protruded a piece of rope with a large knot at the ond; this was the means whereby people in the alley gained zdmission to No. 1.
It is surprising how many people can live in one small house when they feel so inclined, and in this instauce might be found five different families, if such a classification can be given to a number of individuala occupying different rooms. Tho peoplo downstairs were sep:rated b:- the flight of steep steps comniencing close at the atreet door, and torminsting in a misty darlmesa a little way towards the low roof. At the top of the steps are three amall rooma Let us turn to tho right. One singlo window lights the apartment, the air is nlmust unbearable, aud a large fire burcs within a brick casement wherein a stove unce was placed. The furniture consists of a long table and a form ; on the former are placed the wreck of a pewter measure and sundry little articles renembling moulds, and upon the form are seated two men, repulsive in appearance sud singular in costume. No one would imagine that any inmate of Arched Alley was a tradesman, and they would perbaps as little think there were nuy professors to bo found thore, but their namber for all that was legion.
Even from the old crone at the far ond, down to the little children with scasty clothing plaging in the gutter, nould be found "professors." But the invo men at No. I wero she greatest professors-in fact, they were bankers, and in their mint all the coins of the realm, from sovereigns th sixpences, had their "portraits taken" on the shortcst notice, and were turned out "wholeala, retail, and for expurtation !" In tho room adjoining, four professors are at work, but they piefer choico workmanship to striking metals-they deal in gems and jewellery. In one corner sits a man with \& small latho in front of hins, and by his side is pliced a bor containing gems of "the first water," mado froun coloured glass, piecos of chins, sealing wax, and various chemical compositions. The "chemist" occupies a neat near the window, and whilst buy making blood stoucs, pearls, oplais, corals, rubies, ta, he sings for the amuso ment of his comrodes, "Rich and rare were the gems she wore," although both words and tune were greatly at variance with the original setting. Nort in
order comes the "artist," who makes the designs before his fellowr-workmen take them in hand to give the jewellery the finishing touch. Thans they workiti together, each contributing his share of labour before the aiticle was ready iont the vendor to deal with. Sometimes they only turned out imitations, but nt others they transposed stones, taking out real and inserting false ones, or what they termed "duffers." Sometimes articles, such as silver sporonz, cups cancilesticks, Ecc, the proceeds of other "profersors'" labours, were lirought into the "manufactory," and then they were quickly put into tho crucible, and turned into various ornaments. Still, for all this bcheming and contriving, these men were miserably poor; their profits were by no ineans enormous, as the outsicis men-the vendore-got the "pull."
A fifth man enters the rooin. He is dressed in a suit of fine black clota, wears a beaver hat with a respectable broadcloth land upon it, a white cricrut, and a pair of black kid gloves. In one hand he carries a bundle of tracts, nad in the other a black leather bag. He walks up to the table, places the tracts and bag carefully upon it, and refreshes himseli with a long drink from a stone bottle of vast capacity before saying a word. Then he takes off his hat, carefully tucks his gloves in the lining of the beaver, and removes his renerablelooking white wig. A rast change has now taken place in the individual" appearance. Before thus divesting himself he might have applied for a donation on bchalf of the "poor blacks," or the "sick and wounded," with some chance of ottaining it; b:at now he might hare a cloter connection with the dark-skinned gentlemen, without giving himself vers much trouble, if his Whereaboute were known to the police !
"What luck, parson ?" asked the chemist, lesving off in his song, and turning round towards the lest comer

Fair-pretty fair," replied the person addressed, as he procecded to remose his white wie and put it with the tracts into his coat pocket. "Look for yullself; you don't want any key to undo locks !"
"Not quite," roplied the chemist, making a knowing movernent witi h:s fingers, and then proceeding to manipulate with the fastening of the lias. The other men left off work to examine the newly-acquired treasures.
"That'll do," said the chemist, as he tonk from the bies $n$ gold bouqucthoider. Then he had to insert both hands into the bag to brinz ont womething more bulky. "Now that's what I call a picter," he exclaimed, showing 8 . finely-chased silver cup. "Where did you find this, my worthy ?"
"Never mind where he found "em," growled the designer; "shore 'em in the pot at once;" and he proceeded to carry his words into action; mutteri::; as he did so, "dead men tell no lies, Bill."
Bill quite coincided with his mate's opinion, but the man at the lathe vaw better use might be made of the bouquet-holder, and therefure transferred is to his bench, where sundry applications of achisel rendered the articie beyond recognition.
The distributor of the tracts once more had recourne to the stone bottle.
"How did you fand bis'nis ${ }^{\prime}$ ' asked Bill, between the hammering.
"Oh, the 'black man' is dying out, so afore I start again I must invent a fresh advocato for charity, and people think the 'sick and wounded' ought to be well by this time. At the place where I landed that big cup there were two young ladies ; one cried over my narrative about the pror blacks, and the other went to find something for the sick and wounded, and I found the cup in between the acts, as the saving is."
"It's a jolly good land," snid the chemist.
" It's a fortun"," remarked the man at the lathe.
"Beats coining," added the designer.
"Wait a bit," interposed the Ender ; " don't be in such a burts. It's cost \& lot to get. You know you can't almay get what you want on your first

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[^178]vinit. Lou chapa don't understaud the preaching lusinces It's all very well to nit luere and speculate what a thing is worth, but when you have the working for it, it's a different watter. A min can't cry at every house be g(uLn LU, unless he fortifies hiaself first, and then he must go hungry for a long time: sild this ruins his constitution, otherwise he don't look half miserable monigls to touch people's pockets. It ain't fine words he wants, nor pity, bit its the 'chink' he haukers after."
"Quite right," said the chemist, handing the stone bottle round; "but wo dorit want a sermon."
"Nu, but I wants to teach you how to liandle the nut, "cause I'm getting prettr well known, and some one else ought to tike a turn to keep up success." "Light again," vocifernted the chemist; "every one to his trade Look here, could jou turn out a gere like that f" Herw he hauderl to the clerical professor a brooch set with various stones, which looked to all appearances a thite aprecimen of handiwork and value. "A man as possesses tongue dun't, as a rule, have much clse. It would puzzle you for a year to make a thing like that. It'a made from part of au opster shell, and a picce of a green medicine inottle, anil the rim of a cundlestick-that's what we call worl: Lnok at the fold-feel the weight-and say if it air't natural. Wie've got a preparation we printa the brass with, and now can defy all the hakey fortes in a doctor's Rliny,."
"It's very gowl," replied the linguist; "but in th.is sont of work you gets mech.tuical, and goen by regular rulen aud ineasurements; whereas in my lorameli it'A a study for everlasting. Inu has to give a lerul, wateli how the bite takes, and then follow up; then you munt set up yournelf as a pattern of winrality; crain yourself with all sorts of touching anectulotes and passages from good books; and nlwajs huve a tear ready in buth eyes-and that wants workillg, mometimes with a piu-then again jou has to fight gour own conscience."
"Conscience," derisively replied the chemist, "we don't know anything about hins, and we dou't want to, do we, Bill?"
"Not uutil we retires from Lis'ness," replied that gentleman.
"Well" responded the wearer of the white tie, "I think is I possess all the qualitics so needful to my branch, and you'd be up a tree without me, I ought to share more of the profits than what I do. I has the liaricst work. llou't you see, if I was only once to awear, all the fat would be in the fire, so in kpcak, and all my ellucstion wasted."
The man at the latho left off work and joined in the argument. "He thought," he eaid, "it would be a pity for the cleric to be taken ofi his beat, enurially an ho seemed so well cut out for his job, so let the question of shares le no settlell that we shan't have suy more dispute about 'eun."

The lootlle of beer was paseed round again, and its magic influencea assisted in inaking natinfactory arrangements with regard to "profits," and when this question was definitely scttled, the "man of education" said he did not wish Lo bo sliuturbed whist he endeavoured to learn all the choice extracts continined within the bundle of tracts he had recently purchased.
llat his aludies were to be of very short duration, for hurried footsteps up thu miseraljlo staircase declared something of importance harl occurrel, and lwefore the inmates of the room had time to hide away all their criminating evidence the door was flung violently open.
(To be continued.)
Matter and Stylis.-Tike gond writing or good Epeaking, its value (pictorial art) dependa primarily on its matter, and on its manuer only so far as it best kets forth and impresses the matter.-Jno. Ruskin.

# "adtut cilded, but cotacu." 

## dy keedy kurcstor,

atthor of "the old toll house," "aloyc bre-wats axd hedges,"
"rt's aiv ill witd that blows nobody any good," ETC., etc.

## CHAPTER VI.

Wrimer, with all its dismal associations with regard to Naturc, had passed, and Spring with all its virgin beauty had arrived. The leaves on the trees were daily increasing their magnitude, and the verdant mantle of earth became daily more and more delightful to look upon. As the gentle breezes whispered o'er the fields they seemed to carry with them a hymn of praise from Nature newly awakened, and the little feathered songsters soaring high towards the clouds soemed to take up the theme and re-echo the grateful strain. The Park adjoining Hurdwicke Place was pretty beyond description, for therein could be seen the mighty oaks that had braved many winters, the rich chestnuts just breaking into bloom, the gigantic elms lifting their haughty heads to heaven, and the gentle willowa that drooped their branches over the clear stream running through the Park. By the side of the crystal water was a rustic seat, and Mabel frequently spent many pleasant hours seated there. She loved to watch the water carrying the leares upon its glittering surface, and gazed after them as they flowed one by one from her sight. She used to throw a flower in sometimes, calling it a wish, and speculated upon its passing a certain point as to whether her desire would be fulfilled or not. She loved Nature, and could always discern a voice of beanty and truth in all her gentle gifts. From the simple blade of grass to the magnificent queen of roses, from the modest buttercup to the lordly dahlin, from the wild clover of the hedge to the princely wheat, and from the insignificant daisy to the fragrant honegsuckle, she could perceive that each had a mission to fulfil, each had a song to sing, a theme to recite, a lesson to teach, a beauty to manifest, and a blessing to bestow.
Beside the pleasant stream sat Mabel and Eustace. The old, old tale, was again repcated. Fresh castles were raised in the air, and pretty pictures of future happiness were depicted. "Look," said Eustace, pointing to a willow tree not far frum where they were seated-" Look, Mabel, at that old willow tree, how silently and tenderly it seems to bend over that fair lily floating on the rippling stieam; see how it stretches its loving arms towards the fair flower, as though sheltering it from the passing wind. How gaily the lily dances upon the water-and see, the wind now rustles the leaves hanging from the branches of the tree. Cannot you imagine they are holding sweet converse together? The lily seems to laugh at the old tree, whilst the tree bends ita boughs towarde the sweet blossom of Nature and tries with its outstretched arms to embrace it. Were you that lily, Mabel, and I the willow, my boughs should bend down and sbelter you from every rude blast, and my leaves should touch the aweet fiower beneath, imprinting thereon the kiss of true love. The old tree has stood upon the bank longer than the Iily has played upon the water, and the fair flower will fade long before life leaves the old tree; all the beauty of the blossom, all its quiet glory, all its magnificent purity, will, alas,
noon vanish, and the old lover will be left to mourn and weep alone over itu bereavement. Poor fragment of Nature, how well I can enter into what jou feelings would then be, and how you would continually weep for your loot love; but were I to magnify your learos an thousandfold, and call each leaf a tear, oven then jou could not possess balf the sorrow my heart would were I bereft of my beatcous flower-Mabel."
"Eustace, dear Eustace," noftly whispered Mabel, "You do not know me an I am, otherwiso you would think differently."
"Nay, Mabel; have not I koown you from a child! Did not I then love jou with childich aimplicity 1 Did not I love jou with all the fiery nature of youth ! Why should not inow love jou with the strong love of a man ${ }^{20}$
"Because there are many bettor than me," replied the maiden.
"Not to my way of thinking, Mabel darling."
"I thought you had almost forgotten me, Eustace. You have been away such a long time it seems."
"The time has appeared as ages to me," replied Eustace; "every day seemed to be carrying me further from jou, but forgetfulness has been a stranger to me."
"Strangers frequently become acquaintances," added Mabel.
"Fear not, darling," replied Eustace "So long as memory retaing her throne, and the feeblo stream of life flows, so long will I remember you with pure affection."
"Many like promise have been made, Eustace dear, but have too soon been forgotten."
"Perhaps, Mabel, at the time they were made the true worth of the fair one had not been discovered. You know human nature is not unlike the various minerals and stones to be found in the bosom of Mother Earth. There are some real gems, and even in these are hidden virtues; virtues that require the earnest gaze of the searcher, and their beauty becomes the more apparent as they are the more closely scrutinised ; there are other gems which only dazale the eye with their glitterings-they are valuable because of their splendour. Then the reverso picture presents to us the tinselled gems; they glitter and shine like the real jewels, but it is all mere outward show, there is no truth in them, they are mere mockery, and upon close inspection their utter worthlessness and docoit becomes apparent."
"I fear there are too many of the latter representatives," replied Mabel; "but even the most pure amongst us is not free from empty vanity."
The converation was here interrupted by the appearance of Gertrude, who came running up to her sister quite out of breath. "Do come, do come at once," said Gertrude excitedly; "here's such a queer fright outside in the lane I'vo just been tating stock of him; but jou come and see for yourvelves." The party walked over to the hedge dividing the park from the outaide lane, and cantiously poeping through tho bushes, observod a man seated on a stool placed under the shade of a big chectnut tree. He wore an old felt hat of rusty brown colour, with the brim turned down well over his face; his coat had evidently seen ita best days; the material looked like velvet, but it bed boen so much rorn that both colour and material could not be named with any degree of accuracy ; and this garmont was adorned with a good display of large pearl buttons. The coveringa of his legs were made of leather, and his boots were evidently manufactured before the process was thoroughly under stood. Perhaps the gem of his habiliment might be designated the tie he woro-it consisted of something like unravelled rope more than anything elea, with every strand a different length and colour ; whilst carefully placed in the centre was an ornament of a ahape indescribable and of a nature nomewhat maspicious.
Thin remnant of the past sat with one leg crossing the other; he bent hir
head down very low as he lenned over an immensa piece of very hard wood which he firmly grasped in his left hand. The timber had various devices carved upon it; in one place a hidcous monster, with wings and wide open mouth, occupicd a prominent position; in another, a crafty sorpent twined itself around a group of objects: and thus conceivable and inconceivable things crowded on and on, up and down, and nearly all over the inerplicable article hold by the human vice.

The man held in his right hand a small but very sharp penknife, which he quickly and skilfully applied to a portion of the carvings. Twitch-twitch-twitch-went the knife, and jet no perceptible progress was mado with the work in hand.

A small crowd of farm labourers bad gathered round the workman, and this seemed to displease him, for he occasionally looked up from his work to exclaim "Do go away; what is there to seel Only an old man and a piece of wood !" Then fastor seeme. ${ }^{1}$ to twitch the knife, as though the holder begrudged the time he had spent in trying to persurde the onlookers not to wait.

Gertrude could no longer keep quiet, and remarted to her sister, "I should like to know what he's doing," quite loud enough for the workman to hear the voice. Once more he looked up, and exhorted the bystanders "to go away," at the same time assuring them there was nothing to see. Then he momewhat reluctantly closed his little knife, and deposited it in one of the commodious pockets of his ancient coat, and began preparing to take his departure. The bystandery tonk the hint and proceeded down the lane, leaving the carrer to follow. As the carver turned round to take pp his seat, he saw the two young ladies and Eustace looking over the hodge towards him.
"Don't go amay, old friend," asid Mabel, in a tone displaying she really meant what she said.
"No, don't," added Gertrude; "my sinter, I know, wants to find out all about you, and thon you'll get her sympathy."
"Bo quiet, Gertrude," said Mabel, tapping her sister gently on the shoolder.
"Well, Mabel, we all know what a good Samaritan you are; but it's a good
job I'm not like you, or we should hold a levce of beggars every day here," replied Gertrude.
"I'm not a beggar," disdainfully answered the carver, as he looked towards the younger sister
"Now, I didn't say you were," retorted Gertrude, "and jou mustn't get cross, or my sister will preach you a sermon about meekness or something of the sort, and I dare say there's many things you'd prefer to tbate"

The old man pulled his hat over his forehead more, and began to move, but Mabel persuaded him to stay.
" Don't take any notice of what she is saying, friend, her tongue is always running so fast," exclaimed Mabel ; then she added, as she turned to her aister, "I wish you would go away, Qertrude; you are a tiresome girl."
"Then I shall just stop to tease you, Mabel." Mabel unheeded her sister's reply, but requested the carver to show her his work.
"It's too heary for your gentle hands, fair lady." replied he, stretching the wood towards her, "but you can look at it while I hold it."
"How very beautiful!" exclaimed Mabel, inspecting the carving. "Is this all your work $\}^{\prime \prime}$
"Yea, my lady."
"How long did it take jou?"
"Abont mixteen years."
"Oh," asid Certrude, "only fancy that. I wonder what pe would say if I took a quarter that time over my woolwork."
"Hold your tongue, Gertrude," commanded her sister.
"When will it be finished !" asked Gertrude.
" That I am unable to answer," replied the worisman.
"What is it supposed to be $f$ " enquired Mabel.
"It's now supposed to represent a javelin staff," replied the carver, "as carried by the javelin men of olien times. It is carred out of a solid piece of walnut wond, which is now many jears old. It used to be one of the bed stockn in Warwick Castle. Many a tale could this old timber narrate, and a history of voluminous interest belongs to it. Many a royal personage has it helped to support; and many a warrior has rested himself upon its staunch appurtenances. It has adorned the palaces of kings; the hall of the brave; and the cell of the monk; but now it contents itself with a corner in the wanderer's casual room. For sixteen years hare I carried it about, end worked at it with this little knife; hours, dayn, nye years have rolled on, and I have still laboured at the work you now sce. To me it possesses n ralue untold. All the wealth of this country would not tempt me to part with this staff until my task is done ; for the timo-honoured wood denerves to reap a fitting reward.

When I look at the different carvings they remind me of times gone by, and of the various circumstances attending that same time;-and thus the history of my life becomes engraven upon this old pieco of wood." So saying, he hugged the staff in his arms as though each recollection endeared him the more to his work.

When the narrative was ended, Gertrude excinimed, "He talks like a book."
"And a good one ton," repliod Mabel.
"But not one of superfine binding," said Gertrude.
"Those who only admire books because of their gorgeous covers," added the carver acornfully, "show not only poor taste but piteous ignorance. There's many a good book with paltry and dirty corers ; and many a bad one decked in gold; but before wo either praise or condemn we should search earnestly to find their true worth, or utter worthlessness. It is likewise with peoplo ; miny are dressed in rags, nond yet the rags may cover greater wealth than lies beneath the gaudy dress of the rich and proud. One may corer true treasures; the other only mock jewels."
"But," said Gertrude, "I suppose jou'll admit that the rich coverings do not always cover deceit $\}$ "
"Readily, but deceit wrapt in wealth is not so pardonable as when it is covered in rags, because we expect great things from great appearances, but with the poor we do not look for so many virtues."
"Don't you think it possible then for tife poor to be possessed of good qualities !" asked Gertruds.
"Yes." said the carrar, "and I often find poor people more contented than the rich and proud. He who can look his fellow creature in the fuce, and scorns a dishonest action, is more entitled to be called rich than be who tries to make himself appear better than everyane else, and stoops to vice."
"That's just where jou poor people nlrags make the mistake," replied Gertrude petulantly, "every one with good clothes ain't vicious."
"You mistake me, miss," responded the workman ; " it's the rich people that are always trying to make out their poorer brethren to be all that's bad, whilst they corer their own faults with the affuence they possess."
"You're nwfully hard upon us, old bos," said Gertrude. "I shall get my sister to argne with you. Here, Mabe"

Mabel and Fistace had been quietly conreraing together duriog the time that Gertrude had been talking to the carver, but now both of them tarned their attention to the man in the lane.

Gertrude again took up the conversation.
"I say, old friend, as my sister calls jou, what's jour name? Do tell me, then I shan't forget you."
"I am known as 'The Bear,'" was the carter' a reply:
"The Bear," shouted Gertrurle, in 2stonishment; "what a borrid name! And I suppose that is the ruǧed statf. I see the joke," added the maiden, 23 she laughed heartily.
"Why do you do that work?" asked Mabel.
"I'Ll tell you some other tiuse, mise," replied the carrer.
"No, tell us now," said Gertrude. "I'm dying to know; besides, jou're such a good book, you kuow."
"But not one of superfine binding," retorted the man.
"Never mind that," replicd Gertrude, "MIabel will bind you afresh; won't Jou, Mabe?"
"I'm not going to promise noything," replied Jabel.
The workman had now shouldered his staff, and promised to call some other time, but Mabel extended her hund, und bade him partake of the offering she made. The man pulled his hat well duwn over bis face, expressed his thanks, and journejed onwards.
"I say, DIr. Dear," skouted Gertrude, 23 the man proceeded down the lane, "just you think over. What I've saic, and dou't he so hard on us when you come arain, then I shall sar you're a good book with gilded leaves."

Mabel remarked to her sister that she thought the workman to be a sensible man, and, added she, "I take quite an interest in him; it's evident he has seen better daya."
"No doubt, Mabe; poor people always say that."
"Why, Gertrude, it hardly requires two ejes to see that. If he is somewhat surly, it's only rough unge by the world that makes him so."
"Rut I cay, Mabe, ain't be an old fright?"
"I never judge people by their loots," replied $\lambda$ rabel.
"We've had a specimen of that," said Gertrude; "otherwise that man with the tracts would not have talien your louquet bolder."
"Now, Gertrude, it's not right for jou to say be took it. When there's no proof of auch being the case."
"No proof, Mabel !" exclaimed Gertrude in murprise_" no proof! Well, it was on the table when he came, and it had rauished when he had gone. I don't know what more proof you want."
"That's not sufficient evidence to me," replicd Jrabel; "because I have no recollection of seeing it as you saj."
"That's the worst of you, Mabe ; every one in a saint in jour eyes excepting poor me; and now jou've added another to jour catalugue in old grizuly bear."
"Don't talk like that, Gertrucle; no doubt he has good reascns for not telling his name," remarks Mabcl.
"Yes," said Gertrude; "perhaps dune something to shame it."
"Or something too good for it, " interposed Makel; "it's as fair to argue one way as the other."
"You mean, Mabel, one way suits you better than the other."
"Poor man." exclaimed Mabel; "That a curious life to lead; fancy, what jears of toil!"
"Well, I think he's an old stupia," zaid Gertrucle.
"There we differ," respunded her sister.
"And as usund," added Gertrurte.
"Here's pa coming," said Mabel, as her father adranced towarls them.
"I wonder what he'll any aluut your nev acquaintance, Mabe $i$ "
"Don't mention it Jet, Gertrude, until ure Lnow more about the strange man."

Mr. Harden now joined the party, and, tating Eustace by the arm, told him he had something oi importance to converse upon with him.
(T'o le conlinued.)
Old 3iscry, the Biscr.
 As this incident did not take phace unnoticel, snme movernent was
occasioued in the crowd, which was becoming workerl up to a fererish pitch of excritenent. The fro hall spread to the niljoining houses, and
was raging with nuabated fary
 irresistible impulse, were directed. A cry of joy bruke from the nssentbled multiturle, when they behchld a lofty ladder slowly raared agninst the
tottering wall.
But it renched only to the windows of the third floor,
 having the hint thus given, began to devise plans of nseistance, aurd a few grew desperate at the idea of leaving a fellow-crenture, young aull nerly
married, to perish in a nanner so truly terrible. The ladder was lowered, and another of smanler dimensions lashed sccurely to its top. $\Lambda$ gain it burst from the multitude. Tho fcmale had disappeared. She had fallen, in fact, into the flames raging withian the building, avd
rhere humanity shrinks from fullowing her in her awful fate. When all further nid was thus reqdercd unavailing, and nothing renained to be done, the roices of the spectators grem imperious, nud many were henril to wonder why the ladder had not been renred befure, somo eren mut-
tering that a stir ought to be mado nbuit it, and that it should be by no mengs bushed up; others there were who llully announced their firm
desire to hare hazarded their lires, ns if they were wrorthless, iu tho desire to hare hazarded their lires, as if they were worthless, in the
poor lady's behalf-only the pressure of the crowil withheld them. Dut one soice near the centre of the throng was loud above the rest.
"I say," it exclaimed, "and $\Gamma 14$ hold to it, that this young $m$
 that male the hearers tremble. "Lct me see bin-I'm her father-let
me see him.
The nultitule gare way, with suspended breath, leaving room for tho
 ais wny noung, bat they instantly drew back in farr, so terrible was the
agony depicted on his countenance. The crowd was so dense that it was no easy thing, with nill goolwill on their part, to cllow through them-
for the passage that had been momentarily opence, closed ngnin from tho for the passage that had been momentarily openced, clised ngnin from the
effects of the distant pressure. But the apeaker perdisted in his efforts, "Why lowk you all!" he criel, "sloc mas ms clild-my chilld-a bride this murniug, and now swallowed by the liames. Thero wns not
one nmongst you but that youth would stir a step to anve her, though every hair on her head should have brought gold to her preserver." wailings, the ronf of the adjoining building fell in, nnd at the same time



## old miseliy, tile miser

 AT tho begiming of January, 183-, and at an early hour in the evening, a fre brike not on tho precinises of a floor-clountian of oil consituntax in the imincuiate envirns on the wholo pilie becanne one glowingtained in the building hal innited, and the mass. Iligher and highter the flames mounted, roaring and caping tind
the sky grev red, blood-rel, as it overhung the cocie. Dense volumess the sky grew red, blowi-ren, as sit ovening rollod of, flling the upper nir. Cruwds of people, making tho engine-drivers furious, blockend up every street and avenue. The firemen, heonnced in on all sides, were busily endeavouring to force their way.
Femalces shrieked, men sworo loudly-the firemen swearing loudest of all. And still the throng increased, thousands hurrying up from all sides and filling every thoroughfare conducting to the spot. But a few paces from
the flaming pile was a store where saltpetre was kept, and this intoli-
 comiuenced blowing slightly, the fire soon communicated with the store,
and the utmost alarm was now manifested. A terrace of large houses nud the ntmost alarm was now namine flames were widening rupilly. Water too was difficall to be obtained, for the weather was so sevcre as
to have frozen all the pipes, nnd saircely an engine could be worked. to have frozen all the pipes, nnd scarcciy an engine cound be workco.
In the meantime the flanes held on their course uncheckel, and two of
the houscs aljouning the saltpetre store were alrcaly kindled. Throo the houses aljoining the saltpetre store were already kindled. Throo now-for the cirling fire ran along the minst the windows, even those at the furthest end of the terrace, nnd therefore remotest rom the denger. Piles of household furuinine grew
 sion becane confoundel. As the fre spreal along the terrace, thicre wns one housc that attracted
universal notice. Thic flames nssending froun the salt petre warchousc, brillinnt ns they were, nud their hues were gorgeous, did nut serve to distract the uniform attention riveted on this building. It scemed from the strect a glowing, gutted pilc, and yet individunls conlit be descricd in
thic various apartments, running to and fro. They disappared presently, the rarious npartments, running to and fro. They disappearced prosently,
and the roof fell in, sending up one rast cloud of dust and smoke, that fir nume muments obscured the whulo scene. Suddenly on the top-yes, on the very top-on the outermost wall of
tho roufless building, appeared a female figure. Dencath, the flaming alysse glowed like a crater. In the imagination of the spectators, the
crimbling sides hal begun to rock. Evcry breath secmed hushed, and
the stunning noise, an awful cnlm had succeeded. welling had taken place in that fated house, on that day, and it was specelily reported that grsturss for their aid.
"Strnd anide there! will no one help her ${ }^{\text {" }}$ criad tho musical voice of
n youth from a quarter where the pressure was less densc. "Cowards,
16 . $\quad$ U 16



 penker. "She woull speak so alwnys-nlways kind-al
Tluyy led him to a chair. He no longer resistel them.
"Yes" ha murmure "
"Yes," he murmuren, "the erould spenk so always."
And this he continued to repcat in a whisper barcly audible, till his assistnnts thought he had dropped asleep. The girl, drawing near to
dispmse his hend, which had fallen on lis breast, more confortably, gazed steadily in his face. Her fentures changed suaddenly, and she signed to
the youth to apponch. Immeliately ntervards they opened thie door and sprend the tidings of the old man's death. Amidst the confusion that ensued-the room being on the instant well
nigh filled with awo-stricken people,-the youth withdrew and regnined
 querics as to what had taken place. And when the sad event was made
known to them, they, were not, as man sat in his chair like sleeping life, hushed by nwe nnd terror. CCun-
ments were loudly and conrsely made. Rude men broke into noiss speech, ments were loudly and conrsely mande. Rude men broke into noizy speecth,
and, to the youths astonishment, declared that the decensed ought to
have dicd yenrs before, and so linve spared the world much wrong and have died yenrs becore, and so lave spared the world much wrong and
misery. Uyprompted by curiosity, n question rose to his lips, but he did not
utter it, for ho wished to escnjo all further contact with the rough people utter it, for ho wished to escnjo all further contact with the rough people
that surrounded him. Seeing the fire still raging among the houses on
the terrace the terrace, bo rushed forvard, and in a fow minutes was mingling in the commotion that prevniled on the spot of the conflagration. But here
also-for the news preceled lim -he henrd the same comment decircred with much emphnsis. If ho shifted his position-nad that, in the work-
ing to and fro of the crowd, wns unvoidable-the same words rang in ing to and fro of the crowd, wns unavoidnble-the same words rang in
his ears, reaching him frum every sille. And at hast, the youth, without
being able to obtain a phusible renson for this opinion, so seemingly being alle to obtain a phausible renson for this opinion, so secmingly
universal, caught himself subscribiug to the uncliaritalos sentiment, and

The wherefore remnined a mystery. When ho found himsclf aluno in
The his chamber be sat dowu, and strore to rid his recollection of nill ditcor-
dant images convected with the seno ho had so recently witnessed, that ho might reflect on that alone. The deceased ought to have died yenrs ngo! A vindictive feccing, roused by some renl or sugpected injury, might
have given rise to such a comment, if it had been uttered by two or three

 What diep wrong liad he committed Ho hant akkel that question of
the spenkers who wero londest in the proclamation of tho verdict, but ho
had obtaneel no answer-nothing but a repectition of the words. Ho



 him for whom it plendel had not boen of a counprexion to make nge, in no individuna cose, dislonourable. The lines that were decpened in the
forrelead, the brow, corrugntel even in slumber, the weazen cliecks, the
 were far from piensing, nud slowed to more disnd rantang on the sleeporis

 but uncertain of its nature, his ofes encounteral the youth. Then
 But this frrst burrst of fecling once controllod, he wns onalled to tallk





 But if there wras littlo that was strangg in tho history, thero wns much that wna strange in tho feeling that dietated its disclusurcs, Ay, there
was that which was pery trrange. There wis-bo it not lightly spoken



 "But four health, sir," pleandeld the yonth, "r rquires that jou slould

 chooled in all things novr. A cab heoing provided for then at tor door, ndd the old man having partaken of a very slight breakfast, and given, the diviver his directions, they eet forrarl, aroiding the street in which
the scenes of the last night had occurred, nud so they cance at hat to

[^179]Old Miery, the Miser.
 descensed whilic lin went numung the cruwil, wiiliug for his duughter; but whicther that forberanaco wans due to igioranco of his namo and pactory

 He visited the tillis smokering ruins at an and narly hourt the next morning. Thongh all dangger was over, two or three of the smaller engines yet kept
 crection of a barriciale of planks around the site of tho destroyed property,
under the superintendence of the police, was a source of vast interest The ravages of the fre had been very great. Beeides the flor-cloth
 crovind ard parrivering fthe cene of destruction, tho ery of the preceding
niglth fell dismalis ret, in site of himeelf, convincingly upon his earshe onght to have died yerrr beforel 1 or He was resolved to rathom the mystery, and for that purppse accosted
n man having all the appenrance of a gentleman in his bearing, though

 moval impatienty 1 away.
romance certailys but an uneasy one. The youtt, forcing through the crowd, made the best of his wist to the inn where, he had left the
deand man on the previous night. The landord's duughter wns in the bar. She no mooner sam him thnn she nttered an exclamention of joy. © " oou are so much wanted np staira." ${ }^{T+}$


"Io he stiring yet " H he inguired. but nank after you. If they tell the truth about him, ho has led a wicked
life?
"ife" "Ha I I have heard something of that ! What has he done ! Who

"Why, Ithonght all London had harard of old Misery",

8
Old Alisery, the Dfiser.

"I nam come to nsk your forsivevess for nill that thas passed between
 time. I have moneg, ns you know; you shanll yet bo a rich uan, Spen-
cer ; though only in your just position, were you to hold up your head with the wealthicst and proulest." " ${ }^{\text {" }}$, " "Money ${ }^{\text {" }}$ " gncered the man he addressed; " "yes, that is your panacea
for all evils ; I know it. Dut will money bring back $t 1$ - hild that lies rotting in his grave, nud who died of no disease but that of want and
cold 1 You know that I came to you and begged for a trife of money
 drove me from your.door. Will money," continued the man, savagely,
taking the infant from its mother's arms, "spare me this child either 1
 show thant mercy to mic which I deuied to you. We may save tlant chilld

for my chila tiat's gono-- youth's arms, murnuring through bis tears,"forgive me, Spencer, forgive me."
"As I hope to be forgivel, I do," replied the man.
In less than ten mintites after this sceue, the usurer and his companion wree ngain sented in the cal, and the driver was urging his horses
"The man $I$ am going to relense has been coufined seventeen years," said the usurer. "Don't look at me so. I nu haman now, whatever I
might have been. He borrowed money of me. I thought his security gond, but it turned out otherwise. The man was honest, I beliece, and ronld bare paid nue if he could; but herere never wass a clance of that.
I put him in the Fleet serentecn yenrs ago this winter." "dnd he has never been at large in all that time 7 " cried the youth, "Nerer! He hall no friends to do anything for him. He lived on the poor side of the prison, na it is called, and must have been more than
balf starred during the Thole time he has been there ; but, please God, he shall be a rich man ret." " "Slall I rivg the bill "
They got out, and mi/en the gate was opened, the usurer desired to be shown into the raiting.room, nod that Henry Abbutt might be brought
to spenk to him. "Henry Abbott r " crclained the man addressed; " you 're too lato to With much difficulty they got the old man into the cal, and drovo back to the inn they
The unit
usurer died about a year afterwards.
The usurer died abont a year afterwards.
The youth_but we will be silent about him. Our talo is toll.
$94 \quad$ Oud Misery, the Miser.
in this ncighbourhoud; but the lenst enviable ns a place of resilenco is strect The old man nnd his young companiiou having bado tho culty. Dut let us precole thein by a ferw minutes. In the lower room of one of tho dwollings in the strect, a womnn,
cancely turned thirty--slice slould have been young at that tage, buts sho wras not-held a sickly infant in her arms, and drem nearcer the window,
that slie might the better note whint changs had taken place in its features since she placed it aslecp in the bed at an earlier hour of the "It will die, George," she snid, spenking softly and mournfully to her husband, who, was triug to warm himself at the scauty fite in the grate. to tanke it to himself. It will know no want-no suffering with Him." Dut slo did weep bitterly, as only a mother who holds her dying infant aiso. Bnt he neither spoke nor wept. ${ }^{\circ}$. ${ }^{\circ}$. "Did you say that ate was renlly burut to dcath, Gcorge
wife, presently; "nod her father dend-so avffully sudden! Well, well, Gorl sends his judgments." "Not judgmente, Mary," replied the man millly ; "we have censured hard, ıresumptuous people-religious folk as they style thenselves-for using that exprcssion. Dend they both arer ip thard onorning. As for the poor girl, bo hul marricd hice yesterdny to a man of his own choosing-
not of hers ; and from nll I gathered about tho matcli, I believe she not of hers; and from nil I gathered about and matin, him yesterlay."
would rather have gone to her grave than to the altar with
"Yes. The roof foll in upon lim, as he was trying to anvo the wifo ho had. purchassel. Well-I wish it hadn't happened, nuld that tho old fully with him than he dealt with ourselves and others. Hist 1 there's a khocking.
The man went to the door and opened it. He reeled back with surprise, to drive amay lis visitors. "Spencer, hear me," pleaded the old man, "don't be violent-don't ; The man within the roum-the father of the dying baby-uttered a rightful oath, and seized the door to shut it in the speaker's face. indecd;" and looking narrowly at the man's threntening cenntenance, he the confagration in the morning. The wife, atill bolding the sick infant, approached ber husband, and sullenly enough though, from the threshold. The old man and the yout

"I In a
never shou
906


tifr old widtsilirg fiddler





 Save him aome pence ns nild mont of my neighibours ; and when he

 silvery grey; and nltogether hin anpearance tond ho was fast to with m, mere atcention than hice evor beflure had benen. Ant thought



 Criattre II.






 I. however, ventured to peeak to lim. I told him I remienbered
tife hoyal fule at the belf
 he could take advice ns casily no ho bud taken from his father the The young heir, grisping tho sceptre tighty, and hinting at tho excelem
cireumstances, "ho could" "I cuild bo ns bricf ns my breath, ansmered the abdicating
monarch, "anut that is short curough. You look up to thouse of
 The son lonked doru at his now sid sin drops. found he was dead The new king contwaulued a spleulid funcral, and arranged a


号 e havo got ovre tho first wiificeithiv, nuin (to-morrow-
 neighbouriug plotentutc, fons whon

 "There," he remarkeel to himself, as he went along in that pace
 : that city n mume-"thero I I live never found disappuxintment." What he lid fiud he never toil, but on hins returnt the the palace,


c. M., Court 421 i .





## 'Frank Newton' pages 36 and 37 not present






 in tho segnel of ours stay.



















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 of inititinting Farryular Ciilson asa mentiber of Court" "Statility" wns

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\cdots \cdot \bullet \cdot \bullet \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot
$$

















 عulforing privation froon pecuriniry or ony other ciricumatance.






The Rival Schoolmaster. 409


The pullic laid tho authorship at Josejn's door; but he never
ectaowlemged the verecs. Nevertheless, they hand tho effect which the 0
3
0
0
0
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0
0 .ads him almost fruntic, and frightenod his fanily nenrly out of their Wiak He knecked his sclmolors down, and then buxel thcir cars for





 Edren, and occasionnily called in to havo a chat with him. Onc Wher, and a moment after felt himself seized by the collar and thrown R. . was in the nct of raising his hand to striko him in the face,


E. Harent I toll you nhat I meun I I menir to pumish your insolencu:"
The Rival Schoolmastera.

It was moruing, and the schoolmaster had breakfasted, and was ang
his way to his achoolroom, when he nct a littlo hoy who had formety
been under his care, but was now ono of Joseph Trotter's pupils.
"So you go to Trotter's school, do yon, Jim I" said Mr. B. to the



Joseph Trotter sat in the midst of his scholars, when a disturbemed
arose at the end of the romm.
" This no much nnise about \& Hold out!" The hoy tremblod, and at last he said, " Plense, sir, Suith w



"Cllcase, sir," snid the loy, "this norning, when I was coming 4 is



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The Rival Schoolmasters.

 and walked hoone with Joseph Trotter as though they were tho mait
 was not the prypere time. with hen thin ; and racached hoome, Blinker inot being one of thoses what thasenh shoorld go in in and saw his wound dressed. Mrs. Bounce and her danghter wete
 be dreaming. Put there was the veritale priect of flssh, blood, wod bones, , known in the villago as Joseph Trotter, and so they put it in
their catalognie of remarkable things as they dresed the wound in M\&





 he old apple trec, as ho said, "I wonder if Miss J3. is engaged ?" and I.hen wont off to his lorlgings, tumbled into bel, and went to sleen.
Mr. J3. couldn't attend school tho following day, which circunstanes fave great pleasure to some of his vagrant pupils.
I'wo days havo passel, and Joseph is in Mr. B.'s dwelling.

Mr. B. is addressing Mr. T.
"I expect you'll forget and forgive. I know I liave wronged yans:

 More conversation ensued ; but as it in no way belongs to and.
listory, we leave it out. After staying about an hour, Joseph thoued history, we leave it out. Aftcr staying about an hour, Joseph thooger
it time to be going.
" How do you do, Miss B. $7^{\prime \prime}$ said he, as he passed the kitchen and now her busily engaged.
" The ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ said he, as he passed the kitchen sung




MAKING the best of it:
oh reace, union, and goon.wila.

> iv hemiy owan, blid.
> part s .
 wer Attentively frun cinl to cemL. "In my presch. - wnlitioun-kumeked






 sought to cxtract a toil-won lirelihood from nanll-mater fislining, nomd tlio


 nequaintances, nud to metamorplize myself into-in fact, into an regular




are proverbinlly light nuil coun complotetel; fur the hecls of a ainglo man


 Sumiling was huilt, in a very striggling num irregular, lute a very pirth-

 in the purple and cluudlhes sky, like an many flashing dinmonts, were











 "he rain, rent the air, and made thicir blood run como. back!"
 npparently dead, upon the gravo-stones, nnd raising her face to the noon-
light, recogniscd the inissing Inatty, not deal, but in a swoon.

- (To be continued).


## SABBATII BELLS. <br> Yet Fance deems she bears the soond of belt Thus thruuht the fesh reil That mund the mul enfoldecth, <br> Tjer alore af mur future life, the inner cye beholithth.

## 18 Making the Best ni It.

would sink hy $n$ mort of re-action into $n$ deeper gloom than before. She seemel, however, from some canse, to be tho chice ohject of the attention of
tho whole family, ns if they were nll mourning for somo loval one, deal and gone nway for cver; and though their own sorrow was still green and
fresh, they recognised her grief as greater still. What claim she had unon their sympathy one could not easily conjecture, who julged by the geveral average of mankind, who look with more or less of resentment upon those
who may be-no matter how innocently -the cnuse of their suffering. At length the old man left the table, and threw himself on a sofn that lay nong ly the are-place. "My poor boy, hosaid, "I wond his voico rembled, and be paused, as if afraid to trust himbolf to the omotion. "Safe enough, I promise youl, and happy enough too, except for not
being herc," snid a stranga voice; and looking in the direction of tho sound they saw Captain Black standing in the doorway. II had como so far unobserved, because in country houses of that, and ceen of a
higher class, the outer door generally stands open, except in very rough
 wester and great coat in a henp into a corner, shook hands all rounch, and took possession of the space opened for him in the circle round the firc.
"We're lucky to-night," olseerved the old lady, with some approach to checrfulness in her tone; we have two visitors, and 'tis sellom that any "Wait a little whilo," said the Captain," when summer comes the swallowa will be back again." As he spoke, and while the eyes of all were fixed on him, it was observed by Mr. Walton alono that he passed
someting into IIntty's hand, which she held concealed for a moment, and then depositel in one of those mysterious crypts which the feminine costume of molern times supplics for varions little secret and diplomatio purposes. After that, the conversation tripped along with an animation -as plentiful ns the dinner-was introduced, whon someborly asked, "where is Hatty ?" nnd to the utter dismay and wonderment of tho whole family, it was discovered that not only was she not to be found in
or about the house, but that a bounct and a heavy shawl of hers wero or about the house, but that a bounet and a heary shawl of hers wero
nlso absent. Presently the whole company, with tho exception of Mr. Walton, were dispersed in all directions, in search of the truant; and as
 leave. In order to have the benefit of the moonlight oll his way, ho took
 ncighbourhood of the ruincd church, standing up white, black, and
ghastly, like nny other skeleton, and surrounded by its old decplyfurrowed grave yard. While he pansed a moment to enjoy the effects of
the picture, he was held to tho spot by oue of the most unaccountable the picture, he was hela to tho spot by oue of the most unacconitable
sights that had over prompted him to doubt the evidence of his own
cyes. Out of the ground, sud within the branched nud open walls of the old huilding, the form of a man rose about half way, as if some tenant of the grave, undecidel whether he would take a walk upon this
$\infty$
in Fingland or elsewhere, ame hell to their allegianco by thrir investments, It is wrell that Mr. Gilanstonk han given time for n thorough examination of the whole gllestion ; nint wo recommend all to make ciat examinsuspicion of the hourst ataterman with whon the plan for Government Assurance has originated. For ourselves, we frankly avow the conclusion after full consideration, that the working-men conductors and manngem the establishment of the Government plan.

Whatever may be the drend felt by the traders in Minor Asssurance, as to the possible effects of Mr. Gladstone's mensure on their "busi-
ness," should that mensure become law, the grent Orders of Friendly ness, should that mensure become ldar, the grent Orded associations, Societics, sach as the Foresters, the Odd conducted principally by working-men, by and for themselves, have no need to entertain or exhibit any unmanly alarm. The mensure, in our opinion, can in no wise injuriously affect theso Orders; While the discussinn Which the proposal has excited, and will yet still
cause, cannot but tend to their good. By means of that discussion, light will be thrown upon the whole question. of minor Assurance; and the bonest-minded conductors of the class of Friendly Societics we allude to
will thereby be ennbled to detect the weak places nul deficiencies in their





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 with the ressurces of scicnce. It came at last. One day I had dressed


 "' Yun're a very heary swell, to day, Gcorge,' he s: ${ }^{\prime}$ walking round mes run away with jou this cveniug' ; and I obecrred that he held an egg in his hand, which he raised in a memaciug attitude, more, perhnps, to enjoy "'If you do, Charlcy,' I sail, 'I 'll pitch into yon, nnd leare yon some marks, toe ${ }^{\prime}$ ! Scorning the threat more than I expected, he did actually
throw the egg, which I very narrowly escaped, and then fulailled my prothror the egg, which I very narrowly escaped, nod then fulailled my pro-
mise. I beat hiun, if not to his heart's content, certainly to my own; "Frem that day he was, of course, my inplacable nul most vigilant "From that lay he was, of course, my implacable num most vigilant
and-ristless enemy ; and in his peculiar mole of warfare-oreen if I had enoght, which I really did not, to keep the quarrel nlive-I was no matel
for him. For I could nithrr forge letters nur tell lies; mor, in shot, in for him. For 4 could nithrr forge letters nor tell hes ; mor, in shont, in etiecturilly, for after iny uncle's denth I was astomuded by the discovery
that he had Ieft every pound of his propety to him. I slanll never forget the fellow's look of tritumphant maliee on that orcasinn, nny more than another expression of a filfirent sort which I onvo afterwarils saw upen lis fires. I went back to college, which was then my only home.
entercel the medical school; mad at the emil of three years, haring which I livell and paid my way loy playing the flute in disgnise through the streets at night, I took my ingree as a plysician, nud set up for practice. attacic!! in rather a ronnutic way for somong time. She had been alwass
 Amosel her other admirers, liy the way, one of the most nrident was my


 graterin!, in fact, to a geatleman who made her his wife. I know now
shat in all such instances the effect is very much the reverse. In my
 and when she fougd that I was only strnggling with the workl, haring co fai-h in the future or in me, and forgetting that my poverty was iu
some measure the result of my fidelity to her-for it had been turned to



## If.

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they followed a winring path through the tall trees, passing sometines
betweon naturn fonces of tangled underwowl, and sonetinues merging into nupen and shectecred spacer, such as the fairics might havo clowsen to ilance ont. It was a pisturesque and widd-grown forest in mininture;
and nfter threading those many yatlis they cano sudilenly down apon a aul nfter threading those many patlis they cano sudilenly down upon ab
little cove, where a tilly and saucy-looking cutter jacht lay graerfully at nuchnor. Junsing yp tirreo necn who lag smoking drowsily on dicck, tho Captaing got under weigh, and in a four minutes after wins stecring out to
sen, the miniature sliin bending to a light futtering brecze, and lior four sen, the mimiature eling benling to a light filtering brecze, and hicr fonr
white sails glittering in the sunshine ; while along the outcr horizon

 Inting, until the Cnptain propkecel that. they should have some dinner. The conhiu, and in fact tho whole vessel, was furnished in a stylo that
indicnted not only the commani of amplo means, but thio correct tasto indicnted not only the commanit of nmplo means, bit the correct repast wns ended they returned to the derk,
"This is the only littlo enjoynent,", sniil the Captain, "that I have
left to me now in left to me nner in this tiresoone world. The wrongs that inve sumferen, outhw. I have never been tempted until now to tell my story to anybooly. I don't know why the wish forces itself upon mo now, excepit
from a desiry that you slionld uullerstand me : but-no matter ! Yout must, of course, hinvo percecived lefore now, that I am not, or tather,
 different position liy this time. I was left an orplian at a very helpless
ago; mo young, indoed, that I have mily the must shalowy aul dreana ago ; mi young, imbed, that i have anly the mast, shadowy amd dreani-
like reniembranco of iny parents. I was brought up by an umele, and with the prospect of iulacriting lis very considerahle property, being his nenrect relative: nt the same time he was perfectly free to dispose
of the reversion in any way he pleased, ns thero wns nn entail. I wns sent to an aristocrntic schocol, nuld frum that to colligge, whire I went risits I generally mote a coosin of mine, not quite en nearly related to my

 I Buspected then, nird hair reason enough to know nfterwnrids, for un two resultenl in the two great misfortunes that withered up every hopo of my ifo Mn was inpenetrnbly stupid at any sort of book learning, but was
zifted instend, with oll that low, treacherous cunning and cold-blowded ruelty that nlmays inakes a dunce so dangerous as an enciny or a rival. tis chief delight wna in abominablo practical jokes, and in torturing any living thing of which he was not arraid; nnd in autagonism with such a
channcter, the lighler qualities of the intellect andl the heart have but ittle chance in the rommon transactions of life. He also hal the ndvanAnge over me of being rather welli-looking, and as strong as a mulc.
Altocther, his ways nand his presence were a perpectual nuisnnco to mo.
$\approx$

Mading the Best of IL.

## 




 from a country in which I had suffered so much. It was in voe of tho
hast ycars of the Peninsulnr War, and the seas were somewhat insecure lust ycars of tho Peninsular ar, and thic seas were somewhat insecure
nt that tine, ns I soon learned practically; for we had not been mavy diys from sight of land, when $n$ pirate, that had heer hovering suspi-
ciously a about us for sume time, brought ni to one moraing, nod baarded ciously about us for sume tinc, brought us to one morung, nnd boarded
us ; unt without a sharp struggle though, for we were well armed, and gnre them more troublo than thecy looked for. Forgetting ing proper
duties, I tonk part in the fray, until my nssistance wns urgenty requiral
 wants, wo wero all prisoncrs. I was removel with some others on bonrd
the pirite, and having receivel a cut on the heal, which I dill vot at
 I lay stupififid, nfter biuding up tho wound msself with $n$ hanilkerchief. In the course of the fulluwing night the Captain came to see me, and an
interestiug sight I must have been, with my faco clutted all orer with blood ands surnnounted by a white thrban. He remanined mone timer with
me, appurently intercested in semis may, anil complinented nio on tho
 with less of the darc-devil either in minnner or appearance. IIo was a slight effeminnte-lowking man, with light silky linir, soft eyce, nnd a gentlo
musical roice. We had many conversations after tlut, in which he gavo musicul roice. We had many conversations after that, in which he gavo
me his history. It was ill-treatment and outrage also that had driven him to be an outlaw. As our nequaintance progressed, we became most familiar and congenial friends, nand ha wrould often bitterly lament the sort of lifo
tow whicl he had condemnel hinself, and the necessity of ruling a company tw whicl he had condemnel hinself, and the necessity of ruling a company
of rough surnges, with whom he had not one sentiment or instinct in
coumon. For some years, indcecl, until I fell in his wany, he lind no one. of roumon. For some years, inclecel, until I fell in lis wny, he hind no one. with whom he conld interchange a thonght. It wns not long after wo
net, that he was meditating nil attrek upon $n$ nich froight which ho

 at once. Some hours before the attack, he callesl nic into liis cillin, and


 amnter norT! ' Here nre theme paperi and this little parcel: yon will surrive me; you are the only friend I have, and you must promise me,
that on the very earliest olportunity, sou will deliver then as they are that on the very earicest in will alsn, in case I am shint or cut thown, take command of this scluoger. In selfdefeure you will have to do so, for no one of

Making the Best of It.
meame I never comld discover-had kept up his acqunintance with her Wher she wius married, and his wealth and tho fast and showy style in
which he lived, lazzied the poor shallow and thoughtless creature. Vain anil heartless, sho began to regret all that she had lest by postponing
"Well, sir, to be bricf, returning home one nfternoon from a pntiont's humse, where I had been detained since the preceling day, I found that
sho was gono-gone away for ever ! gone with him! Fancy the hell that burned within me that day: insulted, robbed, dishonoured, ruined !
From that day I have never had a home. "A trusty servant had the presence of mind to follow their carringo some distance, to ascertrin what direction they had taken, and was ablo to guide me. I had a strong, young, fast-trotting horse in my stable. but to square accounts with him. I shonld have mentioned that I was residing then in a midland city, and that they had taken the road to
Lonalon. As I urged my horse through the streets and out into the Landon. As I urged my horse through the streets and out into the
country, going about sixteen miles an hour, my thoughts travelling faster still and my blood boiling, and all around me a whirling, inaddening, misty chaos. I saw nothing; heard nothing but that yellow carringo in the distance, which I was gnsping to overtake, and straining my eyes
to get a sight of. At last-after what interval of time or space I never kunw-a turn in the rond brought it into view some mile or two in
ndvance, toiling slowly up the side of a bill. I had hinn at last! Pulling up for a minute or two, as my horse was rather blown, and trembling all over through nervous impatience and a wild storm of various parsions, benling forward in the saddle, I patted his neck, and with a touch of my
herl sent him on ngain. We were alongside them. I called to the driver to stop, nad epringing to the ground, seized the horses' hends, and in pite of his excrinns to dhive them over me, backed them into a ditch.
Inre open the door. They were there together. What she did or said I Rore open the door. They were there together. What bhe did or said
I know not. I saw nuly him, shrinking nnl cowering into a corner. My hamd was on his throatt : a strong pull, such an a man infuriated to
minducss alone can give, and he was beside me on the roal. The tempest ynducss alone enn give, and he was beside me on the rond. The tempest
that wns mging within me gave me more thann iny naturnl strength. Then it was such a relicf-like the oprning of a safity valre-to rnin "lom him blow after blow with hand and whip, until bleeding and
cuscless he fell to the earth. Whether I received any blows from him I anm, to this moment, not aware. Certainly I never felt any. I I have, how,
hower, some indistinct and cloudy impression of having hrard shrieks
and lamentations and entreatics in a female voice; but beyond that I and lamentations and entreatics in a female voice; but beyond that I
oliserved and know nothing. My horse in the menntime wns quietly hrowsing on the briar leaves in the ditch. Slowly and sadly I returned home, thanking heaven that in my haste I had forgotten to bring a
rrapouln of any sort ; otherwise I should inevitably have taken his life. Inow they pursued thoir journey after that, I never heard; nor have I
"Still, the sense of tho desolation they had brought upon me, came
over me heavy nud crushing, when I reachal the home which I must
cenve for ever; for I could not remain there a mark for sneers and pity
 He fell into bad health, and he's going now to Madcira, to try to recover
Himealf; the ship that ho's coing in is here'- 'And when does he start 1 - In about a week, sir.' Sceming quite indifferent to the information, and taking leave of the man, I passed on. Within half-an-hour, my plans were all arranged. I went to iny crew, and talked to them seriously for remaining dass in pence and safety, and advised them all to settle down quietly somewhere, in nny profitable occupations they might sercrally
choure. Some ngreed readily enough, some said that they wero alone in
 the wrorld, and neper had and never could have any l ves; and some had
come to regard the whole rorld as one great many-hended and manyhanimi enemy.
"Eventually, they were all content to obey mee, and to scttle on land,
if thry might only live near ench other ; and I promised to guide their











 dect. We took the glass, and after looking at her for some time, turned
mane! and eaid: 'she's on fire, sir!'-'Well, then,' I said, 'get all hands reety to help her. Steady ! thics may get it under; writ till she blazes





 aracine how we were welemmel. I stoml up and spoke. 'Be steady,' I
aid, 'and you are all safe. as they came crowding in enger and imploring



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## oI fo $3 s g$ วчा buryple

 warl with a low moan of ngony, mas a thing to be neither furgotten
uor described. Me looked ns if ho expected that noonent to be his last :








 all I can. I'll give you back your uncle's property. I Ill keep only
what I have of my own. I'll trausfer it all when we get nslore.'- It What I have of my own. I Ill transfer it all when we get nslore.'.-' 'It
is but too little to offor me, but it is all you have to give, I said;
'for my renl loseses no human bcing can compensate mo But is but too little to offer me, but it is all you have to givc.' I said ;
'for my renl losses no human bcing can compensate me. But I camnot trust you, youlknow; I slould be the veriest simpleton if $I$ idid, and you
would yourself haugh in myy fice for my credulity. Whatcrer you do


"Tho next morning, I nsked the Captain of the Ariadne to witness our proceedings, telling himins nuth of the circumstances ns was necessary; would sec everything done in proper form. It was so arranged, accordingly, and when we arrivel at Funchal, the remuneration we received from nll parties concerned, male the roynge rather a profitable speculation.
When I came lack, and lad taken possession of my property, I renewed my proposal to my crew, and settled them around this out-of-the-wny little place. They are, all of them who survive, pencenble fishermen;
and must of the young poople yon sce here are their sous and daughters. You mill observe traces of furcign blowd in them too, for iny slipnintes rere of ratious nations- Freucl, Spanish, Irish, and a Mulatto or two. I om tolerabls independent at present-rich in fact, but I num unhappy,
lonelf nud desolate. My onls nmusencut is ruming orer to France, and the Channel Islands, nom. nund then."
"You seem," said Mr. Walton, "to be vers popular and infuential
"ere; it is only natural that Y"un shoula." I believe, haring notling to do for myself-nlienn nrgotia curn, exceussus propriis, as Horace says-and after all, I believe the mnjority of humn
beiogs are scarcely $w$ wrth the truble of serving. It is not every wild leenst that is grateful for lasing a thurn extracted from its foot; even It rns then rerging tomards erening ; and the Captain garc orders to put about and stecr for hone.

## Making the Best of It.

circle of red light, she looked like soine phantom ship coming with a
warning of death instenil of a promise of santer. I saw him, pale and warning of death instenil of a promise of saftty. I sam him, pale and which I stocered. The other brought some haif duzen of the crew. Anothe turn back and furward, and we had them all snfo. The Cuptain was the
last man to lenre tho wreck; and the next minute a bright fame flared Iup with a will, nnuatural light, and with a heave rlunge forward, the
 rolled on as if that tall ship bad never been ! So it is on land, tro.
When a tragedy in real lifo is acted-and there are no tragedies half so tragic on the stnge-the victime go down, and are scen nad heard of no und the next dny all is forgotten. "Wo had then, of course, no specinl destination ; but I thought it as the invalids, and made them as comfortable as I could, for the schooncr was very nicely fitted up insile. My enemy was in iny own cabin. I
sat by him, and spoko to him n good while. The tones of my voico seemed to startlo him a little now and then, but ho was very far from recoguising me. I was totnlly clinngod in appearanire, and tho crcime stancess and the scene were so different from any in which wo had met
before. You will say that such a thing is inpossible, nud that such instances of forgeffullness are to bo found only in novels. But sulfering,
and a total and nll-pervading revolution in tho modo of life, chnngo us nild a total and anl-pervading revolution in tho modo of lifc, chango us all more that love or hate with nll our hearts. "There is one thing that nover changes, except the heart-that is tho
voice ; but it is not every ear thant is sufficiently sensitive to the small vice ; but of tones and sounds, to recognise even that, and to fecl tho neccnts of a voice long known and long unheard, carrying the memory hack across long and many-coloured yenrs, and waking up old thoughts
nud nesocintious out of their gravcs. I saw that he was in a very miserallolo condition, but recoveralle hy care. Ho hal evilently lived vory langer. I I almost took pity on him, thoughid innew that ho would have none for me or any other human being ; and I resolved to have nonto
explanation with him.
"Ono night, when wo werc alone and safe from interruption, and ho was speaking of his chances of recovery, 'I beciove,' I saill, 'from whint Thave seen in my time, thant thero is even in this world punishment for
the guilty, in terror and remorse, if in no other way. They suffer what the ginfy, int though they can never indemuify their victims; sometimes
they infict
curugh, one would think, to render any punishment in the next world cluvigh, one woild think, to render any pumishment in the next world
umnecessary:- ' h have never wrongel any nann;' he sail, confidently.'You,' I answered, 'I have always known that, yon are a cownrd. Do nut add to the rest a miscrable, transpnarent falschood.'- ' Good heaven !'
lio gasped, ' $w h o$ can you be $\dagger$ ' ' Do you not reniember me 1 ' I said, lis.
lissing my name in his ear. The fear, the bevillorment, the look of
utter despair with which he nisell his eyes to miuc, leforc he sank hack.

## utter despsir with which he rnisell his eyes to mine, before he sank hack-



132 diatinct porviainn to be monde for the mortelity of membera' wivea.











 vould be an imporiunt tele in in dranee










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"What is that $t$ "
"Somelocrly you have ngkel to dinner, I suppose," said Mr. Percy, as



 merciant. 1o saw too-but in thant imperfect wre in which one, intent besild his direct line of vision-sich evidences ns frowns auni siguals and


 since she had been in the close vicinity of the kitchen fire. To the young
nen nhbence very early ; and wlite Mr. Knight was talking to crerylbody all
round, the other guest had no cjo or car for anything but Arabella Porcy, roumd, the other guest hind no rye or car for anything but Arabeclia Percy,
nud tho soft murmuring tones of her voic, though ho nildressed her but scliom, nud with that ticmulous nervousneess with which a mau

 Frec-and-ense hospitality of the humble Wiisons. The night was fuy-
a clear, lustrous, starlit nizht-and the tmo dinuer guests, not caring
 tugether in silence, until Mr. Waltou hazarded some remark on the un-
satisfacturs nepect of the entertainment.
"Yes," said Mr. Kuight, "it is not a comfortable place to git to. They are an unhappy fanily. I pity those young peopie from my licnat. Those
girls and boys have no hine, in fact. Their mother is onc of those braincess benutics, who alwnys strive their husbonds to reckleasnces nad




 Welll I know that's not whint juit menn, but 'tis true for all that. I
don't believe in beauty. Frum what I have sen of the world, benutythat is, mere perfection of form null colour-is not exactly what I would pick out of Pandora's box. It is rery flecting-fluxa atque fragilis:-
and the drnwbacks with which it is nssociated becoue nggrarnted by its Аопр pinou qч his friend to ncecompany hiun min firther ; nud the Intter had scarcely
turued bark, when lie clicounterel Crptain Black.
nagr. was draggel amny ly two very ill-matched nnd untrimmed horses. ras ammicwliat taken ninck at the disenvery that, whit scemed at a distince a respectablo mansion, presentel, to a nearer vicw, many deplorable have effectually arrestel. It reminidel him of the treacheronasiy-tempting
hapira
on the shores of the Deal Ser, or of those oljects of human aplicition that jeckon numl lure us on, until wenry, spent, and disenchantel, we pauso on the sjot from Thich they had smiled their
fuscination, and find all the glory melted awny into grey twilight On lis arrival he rans shown into a spacious and much faled drawing
Ont roon, the livercly excitemenent which his presence scemed to have awakened in the cestablishyunct, the rumning to and fro along the cchoing corridors, and
in the next room, anfortunately, the tones of peevish and mutually in the next room, anfortunately, the tones of peevish and mutually recrention popularly called "nnggling." With the actund words of tho dialogue he wns not, of conrse, cuifica, because in such trials of grin, tless perfection of the performance, next to the selection of tho most groundicss in the sofrcst accents. He wns, nccordingly, not enlightened na to the npocial sulject of debanto ; untir at length, a mascuine roice, no dion you nsk lime, then $\psi^{\prime \prime}$ which scemed to closo the conversantion, for tho next nooncut the door was opened, and Mrs. Percy sailcd gracefully and
mjicsticalls into tho roonn, slightity fushied in conplexion, carcefuly mado mpin an creniug cosstume a littlo olisoleto in faslion, but rather decollectic, nud still exhibiviting some apprecinble tracis of a beauty thatt nust at one timo linve becn the next thing to irresistite. Sho wass followed by tho

 Dut unw he was actunly startled. It was something eo ottcrly different rom nil his past expericnce. It wan not so much the long goldon hair,
 howed through aill thesc, nis expression which ho could ouly define as converying a tone of pensivo andncss. At that moment, courtess, of coursc, restricted lim to a passing glance, nnd lios nttention was called
away to Mr. Percy, who hinbbled into the room, the miserablo wreck of what lad onco bece a handsone nann. Then the two young men nholo fanily, Mr. Walton admitted to hinmself that they possessed among them moro personal beauty than he had ever scen elsewhere
in the same number of persons. He felt also, by some nysterions in tho same number of persons. He felt also, by some nysterious good or cril, by that girl who sat there as unconscious and indifferent



Xuking the Best of Ih.

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号 "Horc, nor," mide the Cnythin, slooving asilio one of the henvy flags, Taking the clergyman by tho hand, ho then led him durna some atepas,
 ancient buitiding. Puasing a notizent, while bo bilitited a tapor, ho held

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 listrant; mul, during the evening and night procoling, nudd anl tho ently Sandling, of nill grailes of respectavility, from phactonas nnil gigg down






 aud mako the heart n weil un almust to sulfontion, weero nill coinpleteen.


IH
 condever, he was most promptly obeged, for crerybody was only to
anxious to leave andion Wilson was immedintely drngged out of the dock, almost before




 height, when the appearance of Captain Black, though it added to the


 involved him in so much danger mul disgrace.
"You th do no such foolistit thing, Roviu,"
"You "ll do no such foolishl thing, Robiu," snid the Ciptain ; "it is
enough for you to bo acquitcd, aud that everybuly knuws you are iunocent. Tho guilty will bo discovered without your hely. Timu is the best of all detectives."
Wilson was silent nt ouce. The Captnin then songht out tho old man,
and requesced the possession of the smanl pocket kuife, which was readily surtendered, mhd lastly, maide a siuilar and equally succecsful request of the laudady, respecting tino franc piece. And haring thus possessed bimself of those two inportant items of cridence, for the supposed purpose
of preventing any further active hostilities, recomanueuded all gresent to forget the whole affuir as soou as possible, and went away.
The excitements of that memorable day, however, were not got over, for in about half-an-hour afterwards, when the visiturs were beginning to disperse, the Captain rushed. back into the house, bearing the appa-
rently lifcless budy of a young wounn, which, as well as himeifer, seewed to have come that moment out of the water. When she was laid before the fire, and the room cleared, with the help of Mrs. Potts and her assistants, aud under the Captain's directions, the usual restoratives wero
applicd, and after many alternutions of hope and despair, wero eventually
 long hysterical convulsive subs, after which she stared wildly nbout her,
and asked where she was. When told that she was snfe, nud nuoug and akked where she was. When told that she was snfe, nind anoong
friends, and that she would be carefully and kindly trcated, she said they were all very good, but that she could not fed thankful for her preser-
vation. She had no wish to live longer. She had intended to destroy
 (To be contixned.)

## Making the Best of It.

foumil a minall bowie-knif, which tho prisoner neknowledged to be his proplerty. Ils fouud no monery on the prisouner, or in the roon where ho
arrested lim, except a very small sun in sixpences. This evidence wna confirmed in every particular ry Tramp himsolf; and the prisoncrio frionds
scemed th hivve taken lenve of thoir last hope, when Mr. Knialt rose to scemed to hinve taken lenve of thicir last hope, when Mrr. Kniont ose
address the court it was not his intention, he saiu, to resort to any
 deeline being guided eren by his learned friend. That course, in the present instance, would be to bring forward such evidence ns would, he
 for that reanon, nmong the rest, that he had no frar of the result. returned home that night and retired to rest before ten occlock, a full hour and hulf before the assault. Had never known him to leavo tho houso in the courso of the night after going to bed. Could not swear
that he had not dune so on that particular night; was tuloralily certnin, that he hand not done so on that particinar night; was everanty
howecre, that he had not Had not scen his son since he was nrrestel,
 remarkable nt that time. Heard his dogs barking that pight. Came
down stairs to his son's room, nal found the window looking out on the garden, orpun; supposed he forgot to slut it. Found a amall poekect-knifo in the room, the next day, which did not belong to his son. Could not
tell how it canne thore. Supposed he did not steal it. Was told it did
not heleng to tho pedlar, either. Shark's Mand. Recollected the night of the assault, when Tramp was brought in rounded. On the second evening after that, sho recevivec,
among tho silver paid in at tho bar, a French coin; it was a franc piece. She took it for a shilling, and did not notice the difference till next day. It wns identiiced by Tranp, as part of the sum of which ho had
robbed. Could not say from whom she received it. Certaiuly not from Wilson, for he was not there.

Mr. Knight then procecded, very delitherately, to take the evidenco to
pieces. pieces. Ho urged the manifest inconsistency of believing that the sut
person who had socutiously and siccessfully put the moncy out of sight- wranting, just for argument's sake, that he hail taken it-would
leare a watch stolen at the same time loose in his pocket. He reminded leare a watch stolen at tho same time lose in his pocket. He reminded
his hearers also of the impossibility of his having ever hhd tho frane piece in his possession, and insinuated that the renal culprit, to whom tho of the dogs. Ho laid those inferences before them, as men of common sense, without any rhetorical embellishments, and then left the manter in
their hands. their hands.
The last The last hint administered by Mr. Knight seemed to have decided the
case ; for, as the judge was preparing to sum up, the foreman of the jury case ; for, as the judge was preparing to sum up, the forcman of the
stood forwarl and said it was unnecessary for his lordship to take any trouble; nad in answer to the usunl question, the verdict of "not guilty"
was receivel with a storm of applause, which all the cforts of tho much
making the best of tr:
UR REACK, UNION, AND GOOD.WILL
 in this history, since thio conclusion of the proccering ethapter, more



 Wero now so far from tuking fight nt his appronch thant they used















Who is the Gool Sumaritan t



 cluminus ho has arrival ne. Wo dooult not but on Mr. Nrisoris returu himsolf to the oubljeet : ne tho quystion in with hien ouc of tho serious $n$






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 The magen thmotheld of perfection-

anvinuwws doon yill si ouma









 taik long and Litt: -ly cunough to make ones blood boil, or ouves heart
 marrisd life has l . in ene bings wurring whine of umuanngeablo pecisish-





 conmen gen:lemar hindluse, to gire you a scoumnlle warning. You





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Witi all the dexitity of a man who fect ho was in the hiauds of a


 cai yonr defiance like a man." it may ke, madam," relliel the Captain, very gently, "that compllion is unaccesesry; but if hic refuses, I nssure you that he shall be "I am rewly, Lucy, to marrs you," said tho young man, adrancing
tovarls her, and taking his placs beside her ; "I uever meant to wrong roo" "Tis outragere Dr Perce! 'tis monstrous! 'tis a vilo conspiracs and I will defeat it $r^{\prime}$ exclaimed lis mother, sweeping out of the room, sand banging the door behind her.
" all right, so far," continuel the Captain, "but I have somecthing to explain, for I wish to satisfy evergone concerned, if possible. This lady, in care of an humble and faithful person by their parents, who were then learing this country for India, ninl who made provision for their main-
tenaoce during their absence, which they expected would bo short. Their tename during their absence, which they expected would bo short. Their
motire for, that amrangement is unknown; but, unfortunntely, both porents diel in $n$ ferm monthe nfur their arrival. Their agent nt home,
 Were liidity profectell br the mronns to whom they were entrusted, until
ite circtus:
 At lenght, and rers reeently, sullir papers, which quito nccidentantly fell
 and foilered up until we ascer.inned all the particulars. One of the
most impront items of this infurmation is the fant that these young
ladies are entitled to nin inheritance of some ten thousand pounds which we bare secured for them." As tho Cnptain was just uttering this last

"The elder sister," ho contimurer, "is now Mrs. Robert Wilson; and
that family richly descrese that family richly descrre their fond firtune, for they berriculled hor
when she was deserted by all othrre. She nlso lins had some reason, and Ther busband still more, to complhain of Mr. Elmard Percy's attentious; as

 altered, that. I certainly-that is, -forgire me, my den"-adranciug
torard Lucy and kissing lier nfifectiunately. I could not, of course, havo known whin sou were ; wish son every happiness,
"What in the meaning of this ${ }^{4}$ " said Mr. Percy, raising his head from his hands, and looking round stupidly on the facees, until at last he fixed here, George, and bring my son a wife with a fortune ${ }^{\text {" }}$ "
"Storge "Strange as it may secm to youl", auswered the other, "that is the

## Naking the Beat of It.

him that, drenning an ho dill alout one woonan, and thant woman un-
 or a yelluw tulip; that "tho world was all beforo him where to chonse"; nud that, clscricre, he womild nurcly find heanty and perfuno ellough-
love for tho heart and nymunthy for the mind. Tho next day, nbout ono

 made his nppenrance, fcllowed by Mrs. Fercy and their cllest son-Who
hoth recognised the clergyman courteously-he sank helplcasly into
 "George Percy!
 tro men of vearly the same nge-"utter no such name ns that to mo of my nome. You hnve blighted it with so much insult and dishonour, that I can never stoop to take it up. Let it bo furgothon, lest it should
servo as a bridge across tho gulf that you have dug betwcen us I And now to business." "
"Captain Dlack," sid Mrs. Pecres, with an expression of malignant
scorn crossing her lips, "nllow mo to nsk what busincss you can possibly have with my hushanil and my son ?"
"That, madnam," he nuswcrel, "is precisely what I am going to explnin. What hins alrenly pnased betwece you nurl ma, Chm licics Percy,", ho continucal, "is past. It in rather with your son than you that I have
now to ical. I linve brought my friend Mr, Waiton with me, becnuse,
 or the nssunlt nud robbery for which Iobert Wisoon was tried and narrowly necquittel." "
"Ny non T" exclaimed his mother. " hero is a portion of the ovidence
 the window, to disguiso yourself in his clothes for tho purpose of cansting suspicion upon hime. Mean and cowardly ns your father, you used the money which you scizch, and left a wurthless watch to complote, ns you
supposed, tho cridenco against him. Stany I can prove that, ton. This franc picce I myself proid to the pedlar that very day, nad the nightit after, you paid it away at the Shark's Head. Now, Charles Percy, it is in my
power to mako your son a convict," he continued, whilo they all listened with downcnst eger, not daring even to look round upon ench otheris
faces, - but what is now pnssing in this room shall never be spaten faces, - " bat what is now passing in this room shanll never bee spoken
outside that door, if the conditions which I dictate are fulfilled. I am rather more gonerous than yon would be, if our positions were reversed.
Here is a young lady whom ho has decply and cruclly wrongel for having


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## Making lle Beat of 1 t .










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##  <br> A Fairy Talc.

BY J. REDDING TARE.

The Fairies Mensconscia and Prudenza were on their way to pay their respects to the Fairy Hardesia, who was expiring at the deplorably early age (for a fairy) of acarcely two thousand sears. Some accident in the arrangements made at her birth had resulted in this premature dissolution-literally dissolution, for, as all the world knows, when at last a fairy does go, she dissolves into thin air. It aeems that if a fairy dies in the odour of an even temper, she dissolves into healthy breezes and freshening winds, while if she departs in a condition of fury, she joins the ignoble army of ague fogs and marsh mists, preferably taking up her residence in the Roman Campagna, and there maliciously killing mere human mortals by the thousand.

The Fairy Prudenza is always the first to prepare and start to pay her final respects to an expiring fairy-mortal, and as Mensconscia is her elder cousin, she generally stirs about this upright creature when the court of Oberon and Titania (these two are now frightfully old themselves) are about to go into necessary mourning. Neither fairy was attractive by her dress, and indeed their costumes were not calculated or trained to throw dust in the eyes of the passers-by; as giving an idea of great wealth which they did not possess. Mensconscia never has been rich, except in happiness, and the bestowing of the same. Prudenza, on the contrary, has always been well off, but she has never devoted her fairy life to the acquisition of wealth.
The two fairies were travelling, with great precaution, upon two steady white mules. Mensconscia, with that rectitude of hers, sat bolt upright in the saddle, and observed calmly before her. Prudenza, on the contrary, looked about a good deal, and kept at least one eye more or less upon everything.
"Bless me," said Prudenza suddenly, "you have lost a shoe!"
"I shall walk upright and straight forward, gossip, nevertheless," said Mensconscia
"I mean that your mule has lost a shoe."
"You are wrong, Prudenze-the mule had nothing to do with it. The shoe has lost itsell."
"Anyhow, the shoe is gone, and you must have enother, or your mule will fall lame, and then, perhaps, we shall not reach our sister's vanishment in time. Tut, tut $!$ Why we cannot have our usual privilege of going anywhere in next to no time, when it in a question of a fairy's dispersion. I do not know! Shoe you must have."
"Do you not think it is necessary in the first place to find a farrier 9 "
At thin moment the ring of iron upon anvil struck the ears of the two fairies, and Prudenza cried, "Thank Oberon-here is a shoer !"

The most miserable dog of a dog over seen came out from the forge to meet them, his tail trailing dolefully, and his head down like a detected thief with a scalding conscience.
"Hol emith !" shouts Prudenza.
The slow ping of the hammer halted, and out there came the dolefullest blacksmith ever beheld.
"Bless me," said Prudenza, "this man is a completo kill-joy."
"What in your name ?" asked Mensconscia.
"Miserrimo," said the man in a sad voice, looking about bim-" generally called for short, Misery ; and this is my poor dog Jack Poverty. Where Poverty is you wont find Misery far away, my mistresses. We stick to each other, we do, and we are the only friends we have in the world."

The dog almost wagged his poor stump of a tail. But he thought worse of it, and once more he hid that appendage.
"I thought blacksmiths were rather jolly fellows than otherwise-I imagined that the world spoilt them !" urged Mensconscia.
"The world has not spoilt me," aaid Misery. "Perhaps I am out of it too muck."
"Does jour dog snap i" asked Prudenza.
"He very rarely has anything to snap at. But I have known him to admire a bone. You don't look very rich yourselves, you two!" said the blacksmith in a pitying voice, for somehow the miserable are always ready to pity their equals.
"We have enough, anyhow, to pay for a new shoe," said Prudenza, who generally did most of the talking when she and Mensconscia were travelling together-the last-named fairy having such an unhappy knack of speaking out in plain language that the world in general did not like it,
"Allow me to help you out of your saddles," said the lean blacksmith.
"Poor man," whispered Prudenza to her companion. "His ribs felt like a gridiron as he lifted mo down."
"Something must be done for him," whispered Mensconscia.
So the two fairies marched into the smithy and sat them down upon a remarkably hard plank, which was the bed Miserrimo and Poverty shared together, and the smith prepared to shoe the mule.
${ }^{6}$ Why does your honest dog lick your hands, Misery ?" asked Mensconscia.
"Because he is an honest dog, I suppose," said the blacksmith.
Poverty now came and laid his muzzle upon Mensconscia's knee, and gazed up into her face with-oh 1 such a woeful expression.
"Bless the dog," said the Fairy Prudenza. "He looks up like a Christian !"
"More so than many promising Christians I have met," said Mensconscia.
"Hus-8-s-sh !" whispert d Prudenza, "there is another of your stupidly, traightforward remarks. Really, if I were not so often near you to pull you up, there is no knowing what would become of you !"
"I always do speak my mind l"
"You do, indeed," replied Prudenza ruefully, and caressing the dog, who very rarely, allowed' these attentions on the part of his master's customers.
"Done," auddenly said Miserrimo, as though accepting a wager, but really referring to the new shoe.
"How much do I owe you $l^{\prime \prime}$ asked Mensconscia, with a start.
"Nothing," said the snith.
"Nothing "
"Nothing!"
"Ho ! ho I no wonder there is never a bone for your dog, Jack Poverty, if that is the price you charge for your work ; take care, honest MLisery, you may be only vain, while you think you are kind and good. He who gives his work a way, rhen he can justly claim a fair price for it, is more a fool, perhaps, than an honest man !"
"Hush, hush, sister," said Prudenza, in quite a tone of irritation, "you are so fatally outspoken. My good man"-this to Misery-"we are not much to look at I If you want show you must call upon our cousins Scintilla and Grandiosa. Iut though we travel in this plain way, we do not go footbare. Grandiosa, But can afford to pay for our shoes, and even our mules. So, pray tell us, What is an honest price for your work ?"

Mreanwhile Meusconscia had said to herself, "Now, here in a good fellow
who is so poor that he can afford to be generous. How few there are of his kind. Upon the word of an upright and conscientious fairy, he muat be rewarded."
So thereupon turning to the honest blacksmith (who, having sat down to wipe away the perspiration on his forehead found Poverty's head in his lap in a moment), Mensconscia said-
"We are more important than we seem, my good man!"
"Are you Y" said Misery, bluntly; "then jou are very different from most of the world's folk, for they generally appear of far more importance than they really are!"
"Wo are fairies on our travels," said she.
"My dear sir," added Prudenza, "allow me to prcsent you to the Fairy Mensconcia, the guardian of truth end plain-speaking !"
Honest Misery had found his feet very suddenly upon hearing of the fine company inside his smithy. But as he had nothing to be afraid of he did not thake in his shoes, or rather he would not have done so had he possessed this much understanding. As a fact, he went through the world barefoot. In truth, he found the use of his tongue in a moment.
"Madam," said he, "if you hare any regard for your poor neck go not into the next town, for they hate plain-speaking, while they look upon fibbing as somsthing next door to daily bread.
"Ha !" aays Mensconscia, "many an honest loaf has a bad neighbour. Allow me to present my dear sister, and court cousin, the Fairy Prudenza She is of great help to me. She saves me from many a scrape by throwing in a good wori for me when I have said what it seems is a bad one for myself.",
"I am very glad to know jou," said Prudenza. "Accept this hint from me-always take a fair price for straight work, or when your customer comes a second time and finds he has to pay after being let off scot free on the first occasion, he will never oblige you with a third visit. Yet another suggestion. Think twice 'ere you open your mouth once, and three times out of four shut it again, without an observation."
"I am sure, my ladies," said Misery, his face lighting up for a moment with 2 wan smile, "I am very proud to have the honour of meeting your ladyships, and I hope whenever you are passing this way. if ever you do, that you will just give me and Jack Poverty here a smile apiece."
"And is that all you ask for!" said Mensconscia, with a gentie smile.
"Faith," says the simple smith, "all I want is work."
"All you should want is to be paid for it."
"Well well," continued the Fairy Mensconscia, who had that power of bestowing gifts which was denied to the Fairy Prudenza, "I am determined that you shall be rewarded. I grant you any three wishes that you may utter. Speak!"
"Now," whispered Prudenza, going up to the blacksmith, "do think before you speak, and speak with care. If I were you, the first thing I would ask for would be a neat pension."
"Three wishes, hey ?" asked Misery, not in the least flustered, good honest man.
"Pension," whispered Prudenza.
But good Misery began to laugh the laugh of an honest man.
"First I wish," said he, "that whoever sits in my old wooden chair thers in the corner, may not be able to get out of it again without my permission."
"So," said Mensconscia. "What is your second wish?"
"Pension, pension," whispered Prudenza, pulling the smith's leather apron. "There is pothing nicer than a well-conditioned pension."
"Do leave me alone, your ladyship," said the smith, who hated to be bothered when he was thinking out a thought.

A moment, and again he indulged in a thoroughly hearty laugh, and observed, -
"For my second wish, my lady, I desire that all those who climb into my fine old walnut tree may stop there until I allow them to come down again."
"So," said Mensconscia gravely, "and what is your third wish i"
"Pray, pray do not forget the la sting value of a neat pension," whispered the Fairy Prudenza. "A pension is wways so good a thing to fall back upon."
"Hare I no arms, Madam Prue !" asks the blacksmith. "Let the pension go hang. See, your ladgship" (this to Mensconscia), "here is my old leather purse, as empty of money as a miser's heart of love and charity. For my third wish I desire that whatever goes into the purse shall never get out again while I choose that it shall remain."
"So I promise," said the Fairy Mensconscia, "and now perhaps you will be good enough to hoist me carefully upon that mule of mine. You are the drollest man in the whole world; but I am acquainted with a good many princes who, if they knew all, would thoroughly envy you, and be very happy to change hearta with you, Miserrimo."
"The gods forbid," cried the smith. "At least let me call my own heart my own-it is about all I've got."
"Good night," said the fairies, "and better luck."
"Good night," sang the smith. "But pray Jour highness" (tbis to Mensconscia), "peak not out jour mind in the very next town, or of a surety they will pelt you !"
.Then he added to the humbler fairy, "Madame Prudenza, if your friend opens her mouth too wide, gallop the mules. Even a fairy could not gallop a mule and have a word to say at the same time. Once more, ladies, a fair good night.'
(To be continued.)
Cemresplyuflice.
With a view of assisting in the interchange of ideas, we throw our columns open to the membera for the free discusaion of matters affecting the interests of the society, so long as such discussion is conducted with good feeling, reserving to ourselves the right of refusing the insertion of any communication we may deem to be of an objectionable character. It must, however, be understood that by inserting such correspondence we are not of necessity pledged to the adoption of the writer's ideas. The name of the writer must be given us in full, not for publication unless requested, but in proof of good faith.-ED. O. F. M.]

THOUGHTS OF MANY MEMBERS. To the Editor of the Oddfcllows' Monthly Magazine.
Srr,-If the letter which appeared in the May number of the Magarine afford any clue to the feeling throughout the Order, it is apparent that the time has arrived for some reform, and that some steps ought to be taken to make the office of N.G. a more honourable position than it is under the present conditions by which it is attained. I cannot understand why any objection can be raised, especially by experienced officers, to my suggestion that all the minor offices should be passed before a member can be qualifed for such a responsible position. Of course I do not mean by this that he should fill the offices of both right and left hand supporter of each chair before he becomes eligible, but I do mean that he should fill one for each, and this after he has passed the offices of guardian, warden, and conductor. This would ensure practical experience. Let us look at the question sensibly, and not senti-

##  A Fairy Tale.

BT J. REDDING WARE.
Sous months passed, and Misery was no richer than he had been, when all the world suddenly appeared to desert the road which passed by his door, and never a sound was heard on the anvil. His coal had run out, thieves had stolen his horseshoes and his hammer, while his bellows ripped themselves up in an unprecedented manner, and the chimney tumbled in on the forge, leaving a great " 0 " in the ceiling.
So as Misery sat astride on his anvil (even that was mysteriously notched), and as ho divided his last bit of black bread with shivering Jack Poverty-for the first time since the visits of the two fairies he regretted his three wishes, and sincerely repented his rejection of the Fairy Prudenza's suggestion touching a neat pension.

Gradually Misery's eyes wanciered to an old rope which was awinging from - most convenient rafter, high up in the forge
"There would be quite enough rope for us both," he said, looking at what remained of the two of them, and running his hands over his own bony arms.
It was at this point that there came a very sharp rap at the door-an nncivil rap, in fact. But the knocker at least waited for permission to enter. Not the knocker on the door, but the one at it.
"You can come in," said the easy-going blacksmith, without in any way disarranging himself.
Up flew the latch, and in came a huge humpback and a little aged man. They were in partnership-that is to say, tho little man had a large hump.
"Humph! You appear to be rather a bit down in your poor mouth," said the new arrival grimiy.
"Not many a bit has been in my mouth, or down my throat for some time past-that's for jou, whoever jou are ! Know that I was rich, and now I am poor. Anything the matter !'
For the visitor suddenly knotted himself, while his ugly face became as wrinkled as a winter apple on the wane.
"Nothing, nothing," said the visitor. "It is only my way of making merry. You will pardon mo making merry. It is too much of a joke-you, rich I why you never had enough to buy the lease of a pig-stye."
"But I had as much as I wanted," aid Misery, "and no man can be rìcher than content."
"Pooh 1 As far as that goes, I can make you as rich as the sea is deep," said the crooked visitor, who limped dreadfully when he took a step.
" Upon my word, I should like to tasto riches and see what is their flavour. Pray, are you a fairy! I had two of the sort here some time ago. You don't look much like one, to be sure f"
"Don't talk nonsense," said the visitor, turning to quite a pale parchment tint. "I hate that kind of joke. No, no. I'm a djin !"
"Are jou, indeed-it is not a taking name; and what is a djin !"
"I keep the treasures of the earth, and you can have what you want-on one simple condition."
"What is your simple condition?"
"You must become mine at the end of ten jears-you, and all that is yours."
"Dog included?"
"Yes, and then Misery and Porerty will be off the faca of the earth for ever."
"Done," said the smith. "Whither shall we direct ourselves at the end of ten years."
"I'll make a call here."
"You"ll find me at home."
"When you want money open an old leather purse you have. You will find it fairly full. Good night."
"Good night-mind the mounting stone at the corner. It is bad in the dark to moet with it."
"Thanks."
Eut Misery never dreamed of quitting the smithy. He had as much money as ho wanted-and that was not much. He drank, ate, sang, day and night, and then began again next morning. Meanwhile he shoed any borse at the price of exactly nothing, and was perhaps the most popular man in the district-al ways excepting with the other blacksmiths.
All the world (of course excepting those blacksmiths) now found Misery a capital fellow. Dut, alas! ten years soon pass, and one remarkably fine morning the hump and the djin made their appearance, and claimed the end of the bargain.
"Pray sit down in my old cbair," said the blacksmith, when he had shown the djin into the smithy. "You must be fatigued-you have come such a long way to reach up here. No doubt, too, you would like a little refreshing nourishment. I hare a auperior ham in cuta and the beer is strong enough to keep up the ralle of Jericho."
"Sir, you are vastly polite," said the djin. "I will avail myself of four offer, and sit down. Doubtless you hare perceived that I go a little limp."
"Yes, sou do hobble, Here is the chair."
"Thank you ; and now for your refreshment."
Thereupon Misery wenl to his forgc, and very quickly brought a heavy bar of iron to a white heat; then turning with this gleaming wand, he said to the djin-
"Business before pleasuro-pray let us square accounts $!$ "
Atd thereupon ho fell upon the djin and beat him dreadfully, so that from being merely black, he became black and blue.
"This is exceedingly bad manners," said the djin, trying to get out of the chair, whence, according to the first of Misery's three wishes granted him by the Fairy Mensconscia, he was unable to move.
"I am completely nailed," said the djin. "Let me go."
"I prefer to let go myself," said Misery, still describing with his ircn bar curves which came to an end on tho djin's body and limbs.
"You have no breeding whatever," said the djin.
Mreanwhile the dog, Jack Poverty, barked himself pretty well off his fur poor fuet.
"Let me go !"
The amith worked harder.
" "Let me go, and I'll grant jou an extra !"
"Well, come-that's civil. Ten years though, and on exactly the same terms as upon the last occasion when I had the honour of a visit from you."
"Done," said the djin.
"So am I," said the smith, dropping the iron.
"D.sne, and done for," obserred the djin, making off, and rubling himsele all over droadfully as he started.
Misery's joy began again, and went on. But, alas, when you are happy, ten years are but a fow jumps, and it seemed the proverbiul "next to no time" when
upon mnother remarkably fine morning, quite a host of djinlets or djins of a uninor condition made their appearance with a warrant of attorney from the master-djin for the immediate delivery of the goods once more become due

For oue moment the good soul thought himself lost. But Misery must necessarily be full of contrivances, and he thought of the second wish. The first was now of no rulue, for jou can scarcely ask twenty gentlemen to be seated in one chair.
Again, with all the goodwill in the world, no twenty gentlemen could. So Nisery suid :-
"I am sorry your principal is absent. Is he not well!"
"He suffers from frequent twothache," said he who appeared to be quite the leading foreman. "We have not much time to sparo-will you kindly be packing!"
"You must want a little rest after your long journey. My walnut tree is in full bearing. Will you have a crack with mo i"
"Fou are vastly civil, I prutest," said the former, making a high shouldered. bow. "Boys"-thin to the djinkins. "Up you swarm!"
This thes did, vers easily, and they had their crack. But, as you know, when thes wanted to come down again, it was a horse of quite another colour. The Fairy Measconscia had granted, as a second wish, thut he who went up into the walnut tree could never leave it again without the permission of the blacksmith himself.
Misery explained the state of things to the conclave, who examined grimly each the expression of his neighbour's countenance.
"I see the night is coming on," aaid Misery. "These October evenings are given to being chilly, and I am afraid you are hnbituated to warmish quarters, but I assure you I will not hand up even a scrup of matting."
They stood it until three o'clock in the morning, when a smart shower, of ahudderingls penetrative chilliness, compelled the djin's representative, delegated with full power, to offer Misery another ten jears jollification under the same terms as those previously granted.
Avother ten years fled with frightful rapidity, and on another fine morning, even wore remarkable than the other two, the djin and all his army of workers arrived, with the view of taking possession of Miserimo and Poverty at last

This frightful visitation did for a moment completely overcome Mieery. But remembering the third wish accorded by the Fuiry Meneconscia, nor forgetting that even supernaturnl personages are not superior to ranity, ho determined to make a fight for freedom.
"Good day, Majesty," said Misery. "I'm concluded now. You know the chair, and your people are not ignorant of my walnut tree. I am prepared, and I trust you will find me a willing subject. But I have one regret. I hnve alwars thought you the very cleverest of auper-mortals. But, bless me-you are not $/$ The princes of the air are far more adroit."
"Indeed,"," says the djin. "I am not aware that ny cousins are my conquerors."
"Yes," replied Misery. "For instance, the Erl-King who, as you know, is certniniy your equal, to say the least one can for him, actually coiled himself up in my old leather purse the other day when he called-and blew down hulf the smithy."
"Not get into your old purse!" said the djin. "Mry good fellow-I could do that lot on my head. Hold open!"

In he went, the mith pulied the string, and the djin was once more completely conquered.
"You are not clever enough to get out," said the smith.
He was right again.

[^180]A tale of the city. lo

> In a well-known street in the City if Innion them atmol, many

 sign of care audorned its afyulid front-nll pint had vaninhed


 A long dark counter, lined with drawrors, cxtempled foum a wind wor




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## 1 Goond Word for Winter.




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 market tho rovivod bijoutorio of his fashiounblo vut emburraseed

 whilit its case lay still fondly treasurod in her ladyolip's repertoiro It is a matter worth more than a passing thought, what curious
relations frequently exist in lif relations frequently exist in life bet. © Bome, whose outward
cirumetances would seem to sesy that no close link could probably
connoect
What an ugly story tho old domestic might tell of her mistress't Sormer yearsl Could not the obscure and drudging lawyer render
e queer account of his noble client 1 Docs not ther honely physician lock up in his medicino-chest the most dreaded socret of his most eourlly pationt Cit Could he not, any day, fush with shame
the cheeks, and flood with bitter tears the eyes, that perlhaps forget

 this despised old man, many a fair name has been asaved by his
timely gold; many a fair bosom has heaved benently a gparkling My? being how hith, with all all ihis cone the to pass 1 How had such a
 his conversation delighted their fastidious fancies as much as his
 begiuning and the ond of that blightod lifto. Who tho that now savi



 coald buy." silks and purplo velvets, the fols.


 ing had a rakish look because lis hair curl', and pronounced his
 garb and habits; be not eo unjust as to think of him simply soiled, Save in the colour of his hair, he was the despairing lover

he was moulded, doubless, in the human form divine, but slighh, indeed, were the traces of divinity that marked his outward man. dust he had returned before his time. Sharpston was a joweller, money-lender, and miser. Little
token of his trade appeared in the narrow, half-glazed window of his darkencd shop; bat in the many strong drawers of the
blackened counter looked sparkling jewels and glittering gold, bacugh to have purchased half the street. Strange were the ways and customs of the man: he sold jewels, he bought jewels, and he
took jowels in pledge; and in this musty den received daily visitors
 purchaso-and no morchant in the city could tempt their longing oyes with rarer nnd more costiy goms; for, mind you, ho had long and some, as I have hinted, came to pawn the jewels they were
loath to part with irredcemably. The old joweller was secret, trustworthy, and liberal in his dealings, no doubt from nolicy; bo that when a certain lady experianced
a temporary and ridiculous difficulty in opening the heart and a temporary and ridicnlous difficulty in apening the heart and
pocket of her husband, or whun her ladyahip had lost at cards more
 quictly siipped into her pocket her set of diamonds, or those matchless emeralds, --her wedding gift, or, if she nooded but a trifing
lonn, perhaps tho chain thut $h e$ had brought hor from Constantinople the summer she gave him her likeness; then she drove off
to the well-known house, boforo whose very door the carriage


 There every drawer had, from time to time, been ladon with these
 spurious worth-ail his treasures must be rich and real. let them out for a whole season-for a month, a week, a single night. exorbitant ; but then the water of his diamonds was so pure, his gold so fine, and the fashion of his trinkets so graceful and rare,
that a buckish youth of moderate moang, who did not care to be



 comely and winning than Richards own ennin, , Mistress Dorochy of a sprightiness chat was akin to wit; and if, as was asii, abo Fas somewhat vain, given to coquetry, and abundantly sansibie of Certain it is, that, however unpopular she may have been with her Certain
own sex, she had countless adorcra of of the other ; even Richard
Sharpston, so cool to the blandishments of foreign dames, vas Sharpston, so cool to the blandishments of foreign dames, vas oring to his handsome person, or luis polished manners, or his

 rivals, many of whom soon aftervards joined the opposito party, and
pronounced- Dorothy hearless and vain, with very slender pro-
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 Eari of Storrville was pre-cininently skiful, tho nost accomplished
ad most proflignte of those busy idlera. Ho hind known young
 London. Dick introduced him to his uncle, who felt no small
entisfaction in entertaining his nepheve's fashionalle acquaintance.
 Pichard, proud of his sveetheart, and proud of his friend,


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 uucle - 'Tichly toll-we frasting now ; no wellining uext woek;


 fond nind uudivinhod alfiectivn, and when she was gono there was
nothing more to caro firr.



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 r. w.

## $84 \quad 4$ Tale of tho Cily.


 Riidhant, it was hor duty to tolerato aml, if pmesiblo improvo him. Theroforo during evening waikn, or country rilcos, or in the pleseant
partice on Uhe river, Doruthy mad tho gay young Iord worr constant eothpanions, whilo Riclurd found himssif eitlier hooked to some of
the party who aimply bored him, or aupporting the otope of his feeblo relative Aud whon, ance a long oumgner't dapy during


 At loungli tho matter cano to auch a prese, liat Richard becamo
 for ho hal heot his hecrts on lis nephovir, happiness, and on tho
union of tho two gmant liouses of Sharpston and Cathcart Hints rumonstrancers aud lectures wore in viin ; tho Indy was too apoiled
and too wifful to bo scollod into bcing pood $\Delta t$ last therp ows a



 Letwcent them it wns ectlod that Iord Storrvillo sllowuld nover entor




 ITho weddinyb-duy drewn ncar-ono week moro would bring it In
 few daya beforo tho marriage. Tho old man was hinppy as a child

LE quound dxinnd sy.L
be all but helpless. Her branth eame from her in short gnsps, as if her

 Was dul orb, beecant which it pecred through the narrow opening with
the
that lack-lustre expression so peculinr to sic, on which tho band of

 Geco fret aloove the enrth, surrounded by a narrow thntched roof, doullo he height of the walls, and so "o'erpatched" by ill-practised hadas, as, spenk "variety of wretcheincess" Within, the naked strai-for there was no cciling-wns covered with cobwebs, so beary with dust as to bo nearly detached from the thatch; ; and those strong incrusentions engea-
dered in damp localities, whero fonl and fetid exhnlations continually
 suffering poverty, been the gradual accumulation of ycars. From thein
there wns perpetually disengaged a pungent vapour, which considerally impeded tho respiration, and imparted so nauscours a smell that it was a
 this miserable halitation. A small window-inserted when tho shed wns
converted into what the proprictor, with the plausiblo disiretion of a u! 'xadud ч order to mupply the pancs of ghass which the rule winds, or the ruder
imps of tho neighouring haulet, had wantonly broken. This aperture called a window, was abont troo fect spuare, nud had becen originally
 of its erection. There was scarrecty spice enoung for the adnisssion of
fresh air-thus, the atmosphere within was at all times stagunnt and



 with $n$ tatered rug. Across this wns laid a long onkon staff, with
which tho nged ereature used nightly to scaro the rats, when they invaled her frequently slecpless pillow. These verncious crantures wero the only compnuions of her nightly solitude; ; and she wns obliged to
suspend from one of the cross-venms that surpooted the reof, her sinall modicum of ineal, in orler to securo it from their nocturnal depro-
 clothes nud maintenance. She had no other resources ; and yet, so yooted struggling with tho severect privations, contriving to live on this pittance,
 entirely of the leaves of tea which had been twice infusced - oneceby
unistress of one of the few families which had servants in the neighour-

## TVIINNA UJLINVI dHL

Asowa the country poor there is no object which nppeals so tonchingly



 gorgcous pinnactre and tonerzt the elorice of which she is unablo to





 Ifountain, Friendless and forlorn, she iives unpitied and dirins nngecretetold.

 with the necumulating wight of their own cares, and these too frequently
 parcent ; they hear not hice sighis; they wituress not her lamentrations.








 term of my residence in her ncighthourthowl; ; nul, though my means wro


Tho ohject of my so limited bounty was in her oiebticth year, so
curval by nge and infrrmity as to be almont lwarfel, and so focolo na to
c:
po.coukg axlnod ${ }^{2} / L$


 Srnewd with a doublo row of brond yellow tecth; his large ungainly

 Fas a cenarso sinister grin upon his fenturen as he enterm, which showed lis where I mas sented -upon an inverted pail, there bcing no chair
 niscrable patient lay, anil snid, in a quick, harsh tone :- "Well, mother,
low nre joul", nt the samo time groaping her wrist, nnd counting her
 click. Tho pmor sufferer oprened her languid cyes, nnd nfter she had with
dificulty clenred her thmat of the phlegm through which her breath sуяu! \{
 axill
 olinre the strength of ynung ines." Ihope I nin't impatient. Nan
 "Are, this is nill very well. Oll wives' fables, hey. But ye're bettera gnod deal bettre than I expected to find yo ; for I thought to havo nud prepare for a becfatenk to-morrow. Mennwhile, get some grucl, and take it for your supper, with $n$ tanlespoon-fiull of whiskey in it. There's
nothing like ver warron whiskey for a weak stomach -hery" And, with a nuppressed lonish, ho tnpped lis exhausted patient on tho sloulder with "Lurd helf, ine, xir," sxellamed tho poor reman with ne extrancdinary Fint. "how ron I to get. whiskcy, or even gruct, with ovio-and-ninepenco "Get it 1 "n't smu nok sour frienil there? People don't rixit sick

 bitery leare this, mainn, to men." Then turning to the dying widow, ho




The term of her pilgrimage wns now rapilly verging towarids its cluse. The solemn warning of denth had been alreculy siven, in her dlaily prostration. - I
 upon thio harra, comifurticss bed-oun which sho hand sciurcely, for yearr, hice wretcleell lifo. She had beon antancked, tho day previoust, with
chulern, and it had left her so feelie that she could with dilliculty movo chulern, and it had left her so feeble that she could with dilliculty movo
her nllnost fleahlcss limbs. As mon, however, ns I entered sho mnungrel
 welcomed my presenco with her usual benediction of "Covi bloss youn",
began to repent one of Watts's hymng, with a pothos nud forvour thint segan to repeat one of Watts's hymns, with a pathos nud fervour thant
surprisel ma. Tho tenrs trickled copioushly down her grimed nuld ehannelled clicerks, as she poured out this humllin effusion, nud talked of God's
mercy in a languid whisper, but with visible cannestacss os if mercy in a languid whisper, but with visible carnestness, ns if sloc hal
been one of the most distinguished of his crentures. "What a blessing"
 mercy han turned iny herrt to himself; for I am laippy, cvell in the inidst for this worldy y misery. It has bectl, however, no worll of misery to me ; ${ }^{\text {math }}$ is straitened, it is, nerertheless, the Clristinn's path
for - und that is $n$ narrow ono to the parndiso of sinints. My body ling sulfered; but having no scre upun my conscience, iny miud has bect
gencrally at rest. I cun dio withont repining, though I 'rcjuico with Duemiling." "this melaucholy intervie tho prish doctor efter This During this melancholy interviow the parish doctor entered. This
wnes his first visit since her terriblo nttrck on the previous day. Ho was a rough, courra innn, with a dim, obtuso conutennnec, which inuli-
cated insensibility if heart so obviously, that yout instinctively shrnnk
 "flifo ; but tho chwwigh thirn of his framo and his vilgar freenlom of
"uldersss at unce showed that he was no longer muintful of the "rock
$\rightarrow$ presented a ireadful spectacle. IIer features had becn so disfigured by
rats that she was achreely recogninable. I repaired to the houre of the doctor, the parioh MLD. fire hin had purchased a liplosan eonewhere, and
those letters foliowed lis unuic on a large metal plato upon the door of

"Dend, sir! twixt ye and mysecf, the parish. woint gricre. These old fulks are a serions incumbrance, then, has been removed. The sufferer is now a
 quarters when they 're stuffel into the churchyard the parson telis toutily are ve taxed for the humbug, ech ractice of the denth, and "Perlaps, sir, you 'll apprise the parish authoritics of the denth, and
how attentive youl, thir stipendiary Yhysician, were to the djing woman's yon." So saying, I left the "regular practitioner" to his reicctione,
The breath was scarcely out of the poor wilow's bodly when the parish authoritices sent a cofinin manker to mensure it for the grave. coffin, and screwed down. Opon the cover the iuitials of the wers, nanne wers rudely traced in black paint, with her age, seventy-nine yenrs,
in figures that would have disgraced the junior form of a national schiool. The unfecling manner in which the parish undertaker put the bolly into its homely roceptacle, prepnratory to its consignment to its kindred dust, diggusted mo beyond inensure. He turned it into the rongh elm case as
if it hind been a lump of carrion. I expostulated. He looked unutterablo indignation, but did not venture to express it, performing, howerer, the remainder of his sad office mith more decency and apparent respect for
the dead. When he luald filished he quitted the cottngo without
uttering $a$ word. clad in the badges of their seceial bondage, with a amall cart drawn by a miserable lean ass, which hand pastured on the counnon, to convec the
curpace to the churchyard. The thin shangy beast was scancoly better than a living skeletol.. The coffin was plared in this rule hearse, and
drairn to the kunthern entraure of the lurial ground, followed by half a

 language. Mennwliile the parish clerk, who united in his owu
person the two office of clerk and sexton, had engagel four men from a field hard ly to quit their nork for half an humr, with consent of their
 unnble to look after themselvea. Yer in charge of the parish, snd yo better attendance. Till ye do, je must come to me, or ye II got no physic. A doctor of medicine can't affurd, on parish allowance, to run after evcry
crone that hns tho cholic, and no noncy to cure it 1 say ye must come to ma, or ye 'll see no doclor-mind that. I have come once, and as it is, shan't get a clear shilling for my visit Timo is money, and I must
contrivo to bring profit out of it in the shape of pounds, hillings, and pence. Take jer gruel, mind; and don't forget the whiiskey-if y can
 lon't neglect to see me to-morrow at my housc, and bring a anttle with
yo for the physic, or if ye han't a bottle, bring a bladicr."
Retrenting once more from the ecene of misery, I hicard him "whistling as ho went, man is cever better than an insennible one. Alas! for the poor, when they are unfortunato enongh to be committed
to "tho tender mercics" of tho parish ductor I How often do they fall victims to the neclect of this merceinary functionary 1 I bclievo thousants in this so-cniled happy country dic yearly of shecr negicct, God forlid
I should pinco nll prisis npothecarics in the amme entegory, but from $m y$ own knowlolge, I have no hesitation in snying thnt there are some among
them wlo are anything but an honour to the Clristian name. Ihem who arce anything but an honorr to the chirisian mane. given me tho bencfit of his nhsence; and prouring some brandy into it, which I thought preferable to whiskey, notwithstanding the p,iysician's
fint, presented it to the nnhnppy suffercr, who wns now groaning with ngong. She could only tako a few spoonfuls. I wns indiced to stan the longer in this homely dwelling, ns the dying woman had no regular attenlant. $A$ neighbour camo in occasionaliy to sec how sho went on, but
having herself a large family to look after, hho could not devote mucch of her time to the requirements of the aged ridow. Tho invalid having rallied a little after taking the brandy, I quitted her to make one or two in this wretched neighbourhood. There wero severna old wonen in a condition searcely legs helpless, with no better allowanco from the parish; and it was with the greatest difficulty that they emild supply the neers.
siticn of nature from their misernble pittanco. Disenac is so clueely allied to extreme prverty, that denth frequently cuts off the sufferer without the nssuagement which is commonly found nt this solemn hour of visitation, and thus many dio unpitich and unknown, int to a few of the hercavel
community by whom they are anrroundel, under the sad severitics of
their visitation.
Before the following morning the porr willuw walk a comper. She

## Chrismas.

 The remainder of the service, after the body had beed con orer with anhecoming rapidity; and after a fcw weeks, tho harrowing to a ymratbetic hearth bad leen tramplol fat by the urchins of the earth.
christmas.
Though the blosenoma and fowers bave for enfings their bowern,
$\begin{aligned} & \text { The minutes may apeedl like the ficet battlo steed, } \\ & \text { Bult they tmmple not down all the sprot where they run : }\end{aligned}$
$\begin{aligned} & \text { Then shout for the plenenurs of Chritmaa-shout ! } \\ & \text { Which in love with the heart makes the pyor man a lord; }\end{aligned}$
$\begin{aligned} & \text { If lie hath no gold chalice to push wine about, } \\ & \text { Yet the juice of the brown apple ghaddens lis loard. }\end{aligned}$

[^181]The l'auyrr Fwnerul.
curth. No soxnct hat tho funcral procession, if it might bo so termed, rocka, unbleached, tatterexl, and filthy, their facees, handa and fect isgrimel with clay, tonk tho corpsee froin the cant in which it had been deposited, and placel it upon their shouldcra, when a ragged pail was precculed by the minister, towards the main entrauce of tho church. Not
a single mourner followed. The cliidren, howerer, somewhnt awed by the ecclesiastical habit of the clergyman, became silent, but immediatcly No relative or friend fullowed the decersed. The coffin-maker preceded the four bearerr, and they, with the parson and clerk, formed
the whole of the procession-the two old men from the Union having retired from the churchyard gate as anon as they lind resigned their cemuncration of a shilling a hend, to bear it to its final destination. When the coffin wns placed upon the tresscls, the four brily labourcrs
ant beside it, squalid with mud, listening with listless apathy the
 imposing service for the dead. It was in truth a pitiablo sight I wna present, and never did I witness anything so appallingly sorrowful.
Nothing could be more cold than the manner in which the scrvice was delivered. The indifference of every one engnged wass painfully manifest. congregation-scemed to have caught the feeling of the clergyman, bcing alike insonsiblo to the solemn act they were severally assembled in Gods
house to perform. The former, with their soiled faces and tattered attire, looked more like the grim ministers of death, than sober rustics tnking
part in the obsequies of a poor neighlibour. They wero scated elose part in the obsequies of a poor neighlibour. Thery were sented close by
tho coffin, and ono of than rested his arms on
pit, gaping round upon the pillnrs and ceiling of the eacred cdificc, as if it were the first time he had
been within the walls of a church. The clerk gnbbled over that heantiful psen wa melcted for this- solcmn occasion, with such indecent haste, llat
no noe could mistake how litte interest ho took in what no noe could mistake how little interest ho took in what was going on.
In due time the corpse was agnin phaced upon the shoulders of tho bearers and borne to the grave, beside which it was lind on two mgged
roper, that appeared ns if they had beco similarly employed for sovoral ropres, that appearred ns in they had beco similarly employed for sevoral
past genernions. The grave was nearly half filled with water, which
was baled out by the clerk before the clergyman could proced was the soil above, that a plank had been fixed on both sides with staves
was


 A portion of this was removed with much difficulty, nud after consider-
nule delny, the boily was hurricdly dropped upon the remnining mass. Even then the apper part of the coffin reached to within half-a- yard of
the surface. The confusion and busy indifferenco of the parties engaged luring the whole scenc, made so painful an impression, that my heant ocoiled with indignation and diagust. The unsecmly inpatience of tho


\&I
Chriatmas at Lixhops Langton.









 Once in tho Tenemento, Mr. Bariow male his way to Mra. Perry's rooun; but

 the frienle were most likely together. Hia rap at that door proreal more
antisfictory.
er
Come in, eome in, wherer yon are!" cried Mrr. Mramly.

 जlin © $\dot{\alpha}$












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 A bright cheery Chriatmas morning -all the bells in Bishope Langton Parish
Church ringing in the "good tiding ", morrily, nnd echoing belle, Irom sundry




 and exhaustion. A girl of twelve or co, with pretty biue eyes and Gaxen hair
just like $a$ doll, had made her way to the Mission Room to try and obtain help,

 home that was months back. Since then the mother had been laid up in hospital for weeks-on her why South.
"But how came she to be lost in the snow here?"
"Seems they have some friends or relatives she thought of hunting up-the they're not tramps at all, quite a better tind, you may tell by their clothes and way of taliking. They'd come by train from Leicester, and then the took a
ancy to finding her way on foot, poor soul, thinking ahe'd only a few yarls to
 "Oh aye, sure enough, think she must have lived here once, for you see she
tniked of a many that'dead and gone i but well learn more about her if yoave a mind to go and hear their carola in the chapel, this arternoon, aid hals
promise to step in and see how she be getting along, and we mostly walke
together, don't ni?" said Mra. Bramly, with some excitement in her voice, together, don't ne ?" said Mra. Bramly, with some excitement in her voice,
and a gick, anxious look at her old frient, which, however, wan quite host
apon the object of it hoes, on to the charch door-mat. The old conple stood for a few momente, commenting to each other in loud
whispers upon the beanty of the decorations. "It do Loonk pretty, that it do," -the rerdict pronounced by one and echoed by the other-and then, as the cantom had acsigned them, immediatoly bolow the palpit. It must be owned upon the sorvice that Christman morning, hearty nal joyona though it wat



 Thin Christman morning formed so exception to the rale, slehoegh orvaing


vojoudt sdoyela jv swuzar.ay 0
A very loud rap at the door, rosulting in a scream from tho atartlod narrator, nnd the entrance of Austin Burnabic, brought Mra. Perry'a reminiecenoes to an
abrnte ennclusion.
" haatily. "No, I think not, if I can persuade Mre. Bramily to go back with me, and
stay the night nt St. Alban's Mission House , Mru. Anstoll named Mrs. Johneson, but she seemi bad with her leg, and Mrs. Bramly is, I know, a
 "Your aister and Mra. Ansted are both in open robellion, and quarrelling
with each other aloo-resolved npon thing the night to look alter some one wo bave found in the cricket field, not quite unowed up, but she had lost-her with Mra. Burton's help wo have knocked up accommodation for her in the vacant ronms. There's a delicate looking girl with her-they're not ordinary
tramps; but the poor thing is too exhausted and in too much pain to nay Mrs. Bramly, who was áccustomed to such sudden summonses, now profeased horself ready to accompany Austin Burnaby; but this arrankennent was her and fetching his sister home; and "Ill call at Dr. Lyun's, perhape he
had better see the patient." "I met Lester, and sent him; but I would really rather go back with you,
ans there may be comething wanted from the Rectory," urged Austin. "I'll eend some one if there is, it ie not very late yet, but certninly past
 home eoon. Margaret will be worrying dreadfuly, I expect, unless any newe "Your nister dispatched one of the Burtonn for some things, which she thought Mra. Barlow could supply, and explained what detained her. Mra. Perry in bewilderment and eolitule. Her thoughts had travelled back of completoly to the past, that, as she alterward expressed it, she filt "all much nursing in the winter, and it imight have been bad for her, the night being co cold. As it was, ohe atirred up the fire to a more cheerful blase,
drew her rocking-cbair closer to it, and began to try and take in the fect: asrrated, and to convider what a mercy the poor thing, with a baby and all, Mra. Bramly, and ahe did hope the old lady'eliver wouldn't be the worst, bat
then, to be sure, ehe wasn't a going afoot. Mr. Perry and Mra. Bramly, in common with other elderly oocupsants of the Tenernenta, were much giren to
discomsing their revpective ailmente; each lintened to the other with wonderfal patience, at detaifochive ormer illnemea would be given, with the grestest
aninuteness ae to varying symptorns and change of remedy. "Ah well, I


 silready been stated, enosed her often "to drop with her 'art," When,
bowever, Mra, Bramig gave ber vorion of the doctor's opiniom of her cuee to
the " visitiog lady." the latter found it a dificult metter to preverre her gravity.


Chriotnaes at Bishope Langlons 17








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 Mr. Rariort,





















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 nity of inguring it the Rov. Elignr Barion had any perzonn ofiection
0.0 gations nre lispersing to their homes from tho churches in lhishops Langton,


 girl who calle her granimother. "Cleerer with her books" from 2 e enind end


 own to go to. Mrs. Walter Perty is a handsome matronly woman, wiuence over
of energy and decision of character. She exercises a wholcsome inflen by them.











 spunde pon

## 18 Chriolmas at Bishops Lamylon.









留, Rut
 "Wetel, fathor, did you think I was never coming hnek? Im sorry to to oso


















## Hethe Sorroll of Iatonour.

BRO. NAMUEL IIUDSON, P.H.C.IR.









 Adriatic, to Ferinndo Po, to the Capo of Hope, and to Quebee. At the



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 When Br. Hulson went to Kettering, leing then nimpt twenty.one yenis
of age, he bound himeelf to merro for two ceais to learn the ant anid my tery


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 being eloctent Clief Ranger. In 1890 ho wan apprinted a Truatce of his Court м1


## "I wish you a hapty nef year!"

"Cons. let us le merry for once; 17 tro long:
曾
 - And thou, my dear brother and friend,

 And 1 winh you a har ry New Year:’"
Yo monn of alliction and griefHanit rarentan are ther, Ire no impit-
Nay the hanid of quick-aming relir! Nepmene all your med memories out:

 And you, my dear frientls, for the nonco,


Corg:ting the cmirjanion nitting guictly benide her. All at once aide mumell
 "Why, wheterer is it, child? What makes you look no bad of a suditen? is it Tes-yen, it is-it's from Walter." "I 'xid feeling an zomethin', out of the comunon were going to happen-
 and the next moment husband and wife, mother and mon were re-anited in $n$ And Walcer leerry kept his word. His hair is white, and ho looke even
whder than he ie, for hind work following upon an intemperate lifo have tolit upon him i bet he ling learned to save, nd having earned good wages with a
theep farmer out in Ahatralin, he hat bruaght hone a conmortable little sum to fill lmek ypon, when times are bmil aml work elack, or illness puts a atop Mra. Anstol, nctive as ever, will hare to nasist the Vicar in finding a nuitallile with nico hiti, gandern rround, junt nition tho town; nit there he miny


 Tis neighthouring parioh. And liring happily with her fnther.in-law, in the old

## THE:




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\begin{aligned}
& \text { The Eneiny Sunday. } 591
\end{aligned}
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دي!
Saylir.

## The Rainy Sunday.

$\stackrel{8}{8}$










 slante



 Thin










393
The Roiny Sunday. 303
 "Whir, I nan jnst Euin I
 ewillogent.
 with his cont onf, aums a lung cloy lijpe in his menth, Mis was a







 Giry ling neconlingly rend n iltaikend necount of one of thuse












 The Euiny Sxulay



















 rilronting in lur crine









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The IRaing Sundry.













 havo ecen hinw ranality they fill lurfirn temptration.














Sacryurto.-With dep regret wo record the death, on Aagast 18, of Bo James Cowlichaw, of the Briton's Reformation Lodge. Hi was born in pe of the Mace Cantle. which castle descended from the Lovetote to the Lion Furnival, and paned liven them to the Talbots, Eerie of Shrewsbury, a sabeoquentis to the Howards, Dukes of Norfolk, in whose family tho lorded of the manor is still rested. Associated with the castle in its later hist and fortunes was the Manor Horse, a summer residence of the Tall situated on the Lark Gill, a commanding eminence overlooking the to of Sheffield, and a rich, diversified, trot of country beyond. The on s add the Manor Horse are for ever identified with the memory of $\mathbf{M}$. Queen of Scots. Here Mary became the en ry of her sex, surpassing most accomplished in the alegance and ficency of her laugasfe, the gr and lordliness of her movements, and the charm of her whole mapper behaviour; for here she spent about fourteen years of her unhappy lis. prienoer within their precincts. It was very near this place that Ja l Cowlichaw was boo tho Cis father was a member. of the Weill yalu Method Society, and all his children are members of the Methodist Society. was also highly esteemed as a lock preacher. He was born and brown up in humble circumstances, and mas apprenticed to forge blades 20 I knives; but had ultimately to formate his trade and rock employment at Manor Colliery. The proprietors were not lonny before they eam in hi l most valuable servant, and they appointed him as overseer of their yard. vise a modest, rusaceremingo mprotentious man, Was highly respected moat warmly appreciation by all the savor people, and ho leaves beblad a little hon of Cowlishaws to carry on the work their respected fetbe gloriously commenced. At tho conclusion of the religious funeral service, Grand Mister of the District (W.. R. Stores) wat prepared to read the $($ fellows' service, but, haring tailed to give the required notice, it cont ne read ; but the Manor singers sang a mot consolatory hymn.

## © by flighbonr.

ADATIED EZ P.P.G.3. COATES, ETOXI GTRATTOLD DESTEYCT.

- Thy neighbour? It is ho whom thou Hast power to aid and bless:
Whore wooing heart. of burning brow. Thy soothing band may press.
Thy neighbour? Pis the fainting poor Those eye with want in dim:
Whom hunger sends from door to door Go thou and comfort him.
Thy neighbour? 'This the weary men Whose years are at their brim:
Bat low with sickness, care, and painGo thou and comfort hie.
Thy neighbour? 'This the heart bereft of overs earthly gem:
Widows and orphan helpless leftGo thou and comfort them.
Thy neighbour? oder toiling clare, Fettered in thought and limb,
Whose hopes are all beyond the graveGo thou and ransom him.

Where'er thou meet'st a human form
Less favonred than thine orn
Remember 'tis thy neighbour born, Thy brother, or thy eon.
Oh I pass not, pass not heedless bj, Parhaps thon canat receem
The breaking heart from misery-
Go ahare thy lot with him.

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Wand̈sworth
Wigan.
Wolverion Sofence \& Art Institato.

GOod and Errm-Good in this world cannot be done without evil. Evil is but the shadow that inscparably accompanies good. Fou may have a world bithout shedow ; but it must be a world without light-e mere dim, trilight world. If jous would deepen the intensity of the light, you must bo content to bring into $\mathbb{C}$. that accompanies it.

## United effonts.

Wuy idly stam, and live alome, My brother, day by day-
Ia there not trork for willing hands Upon the worlifs highway ?
Oh jce ! my goorl and faithful frienil, Theres work for me and you;
And what cou lalkur nut attain, When men are firm and true?
United efforts hailh the ship That pioughs the storny main;
By many hands the decks are mannd, And thus great empls they gain.
United eflorts form tho bridso That gians the rund and stream-
O'er which the pond'rous engine specels Dy giant powor of stonm.
" What need haro I to join the cause ${ }^{7}$ You sometiaces henr men say,
As if there was no place for thens Upon the great highwny;
Yet 'tis but want of carnest thought That prompts them thens to sprank :
Thero's need cf each and crery onc Who nam's adrancentent seck.
The woolsmen of the uhlen times Found need of friendly nil,
When hunger'd and athirst they roamed Jencath the forest shaile;
And though but rudo their thoughts aml ways, Aud oft in feudal strife,
Iy unity they raisel thenselres To social furms of life.
The brare old woodsman loved his clan, And lived not nll alone,
But met in furms of brutherhoorl, Around the altar stono;
And thero the gromedwork firxt was bain, And firat was form'd the plan-
Twas in the mucicut forest mooks l'rogression first began.
And on aud onl, through centurics flerl, Thio work hathe still progressid,
Whilo gencrations wiser gromu, Their happy fate havo blessid.
Then why stanil illy on the road, Ny bruther, lay by dias.
While there is work for willing hands Upon tho workl's highray?

[^182]

Over rustic brilge, through damp morass, The well-known lamluarks $I$, dreaning. l:1:NS,
frartlat down tu yon lombisis dell. Whare thoul itil'st wave 'mid the quiveriugs griss.,

This uroru, liluc-Lell!
Short-lived thy in:atuty, alas! swect llow'r: Was it wrong to pluck thee from thy bu wer

And kindred, who loved thee well, 'l'o beguile, from the passing lomer, Mine. onvo, Bluc-lsill?
In lifting any leart above bartli's strife, To the Land where Death no more is rifi
(Of faileless How'rx thy Hlussolas tell), Nist vainly spenc thy fair young lific.
dly sweet lilue-lyell!
Biltie

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Alak, my Muse: no more thy cluminn Shall be of shacly wonl and atream! One moru 1 souglet the pleasent grove. Where I was wont at will to roveWith bolt and bar, oh, haplees fatel All unknown hand had closed the gate

Along the olld familiar way Fain would ung willing footscepmestray: In rain 1 gaxe with wistful eres, While meenoriva dear aud lright arime, To mock my grief with visioun fair Of dewy mend and wihl fowers rame!
Here liave 1 heard gay wariders sing Their welcome carole to the epring: Here found the first swoet primarese paly, Trrax in thin dear mecluded ralh ${ }^{\text {j }}$ My Mrse its Grat frint atherimes: 11) silent heart to cong amokol?

1 ..oonght once noore, imid rumer 1 , cull the faireat rod sad whitity 3.ntwiuing all with carelew athit T) cheer a jutient sulfareria herif Their brightucas might long homit? P'y sweet rewanl her loving air
"Iiv always thas: iu milent grial? 1 turu away -rarti's jojs hou be III vain for me wilh rom blowif: 1 may uot breathe their awook per With bole anil bar, oh, heplemin: All unknown hand still bolyo ther.

Finger

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Such representations na these prove the jealousy which exists towards Eagland smong the midule classen in Paris. Having travelled much in France, wo have often mact with much of the samo spirit, though, to do Justice to the zational politences, never offensively cxpressed. Perhaps, ance all, this may ariso from a scuse of inferiority in extent of manufactures and commerce, and in speculations, which demand large supplies of floating capital. The extension of commerce and development of the national resources under the present regime may modify tho projudices against England; but time alone can eradicate them. We do not, however, almire the French natiou the less. They are a great and interesting people; inferciting from the geographical position of the country they vecupy, from the recollections of their past history, and from the weight nad influence thef, cxert on the destinies of the civilised world. London and Paris are, by common consent, the two capitals par excellenco-the trin emporiams of all that modern civilisation can prodace. The great mass of our countrymen are sincere well-wishers for the prosperity of . Trance And from the British shores, this wish for the welfare of this great uatiou, and the removal of all remaining prejudice against Eugland, is by jone more fervently breathed than by our humble selves.

## brotilerly hove

Tuis marid would be a world of lore,
If ench one acted as a brother:
Jaloois bitter woeda mould soon be gene,
If men would feel for one nnother.
The gnlden enlf would quickls fall.
Which eaures wo much grief and andness:
While right would uriumph orer might
And fill the earth with jog and gladneas.
This world would be a world of lora,
If mmn were mesaired by the alndard
Of lhat great inctrament-ihe mind:
Too ofl by venith and folly slindered.
slerit would meet its due reward,
While growing hopes would not be stanted
Mian't actione would nat weigh hie worts,
Asd erong with right would be confronted.
This sorld would be a world of loves
If andour gorerned erery action:
If man rould ifmpathize with man,
Inclead of boxing down to factinn.
Lahour woild meet its juse re ward.
Whibe ench to eech wnuld act with kindness;
The asord mould rest beaide the apear,
Forguful of ench ather's blindnese.
This wortd would bea world of hree,
And pence fow through it like a river,
It thas droad enemr, termed war,
Woald mot two xindred nations gever.
Jof. univerral jons, would eroena
The good and wine of erery station,
While golden warlo and famous deeds Would be the glory of our nation.

WAI. HEATON,
Court 459, Luddenden.






There is inn illusion commedorl with tha happinges they pran: $\because$.-sta
 endenvours to nasist and relieve. 'Their reward is simply the es: sombs ness of haring neted in necorrdanes with the sublime refuireser: :a $: 8$ divino duts-a couriction which, if truls entertainml in all its :rex: and maguitude of menning, is suflicient to cmasolo in nery trin!. a- edin
 cretimation, the mest uncuriable and ilespised.

THE SNOWDIOR.
I coate in bright angelic roins array'i, To bloom in sarilen or in worlland's sharle : I cume in Nalure's brighterst, gentlest form, And how mis liand in aither matim ar shorm.

1 comb, an cmiknon of swate Springis return, Aull sing in siletere, Winteres mearly gence. 1 come the lmoriuril gravel walk to genor, Aul in the firth or meatow find a phare.

I come to darek the stalesman's marhle latl. Alike [ hlowm leside then coltage mall; I shed my lustre on the palare gromin,


I come to glittor un the hills green top, And in then sald is sere my silver curp; As prats unum the gerlands fair I shiner, And oft iny unturés said to he dirine.
 In forms I wopl for man that 's pasem nere: And there in mumruing allitmon I grow:


I prench to all, whilst on the erave I $1:$......-

Tur. I! $\because:$. : :

## EOE Sugndroy, fount on an zat

Wexcone lavely fluwer, aweet bix
Bembing duwn thy tiny heod;
Where tha infant form lies sloeping
Oicr the crulle of the dead
furbinger of bumghing haura,
Cune to chuer the drooping heart:
Light the stricken shact of surnow,
Bid wadi plantum whale deluart.
Tell of fruits and llowers mow hidden In the Lemon of the earth:
Siniliug, Lamstiug uto keitug,
'Mid a new creation's Lirth.

Woodline climhing y, the cascment Sonding forth a frigrance suruet
Anil the mack ejul molest daisy. Standiag hembly at its fect

Lily Lonming in the valley: limeldend paxaing thomgh the low



Urcharla grouning "arath their bundess:
Waving fichlon of pohkn crorn:
Notes of npirit-xtirring ausic
Waking up the dewy menn.

Hques of weary hants neviving ;
Fuith, which penetrntes the tomb;
Tolls of sammer homes awlying
And of thowern which ever blume

Of a new creation dawning
When the difal Uheir hwmik shall berak
Borlies ghorifien, inmertnt.
Fona their loug, bug sleep awake.

Grad Manter of the Orier, Bro. J. J. Btocke!1. Pror. G.M. W. EI. Johnsan, Prev. D.G.3L. Joreplı Gemmon. P.P.G.3i. Robert Denrie, C.S. P.P.G.M.'s Rtockr, Palmer, Cock, Tajlor, Dinrosa, snd Bandon, Past Grands George Whyand, Henry Reywh and many others of the Criven and Sir Willian Wayne Lodgen. The fervise was beantifnlly and impreacively read by the Rep. Whliam Jonce, after which D.G.M. J. J. Stockall read with great elarpert the Odifellows' Fuseral Serrich We connot better concinde this chorf socount than sar sa honest mas has now gons to his rest is persomel frimodehip witi Bro. Hetfeld, commencing when in 1851 the Editor was a member of tive Craren Lodre, anil continuons until the time of his death, cables us to endorse all that orr Ero. J. D. has yritten.-ED. O.F.M. ${ }^{\circ}$.

## ODUfellowngity.

> Life is too short to mato oar stey A scene of discord, day by day, $O_{t}$ as tis sometimes ionid, slas! A betticitela! 'twixt elans and cless; No! rathor let lore's golden tether Embrace and bind us all together, And let is then, with beart and roice, Tale couraze, labour, and rejoice; That in our Order may be found 4 neatral, sais, and hallow'd ground Where an mas ease, apart from strifo, The harl, hargh, greting wheels of ife! Apd where as brothers all may stand With kiedly, lorisef, helping band, Aitrong, axited, noble band; 4 band endorid rith bearealy powers, To bless this chequer'd world of ours.

Mar rich, April, $15 s 6$.

 vere cirea by dif. Jotfarson, in a lettor al adrica to his namesabico, Thomas Jefremon smite, in 1235 : 1. Nierer pat off till to-morrow what you cas do todey. 2. Nevcr toruble ofhers for what jou can do jourself. 8. Never geped your money iefore you have it. i. Nerer buy what jou do not want beesase it is cheap. 5. Prida costs us more than hunger, thirst, and cold. \& We never repent of haring taten too litile. 7. Nothing is troublesome that wo do wilionely. 3. Firgre punch pain hate those evils cost us thich wre happened: 2. Take tilings alrajit by thoir smooth handles. 10. Then 2atry, eount tac before jou speck; if rery angzs, count a hundrod.-Anor.

## 2

## Lines to the Zurich Congress.

If courades bravely toiling through the turmoil of the yenrs.
Sies, at last, the encral cause ye sprend in every land appears:
The toibors of the untions, with a grainl necond through all, Uprise to smike oppression down and bid their tyrants fall.

Through immeumerial clarkiness, now the sumbenms burst their was.
The dreary night: dispels, and lo! the dawning of the day:
Ami the glow of fezedom's morning, from the nations evermore, Scatters all the $\varepsilon$. llen shatown and the bitter strifes of yore

Nubarriers shall livide them when the tyrants vain commands
Slaill not ronse the poor to smite the parr, and stain the suniling lands.
The onward sweep of promgese halts not for the groat of earth s
'They may hug their gonds unhereling till thry prish in their mirth.

The patient, deathless Right shall momet her own imperial throne.
And binl her husts of erery elime to march relentieas on, 'Iill want, and woe, sud frund, and hoary shackles of the past Are dend and done and crushed to earth, and men are frie at latst

Tro live the lives that seera ireamel, in harmons sublime, Unknown upon the face of earth since e'er the birth of time, Oh, fair and free the world will be, and glal its harsests then Fior the neighlesparhoond and brotherhood of all the race of une: !
W.S.I.


Criginal very poor print quality

## THE MINE

```
Donu in tre cher. onimen envit
Grivkes af laxgliver and murth.
Mayme conepineof mork.
Mave to the grom of the carth.
TMu which omestoreve of town
poust if low quat lons gome.
Conen wo tornommece tren
Hosey af yuli toe the creme
You whe in mentort and mom
Cu by your Mramde ost mown
Ton by bangoned ancont.
Mmovey Tilulut that ge mom.
Lus in sbe liveret trumem
```



```
Werk thet'i a mopur fula ef min
Proyed to the gode of the mol
Proyme chat ere cmomend grema
Agommenmoident in tenve.
matores in inevit of temos
Pumemer io portray anoryos.
Nope callo ame wolumpe
Only in timose em drameo . . 
Mmoves, ehy shavid it be mof
```




```
Boule Dy the gove af rem moon,
```



```
ANd rearl te ie, rme in tut teod:
```



```
Watlye murk the shomot that yow ledt.
```



```
Wey live a Urumo in Itam
```



```
Ye weewr anm "dim mar to the bucke.
Youg monyess in thapal bu mymom
```



```
ne emid ye bove mx mo yown (rome
```





```
Dman in the ders, mulves mowet.
.moluce el mombler mol minth.
moyomer an amich ol murt,
Hore in the grovi if Itm moth:
Hall how wo torene i= %et
Barre to hrimar oveli mect leod.
score we ma fronme of poim
```



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thoroughly honest fellow, with no nonsense in him and tolerating nono in you, which is a great comfort in the long rum. Ho is not what they call a genial critic; but bring a real man along with you, and you will finl thero is a crnbbol gencrosity about tho old cynic that you rould not exchango for all the creamy concessions of Autumn. "Seasons of mists and mellow fruitfulncss," quotha i That's just it ; Winter soon blows your head clear of figg and makes you soe things as they are; I thank him for it. Tho truth is, between ourselves, I have a very good opinion of tho whole family, who always welcome me without making me fecl ns if I were too much of a poor relation. There ought to be some kind of distance, never so little, you know, to give the true relish. They are as good company, the worst of them, as any I know, and I am not a little nlattered by a condescension from any one of them; but I happen to hold Winter's retainer this time, and, like an honest adrocate, am bound to make as gool a showing as I can for him, even if it cast a few slurs upon the rest of the houschold.

## CIIANGEABLE.

When weary nature sinks to rest,
And ronsy Sul drowns in the west,
And when tho silence of the grave,
liests un the world of cold blue rave;
When dews fall unobservel apnce,
Jike tears bedewing nature's face:
Oh I then 1 feel na if my soul,
Wouht fain dissolvo and join the whole,
And to oblivion float awny,
Where anelancholy holda her sway.
But when the morning Run doth glow,
Ahal nalure waknth bright bolow.
When modext claixien reas than sky,
With tears of glailness in each eyc,
When trisa of penris, and diamonde raro,
llang on each thorn, and havthorn fair,
When with sweet notes on airy wings,
Froin unimpaired throate, tho welkin rings,
Oli I then my soul swift takes her flight,
And blendeth with tho love and light.
But whou the cloud hangs overheni,
Where thunder storms are born and bred,
Or when the lightning cleares the sky,
Or when the whirlwind pasees by,
When cataracts roar, anil sporit, and aplagh,
When all seems one tremendons crash,
To battlo then I'm nerved and honnl,
My focs by millions strew the ground,
It is not 1 , 'tis natnre burns,
I'in poct and warrior all in turns.
T. Wilhuaks,

Court Ywysydarran, No. sss8.

©



```
    And Naturi's free mont fair,
We soughe for bealch and plenevie
    Afor frowe chaily corre.
We turresd sar beckes on laboar.
    Our hande and bonize were froe:
We wrot to dwall rith Leimere
    Benide the Sumanear Bce.
U, theo giddat Leicurs,
    The preciove privill lminares
TTwe choory, waleamp Raisura,
    Benide tive Bummer Sim.
True ploment, rietiage exolling
    Upoe the cub-warnod mend,
With howe all tropsel menerd,
    A.ed losiong thought of hat:
Tw now or rosen at phomury
    in perfect liberty.
Iline sweat do doall will Leivare
    iknide ise Suramer Sea.
15, the blow ind Leisures,
    The anoded, Cod-ment Inisuse
The brivi, at gluriona Leisure.
    Desilie i A Smamer Scm
```

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## Cub 3 ge of coalo.

## Porr, avay with thy golden age,

"Tis a my'd, "tis a shadon, a dream of thine own;
I find inot it! record on chronicled page,
It lives iv thy dream-haunted fancy alone.
No era of ti,pe hath been wholly dart,
Each age hath been blest by some stray beans from heaven,
But none standeth out with soch maiant mark As to warrant the worahip thou often hat given.

Kulny.
diminary rammination was very palnorere idontilicel all of them by properly lind leen foumd in tilleraibe sum of monery in gold, Tr, fron knowing tho nuubers, prk, as well as an instrument hay were susinected of having fulies of neither Gircyling nor meel home, as they had passRe families retiren to rest. On
al, trica, and conrictel, withpo they hal nothing to say in transproration for seven ycars. ale station, and every reçnisite, pelluce themeselves liy their orn condition of frhus. Jiet on the pul arisen willont any expecial in life was the glare null tho fit, which camout ruflice for flawfully imblulic: them. 'Ihery fal soul, mor hempial then enltitamuenl, ly the sad tenchings of dion sonnetimes lend to cril; for sueh ann net conlid heremmitted, firreal to them. lint their minds and phensure was great, and wo limpintion.
Tireyling gnilty, Agnes llecres Wh not realiso such guilt in the de could percerive lic wns rain, er rensoms, if for no othere, sho life with his.
mand girlish ranity haal been it mighth he: she havi luyen less malute in casting: lime orf. Yet pril him, it wns rery dillicult to Hlyy, and she clung as lomen as she flowes. luat the cribencen ngninst fore in her mind; and when tho Was promumucol, mothing could mer. Jlorror at the net, kincero find laxting shame that her hamo flherght of it comaretion with his. fereling, moro dever and forvent Th- hai of chank fuluess that tho hand provipitated horself into the pody hat slownl.
-1gnin?
(ircyling hai not tron the land of his hnuishment mang months, ore ' © henrt and hand of dgnes lieveres were plighted to lleury Nade, whi harl luved her eren when he willelrew before the pretensinns of his showry riral. lout Agnes had now leamed to distinguish Inctwenell show nal worth: and she regariled the sedate pet choerfal aud :unpretenling Slade, in his plain sult of black, with an nliection anil confidence such as the gay-mannered and gaily-clad Greyling had failed to inspire. And many a time, churing the happy and wellxpont days that fullowem, had Agnes enuse io rmmenker the Raing Staday.

## ICA.AN

Or swect and fair ! oh rich and rats : That day so loug agn,
The antumn sumshine everywhere, The heather all aylow,
The furns were clad in eloth of goln, The wiares sang on the shore:
Such suns will shiuc, such waves will sing, For ever, evermore.

Oh fit and few ! rla tried and truc ! The frienis when met that diay,
Fench one the other's kpirit knew; Anil sul in camest play
The hours fleve prist, mitil at last The twilight kisserl the shore;
 For ever, cerminte.'

Oine day nasian. no chand of pain I shandois oier us caxt,
And yet we struse in vain, in vain, To cinjure ul, the prist;
Like, but mulike, the sinu that xlene, The waves that leat the shore,
The words we sidd, the somes we sung", Jiki-unlike-evernuore,

Fior ghosts maseen erelit in luetween, And, when our songes flowel frec,
Siang discorils in an umiertine And marred the harmony:

- The past is ours, nut jours,' they said, - The waves that heat the shome, Though like the same, are not the sime, Oh: never, never more!'

If this mecting wan ton much for him; he foumd how pory weak he was; and he felt, theo, huw ned it was to be blime, and not able tas sec the faco of one whom ho loved no much.
"Forgivo me, my elear old fricul," snid Dick, taking his hanl aflic-tionately-" henceformard I will be a son to yon !"
"Cheer up your old hearte, overy one of yon !" saill he, then, in a stronger voice, send suldrensing them all, "for I can aftorl to be gool to jon, amb, plense dion, I will compensito yon for the tronble and safering which I have occasioned !
$\qquad$

## :

\| Min N.
"To live in hearts we leare lehind is not to die."-Cumplotl.

Dean? No! hon'rt living get-
For, white fond memary luolds thice thus,
And lore we gire nat to the sead
Is thine, thoustill art one of us;
Not dead till we forget.
Living, but far away ;
Distanec lirides ont hearts from theeBut Time shall bring thee here again,
And brighter than all dreams shall be
That one oflnd meeting dar.
Alan! not so thnu'rt dead!
For it was eally dear to me
To think thy spirit miglit be ncar ;
Froin Yarth's restrnining bnuds set frer,
Yet liere, by memory led.
"Sweet could nur lients be known
Nous, by some keener sympathy."
Such my first thonghes when thon wert gone;
Rut soon the fancy ceneed to lu:
We felt thy soul was llown.
Dcall No: thuu'rt Jiving get-
Distant, but we shall neet again, And heart be read by faithful heart,
When love more close? draws her chain
Round hearta for a rer inct.
('AJITAL NNH J.NIINL゙タ.
Lixt: NiYuked at a



 sinted ree welle nord ull:
If evinpactera linhous xtromes.


THownil in oult wolshe nins.


Amily therfiy xisore laid lex.
mave wre oll itom invertyn ery.
In lle day of dil
Blimet mintake and limede mostrunt.

 Ulicrly metrun:
Fiot riken final nisil fued we high.
dowl wer dasues for theit rinopily
Anhed irighe mumer.
Thon. loc whotet w: all beronyt.
Gur jusi want wax dinty wny. call the cam wav oive.
 Fir their grent sucters:
Nope mi Ime an menderm mas:

Mny thep fiad. like ktoxy otd.
Corime thut lay the egge of giold. Aind inay eciutureree britug
Grenter wealia than Ruthehildis bavan
Ur than that of Perxian host. Gr than lodini: king.

C'upital and Jablomer suron Ife uur Minket jomed: Ary thep wen hike ginnt ini What ean lathour don alone:

 Turn mpristiman mill! Her iundf: but bourd ily evell. fint a gridery pill.

Strangixe gift had gen'
 Bul brave entr meat:
Fior hise fomit was metimileat oicor

lu lav tach-lngl, it turned
Till him hunger grew:
Till him hanger prew:


$\therefore$ wed of we mang gee mat far.

fore ewat lilikeat tal lailurury rat. Tis a perbllet xtiom
Wrave it' ir will nent merve a hent.
 Fownd, rats berever lme

(1) What fabruex rim-th meat Thus. is Imberuri fix"

1hus is, Itrue Ihat ('nphiti) III the risk munt run.
1,ike ahife expomed ter all lVimis Grueath lise sua
Ficts the firat traile's ebli and flom
firis the dirat tranes abll and
in tis just and umet.

And tou help with afl their mught Maviers formprite.

In thow ago of miterymix IVe must never lag.
Whes methow enur purt thors firm fivery ualuonis fag:
Nur pirnait for mum his rer.
NTee mo keeuly meuld dewriry. German. Frank. or Rus: :
What liax lieent expment tini far.
Trudis doviulece atnd maitial jar. Int the uituld of ua.

## TTIE BUTCHER'S.

mine Season:]
intions suffered from poverty in the be equalled by that suffered by the London and other large towns. In take we inhale God's fresh air and fon of the meadows, fields, gardens, peasure be forgotten, if we really do who can and will work) stand in need keap hunger from gnaving, and cold fge towns, instead of such beautiful ry many, are obliged to put up with perhaps with a large family, in some ats of which we so often see unmispher of the family. I have been led theing of a visit I paid to a friend in or three years ago. Leaving my Ia the school children had broken up beling a sort of pride and gratification a district where the rising sons and pare types of health and happiness; barn by the snorting railwny engine or three hundred others to our great remarking the salubrity of the day ur brought us to London, where fog the grocers' and other shops were Hetoe, \&ec., and passers-by all seemed fimson berry. Soon after arriving at thed me if I should like to see the p. Not exactly comprehending him, my ignornnce on the subject of the plied, "I should very much like to do oclock, and half-past fire is the time A short time ago," he said, "four - threatened interference of the School rod-a-half later, as many of the boys a kept at home so as for them not to imall purchases of meat." We now kets, and soon arrived at the goal my It was a very busy and populous part I was thronged with customers. The we was a corner one-ia amill street It was now twenty minutes past street there seemed to be boys class known as "Street Arabs." jecketless, and some both. Still they 4 sorts of games. Just at this time ishop two policemen; there was then "that time wns up, the "bobhies"
had come. I mas struck with the huge blocks, jabbles, and trays Inli of small pieces of meat in the shop, apd these I was told were all the "trimmings" of one daj. The policemen planted themselves on each side of the door, and only allomed troo "Arabs" at a time to pass in; each one then purchased his troo, three, four, or sixpennyworth of the small cuttiogs of the meat, making numerous comments on the sort and quality to those who supplied tiem. One urchin at last asted for a good firepeaneth, to which the man serving said, "Tou soung Turk jou, jou mant to rob jour poor mother of a penny, do jou? It is sispenajworth she sent you for." The boy at first did all in his power to conrince the salesman it was only "fivepennesh," bot on getting his ears pulled, he achnowledged his guilty intentinn, by saring, "Please sir, 'is sixpenneti, I wanted a penny for swetio." lumerous other little incidents occurred in the shop, bat the most laughable was to see the urchins kneel down as soon as they had got into the street and take the meat from the basket, handkerchief, or whiterer they bad brought to carry it in, and make an eximaibation by pinching with their dirts fingers to feel if it was "s nice and tender," or to turn it orer half a dozen times in close proximity with their nose to smell if had been "hung too long." They then replaced their purchases, and were soon off to the various allegs, courts, se., where their friends resided, to take home, what I yarned, in some cases, mas to be the Christmas dinner. The policemen, 800, were quickly off on other duty. As we turned to leave, I remarked to my friend, we have no theatres or other places of amosement eren at this festire season, neither have we auy such appearance of porerts as this.

## Court 4217

South Weetern District.
CHARLES MARSHALI. THE -

The man lies darkling in the boy, The Future diuly marks its morn : Flushed with strange ripeness, Fear and Jos, Which fit our later life, are born.
The boy springs brightening in the nan, Frolics, at times, as jears before,
Runs gay and wild, as once he ran, Breathes the free life of days of yore.
IIappy the boy in manlike thought, IIappy the man in boslike play:
Heart unto heart for erer wrought, Uur earliest and our latest das!
Thus dark-bright trees by tropic nouds Mingle the coming. mith the old;
The deep-hned fruitage shades the budsThe bud lies white amid the gold.
3

## UNDER TIIE SNOW.

Swat little loving thing, low, low, low, Down in the coll, cold grave she lics:
Deep 'neath the daisy-knull under the snow, Silenced for crer her carols and cries.

Srect little dimpled chin, how she would dance ! Denr little laughing eyes, how she would smile !
Still are her ting fect now, and her glanco Beans not on me for a weary long while.
"Dend" do my neighbours say? death is a dream; In the mid Mastime she went out to pliy;
Daily I sees her liy mendow and stream, Conch'd 'mid the golden curs, sunny as they.
Weep, my ejes, scalling tears, weep, weej, weep; Heml, my soul; throl, my heart, heavy with pain !
When shall wy tender one wake from her sleep? When shall I gaye on my beanty again?

Surect litlle loving lhing, low, lum, low, Down in the coll, coll grave she lies;
Deep'neath the daisy-knoll nnder the snow, Silenced for ever her carols and crics.

Singular Coincidencrs.- 1 curions and interesting "coincidence has licen communicated by Cnpit. MeKerlic, of we Constgnard, Stranranl. The Edinburgh life-bont, it may be rememberel, was exhitited in Glasgov on the 16 th Dec., 1866. The rife of the Captain of the Strathleven, necompanied by her children, rent to seo tho boat, and' put an offering into the subscription box. Exactly one ycar after, on the 16th jece., 1867, the captain's vessel was wrecked, and on the morning folloring (the 17 th ) he and his crew of 14 men wero providentinlly resened hy the very bont which his wife had contributed to supyort. Another singular coincidence connected with a Lifoloat is reportel in the prpers. The ship Devon was wrecked on the 2:3rd of October, upon a dangerous rock off the Land's End, when all the eren were drowned except a sailor of the name George Davis. The life-lont that rescued lim from a lingering death upou the rock Tas the Sennen llont, and strange to say, it bore the name of "George Davis," in memory of the husland of the lody who presented the boat to the Life-bont Iustitution.

## Appendix II

## Biographies

These biographical details have been obtained from society and trade records and from Census entries. Possibly, many of the members had several and diverse occupations, often simultaneously. Where a piece of work is unsigned, or where there is more than one entry for a particular name in the societies' records, priority has been given to the relevant archivist's advice, or that of the society's historian. In the absence of any biographical details, the extent of the writer's work only is given. The location of each source is given here at the end of each entry, but it needs to be borne in mind that some material is being re-housed or amalgamated into more permanent and comprehensive collections (for instance, the GMB collection is being transferred to the Working Class Movement Library and the archives of the Foresters are in the process of moving). Finally, as mentioned in the Introduction, some of the originals of the poems have been destroyed.

## Key:

Ancient Order of Forester's Heritage Trust, Southampton = AOF
British Library = BL
General Municipal Boilermakers \& Allied Trades Union = GMB.
Manchester Unity Assurance Society, Manchester, (Oddfellows) = MU
Trades Union Congress Library, London = TUC
University of London, Senate House $=$ SH
Working Class Movement Library, Salford = WCML

## Bailey, W.E.: 'Outward \& Homeward Bound', Foresters' Miscellany, (October, 1887) p.206. (AOF).

Buckingham, T.: Member of the Maidstone branch of the Oddfellows. His poem, 'He needs not charity's humbling dole', appeared in a supplement of the Maidstone Lodge of Oddfellows (1879). This two-page supplement was produced alongside the minutes of an extraordinary meeting of the lodge. (MU).

Burn, Peter: Member of the Brampton, Cumberland branch of the Oddfellows. Possibly a textile worker and a clerk. His poem, 'Lilies of the Valley', appeared in the Oddfellows' Magazine, (July, 1879), p.142. (MU).

Cameron, W.N.: Started work as a stable boy, then shoemaker and foreman, possibly in Glasgow and London. A version of his poem, 'Freedom', also appeared in a pamphlet titled, 'Poems: Democratic and Local' (1894), 821.8 F24 Box 15 (WCML). Some of the other poems in this pamphlet were written by W.S. Rennie. The poems discussed here may have been produced for a local friendly society, but this cannot be confirmed.

Coales, Tom: Member of Stony Stratford branch of Oddfellows. His poem, 'Thy Neighbour', appeared in Oddfellows' Magazine, (October, 1886), p.346. (MU).

Coles, Thor:: 'An Elegy (National Insurance is as Dead as Queen Anne)', Oddfellows' Magazine, (October, 1885). (MU).

Eccles, J.H.: An active trade unionist and member of Ancient Order of Foresters, Court 146, Leeds. His poem, 'United Efforts', appeared in the Foresters' Miscellany, (September, 1865), p.469. (AOF).

Effie: A garment worker, her two poems, 'The Blue Bell' and 'Muse' appeared circa 1860/62. Effie may have been a member of a branch of a garment workers' association and a friendly society in Elland, although there appears to be no mention of this friendly society in local records. This poem was either re/produced for her union, or the friendly society, to celebrate a local event, but this cannot be substantiated due to originals lost in flood at archives in 1999/2000.
G.H.: Believed to be a labourer and a travelling carpenter. 'Stitching with maniac haste', circa 1884. (MU).

Heaton, W.M.: Member of the Ancient Order of Foresters, Court 459, Luddenden. His poem, 'Brotherly Love', appeared in the Foresters' Miscellany, (January 1864), p.145. (AOF).

Hinchcliffe, John: He became editor of the Foresters' Miscellany in 1872. 'Keeping a Conscience' appeared in the Foresters' Miscellany, (October, 1864), p.325. (AOF).

Hind. Thomas: Member of Court 2806 of the Foresters. His poem, 'The Snowdrop', appeared in Foresters' Miscellany, (October, 1867), p.92. (AOF).
J.W.N.: His story, ‘Two January Incidents: A Narrative of Facts', appeared in the Foresters' Miscellany, (January, 1879), p.9. (See J.Northey). (AOF).

Kingston, Keedy: He possibly wrote four stories for the Oddfellows' Magazine during the 1880s. 'Not Gilded, But Golden' appeared in Oddfellows' Magazine, (May, 1884), p. 12 (MU). This edition is also available at the British Library, P.P.1060.

Langton, Millicent: A Leicester garment worker, it is thought that she was a member of a trade friendly society, which later formed the basis of two new unions, the Hose, Shirt and Drawers Union, and the Sock and Top Union. By 1870, both unions had total of around 2,800 members in Leicester. Her poem, 'To A Snowdrop, found on an Infant's Grave', appeared in a sheet of the Lancashire tailors' or garment workers' (circa 1866) (GMB). Her poems also appear in Musings of the Workroom, Leicester, (London, 1865). (BL. 11649.bb.26).

Leighton, Robert: An orphan and largely self-taught, he became a travelling manager, possibly in the building trades. His poem, 'Solitude' appeared in Foresters' Miscellany, (April, 1870), p. 76 (AOF).

Mallinson, John: At age 13, he worked as a card setter at a Yorkshire cotton mill. His parents (who also worked in the mill) used some of his wages to finance his continuing education. He rose to become a clerk for the mill owners. He lived and died in the same house at Wyke. He is possibly the author of the article, 'Classical Allusions', which appeared in Foresters Miscellany, (November, 1864), p.210. (AOF).

Marshall, Charles: Born in 1830, he started work full time as a cobbler at the age of 11. He married in 1856 and was both member of the Boot \& Shoe Makers' Union and the Ancient Order of Foresters. He remained a shoemaker for the greater part of his life, although records do suggest that he may later have become a postmaster. He was secretary of the Rogate, Hampshire, branch of the Ancient Order of Foresters, and wrote poetry, short stories and articles for both the friendly society and the trade union for approximately twenty years, from the early 1860s. His poem, 'The Pauper's Funeral' appeared in St Crispin's (The Boot \& Shoemaker) Journal, (January, 1869), while his fiction in the Foresters' Miscellany included: 'The Old Wiltshire Fiddler', (July, 1870), 'Frank Newton: A Sketch of Village Life', (January, 1878) and 'Street Arabs at the Butcher's and 'A Story For The Season', (January, 1878). Although unsigned, it is thought that he is the author of 'Old Misery, The Miser',(January, 1864). (AOF).

Moor, M.: Believed to have been an agricultural worker/labourer. His poem, 'I have heard of freedom, men say', (circa 1898), appeared in pamphlet possibly for Cirencester Friendly Society, a trade friendly society, primarily for agricultural workers. (AOF).

Newman, Sam: His poem, 'Oddfellowship', appeared in the Oddfellows' Magazine, (April, 1886), p.304. (MU).

Norris, W.: 'Bread pills', W. Norris, extract from Journal of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors, reprinted in 1887 by the Oddfellows. (MU).

Northey, J.: A brewer of Launceston, Cornwall and one time secretary of local Ancient Order of Foresters court. His story, 'The Rival Schoolmasters', appeared in Foresters' Miscellany (October, 1867), p.406. It is possible that Northey also wrote as 'J.W.N.' (AOF).

Owgan, Henry: Member of the Ancient Order of Foresters, Owgan gained a LL.D. His story, 'Making the Best of It: or Peace, Union, and Good Will', appeared in Foresters' Miscellany, (January, 1864), p. 9 and his poem, 'January', also appeared in the same publication, p.48. (AOF)

Plummer, John: Believed to be a member of the Oddfellows, he received no education until aged twelve. Both deaf and lame, he was employed as a staymaker, in Kettering, Northamptonshire. His untitled poem, (first line: 'From the glowing forge') appeared on a single sheet of what was possibly, a garment and staymaker's society, (1861). (GMB). He was generally anti-trade unions, but a vocal supporter of fair pay. A collection of his poems was published in: John Plummer, Factory Operative, Songs of Labour, Northamptonshire Rambles, and other poems. (An autobiographical sketch of the author's life.). (London, 1860), $11650 . a \mathrm{a} .21$ (BL). He wrote, 'that my verses are poor, weak and of times devoid of originality, I fully admit, but that does not prevent me from appreciating the utterances of those whose work I may never hope or dare to emulate.' (p.xxii, Plummer,1860).

Rennie, W.S.: Poem, 'Lines to the Zurich Congress'. A version of his poem, also appeared in a pamphlet titled, 'Poems: Democratic and Local' (1894), 821.8 F24 Box 15 (WCML). Some of the other poems in this pamphlet were written by W.S. Rennie. The poems discussed here may have been produced for a local friendly society, but this cannot be confirmed.

Spawton, Edward: Possibly a postal worker, he was a member of the St Albans Lodge of the Oddfellows. His poem, 'Pontypridd', appeared in Oddfellows Magazine, (January 1877), p. 271 (MU) and 'A Lonely Path', in Oddfellows' Magazine (January, 1893) (MU) and in Oddfellows Magazine / Special Collections [Gold] F.W.A.154. (SH)

Stott, B.: A Bookbinder from Manchester, and an active trade unionist, Stott's name is among those who took part in the General Strike of 1842 . His poem, 'Lines to the sacred Memory of John Roach' presumably produced either for the Boiler Makers' Union or Oddfellows, (circa 1880). Stott was possibly a member of Manchester Oddfellows, lodge 5,511. (MU)

Urquhart A. Forbes: "Social Notes", Foresters' Miscellany, (January, 1878), p.167. (AOF).

Ware, J.R..: Active trade unionist, his story, 'How Misery \& Poverty Came to be Always On Earth: A Fairy Tale', appeared in the Oddfellows' Magazine, (June, 1885), p. 241 (MU). This edition is also available at the British Library, P.P. 1060.

Welsh, James: A member of the Oddfellows, he wrote several novels, short stories and volumes of poetry. The fourth son of a mining family, he left school at age eleven and started work in the pits at the age of twelve. An active trade unionist, Welsh eventually became vice-president of the Lanarkshire Miners' County Union and member of the executive of the National Union of Mineworkers. He joined the Independent Labour Party and in the 1922 General Election, was elected to the House of Commons for Coatbridge.. He was defeated in the 1931 General Election. He died on 4th November 1954. His poems, 'Labour' and 'The Miner' are believed to have been written when he was approximately twenty years of age for the Nottingham Oddfellows. (c1900). His poems (although some are slightly different versions to those discussed here) can also be found in Songs of a Miner, (London: Herbert Jenkins Limited, 1917). W81/9808 (BL).

Whitmore, William: Whitmore was a member of the Manchester Oddfellows friendly society. His poem, 'Priest, wilt thou in this ripening age' possibly produced for a Leicester trade friendly society, (1865). GMB 60.606.1/WHI. (GMB). This poem also appear in The Leicester Movement, or, voices from the frame and the factory, the field and the rail. (Leicester: 1850) P.P.1090.d. (BL.).

Williams, E., One time secretary of Ancient Order of Foresters, Lodge 4203, he wrote poetry for both Foresters' Miscellany and National Union of Boot \& Shoe Operatives. A working man from Bristol, his poem, 'Quaking Grass', appeared in Foresters' Miscellany, (October, 1887), p.92. (AOF).

Williams, T.: An active colliery worker and trade unionist, his poem 'Changeable', appeared in Foresters Miscellany, (April 1870), p.309. (AOF).

Williams, Thomas: Member of Ancient Order of Foresters, but too many Williams registered to determine biographical details. His story, 'A Tale of the City', appeared in Foresters' Miscellany, (April, 1870), p.79. (AOF).

Wills, Ruth: The daughter of a soldier, Wills was educated at a dame school until orphaned at age seven. She worked in warehouses from the age of eight as a garment worker, notably in Corah's, Leicester. Her poems, 'Summer Sea' and 'The Age of Gold,' may possibly have been produced for the Circular Framework Knitters' Society (believed to be a garment workers' union society) circa 1861. This society existed in the Midland counties from about 1770. In the 1850s, it became a popular friendly society with rural textile workers throughout the region. It was closely associated with the United Rotary Power Framework Knitters' Society when the latter trade union was under pressure of investigation from the State. Wills' poem, 'The Age of Gold' also appeared in the journal of the Women's Protective and Provident League, the Women's Union Journal, 1876,
p.5., (here her name is mis-printed as 'Willis'). GB 1924 WTUL. (TUC). Wills' poems also appear in Lays of Lowly Life, (London, Leicester, 1861) 11650.a.33. (BL) and Ruth Wills, Writer of Verse, Second Series, (London: 1868), 11650.a.34. (BL.).
Y.S.N.: Believed to be a female sanitary worker, and possibly author of many other stories appearing in publications of the Foresters. Her stories, 'The Pauper Funeral', appeared in the (January, 1864), p. 36 and 'Christmas at Bishops Langton', in Foresters' Miscellany, (January, 1887), p.9. (AOF).

The Oddfellows' Redmile Lodge was in the Belvoir Castle District of Leicestershire. In 1893 it had 138 members and possessed $£ 1893$ in funds. They met at the Old Mill, Redmile every Wednesday evening the secretary for 1893 was Ebenezer Carr.

| Date of admission | Name of person proposed | Age | Trade | Wife | Residence | Name of Proposer | Name of Seconder |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1741867 | James Geeson | 18 | Servant |  | Bottesford | PPGM George Munks | PG Willm. Lovitt |
| 151867 | Freeman? Pickard | 19 | Servant |  | Elton | Peter Pickard Day | VG Lyne Pickering? Furmidge |
| 1061867 | $\begin{array}{\|l} \text { Pryce Llewellyn } \\ \text { Sones } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | 33 | Schoolmaster |  | Bottesford | PPGM Willm. Hall | PG Willm. Wilson |
| 2181867 | Joscph Shelborn | 30 | Labourer |  | Sutton |  |  |
| 291867 | Charles Fdmund Carr | 22 | Servant |  | Holme Pierrepoint | PG John Carr | PPGM Gcorge Munks |
| 2101867 | Willm. Carter | 19 | Butcher |  | Granby | PG George Parr | PPGM George Munks |
| 431868 | Thos. Croft | 25 | Cabinet maker |  | Nottingham | PS Willm. Crof | PG Lyne Pickering? Furmidge |
| 2941868 | Willm. Parr | 19 | Servant |  | Redmile | PPGM Thos. <br> Munks | PW Jo. Part |
| 2941868 | Edward Part | 18 | Servant |  | Redmile | PPGM Thos. Munks | PW Jo. Parr |
| -5 1868 | John Robinson | 21 | Miller |  | Barkestone | PG Willm. Smith | PPGM <br> George <br> Munks |
| - 51868 | Joseph Hand | 21 | Labourer |  | Barkestone | PG Willm. Smith | PPGM George Munks |
| 1061868 | Isaac Newton | 19 | Servant |  | Knipton | PG Jo. Doubleday | PW Jo. Рапт |
| 2461868 | Richd. Rear Kellam | 23 | Blacksmith |  | Barkston | PG Willm. Smith | Bro. Willm. Kellam |
| 321869 | Henry Kitching | 22 | Labourer |  | Barkston | PG Willm. Smith | PPGM <br> Richd. <br> Doubleday |
| 2361869 | William Henry Sharp | 18 | Servant |  | Redmile | PV John Papr ${ }^{\text {2 }}$ | William Roberts |


| Date of admission | Name of person proposed | Age | Trade | Wife | Residence | Name of Proposer | Name Secon |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\text { \|\| } 211891$ | Thomas Pearson | 21 | Outfiter? |  | Grantham | Sec. E Carr | Assistan <br> Sec. D <br> Carlile |
| 1821891 | William Parker | 18 | Labourer |  | Redmile | PG Peter Day | Assistan <br> Sec. D <br> Carlile |
| 141891 | John Bateman Morley | 20 | Servant |  | Redmile | Assistant Sec. <br> D Carlile | VG Can Roberts |
| 1351891 | Frederick Pickard Day | 17 | Servant |  | Redmile | PV John Munks | Assistan <br> Sec. D Carlile |
| 871891 | William Perkins | 17 | Servant |  | Doncaster | PV Carver Roberts | PG R Copley |
| 1151892 | Albert Brewster | 17 | Labourer |  | Barkstone | PV Danie! Carlile | Bro. Rot Copley |
| $\\| \begin{array}{\|ll} 26 & 10 \\ 1892 \end{array}$ | Fdward Bellamy | 36 | Labourer |  | Redmile | PPGM Munks | PV Carv. Roberts |
| 1521893 | Daniel Swain | 30 | Labourer |  | Redmile | PV C Roberts | John Preston |
| 2351894 | Edgar Mackley | 24 | Farmer |  | Redmile | PV C Roberts | PPGM Lovett |
| 2351894 | Joseph Roberts | 19 | Butcher |  | Redmile | PV C Roberts | PPGM Lovett |
| 1861894 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { William } \\ & \text { Jenkinson } \end{aligned}$ | 19 | Blacksmith |  | Barkstone | $\begin{aligned} & \text { PG Daniel S } \\ & \text { Carlile } \end{aligned}$ | PV Carv Roberts |
| 1611895 | Joseph Mark Broadley | 21 | Labourer |  | Redmile | NG James Mackley | PV Carve Roberts |
| 1611895 | Henry Smart | 25 | Labourer |  | Redmile | NG James Mackley | Assistant <br> Sec. J T <br> Carlile |
| 1771895 | Leonard Hall | 22 | Groom |  | Barkstone | PG John Doubleday | NG Kitch |
| 1771895 | George Lavander | 32 | Groom |  | Belvoir | PV Thos. Roberts | PPG Ed. |
| 3171895 | Edward Turner | 23 | Servant |  | Barkstone | PG Doubleday | PV Thos. Roberts |
| 1481895 | Joseph Swain | 35 | Labourer |  | Redmile | Sec. E Carr | Tyler Ed. Bellamy |


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Alan Kidd, State, Society and the Poor in Nineteenth-Century England, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), p. 122.
    ${ }^{2}$ Brian Maidment, The Poorhouse Fugitives: Self-taught Poets and Poetry in Victorian England, 1987, (Manchester: Carcanet, 1992), p. 17.

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ Richard Hoggart, The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of Working-Class Life, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 31.
    ${ }^{2}$ M. Gorsky, 'The Growth and Distribution of English Friendly Societies in the early Nineteenth Century', Economic History Review, 2nd series, 51, (1998), p. 507.
    ${ }^{3}$ Simon Cordery, British Friendly Societies: 1750-1914, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p.1, referring to P.H.J.H. Gosden, The Friendly Societies in England 1815-1875, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961).

[^2]:    ${ }^{4}$ Primarily, Cordery, 2003 and Trygve Tholfsen, Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England, (London: Croom Helm, 1976).
    ${ }^{5}$ Tholfsen, 1976, p. 292.
    ${ }^{6}$ Tholfsen, 1976, p. 293.
    ${ }^{7}$ Tholfsen, 1976, pp.293-294.
    ${ }^{8}$ Cordery, 2003, p. 4 .

[^3]:    ${ }^{9}$ Brian Maidment, The Poorhouse Fugitives: Self-taught Poets and Poetry in Victorian England, 1987, (Manchester: Carcanet, 1992), p. 17.

[^4]:    ${ }^{1}$ Trygve Tholfsen, Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England, (London: Croom Helm, 1976), p. 294.
    ${ }^{2}$ While all of the fiction and the majority of the poetry has been taken from the societies' journals, this thesis also includes a very small number of poems from sources whose precise nature remains obscure, but appear affiliated to the friendly society movement either by the writer's stated membership, or a friendly society's name or emblem on the source.

[^5]:    ${ }^{3}$ Tholfsen was not referring solely to the working men of the friendly society movement, but to all of those who belonged to the many working-class organisations of the period. Tholfsen, 1976, p. 157.
    ${ }^{4}$ Alan Kidd, State, Society and the Poor in Nineteenth-Century England, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), p. 122.

[^6]:    ${ }^{5}$ Kidd, 1999, p. 114.
    ${ }^{6}$ Tholfsen, 1976, pp.158-9.
    ${ }^{7}$ Tholfsen, 1976, p. 156.
    ${ }^{8}$ Tholfsen, 1976, p. 156.
    ${ }^{9}$ Margaret Beetham, 'Healthy Reading', Alan J. Kidd \& K.W. Roberts, eds. City, Class and
    Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Manchester, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), pp.169-170.

[^7]:    ${ }^{10}$ Tholfsen, 1976, p. 247.
    ${ }^{11}$ Tholfsen, 1976, p. 156
    ${ }^{12}$ David Vincent, Literacy \& Popular Culture: England 1750-1914, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). Vincent notes that by the 1890s, less than five per cent of the English population had no literacy skills at all (following the implementation of Forster's Education Act of 1870 and compulsory school attendance as a consequence of Mundella's Act in 1880). However, levels of literacy did vary, with men often being more literate than women in industrial areas.
    ${ }^{13}$ Jonathan Rose, The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes, (New Haven \& London:
    Yale University Press, 2001), p.20.
    ${ }^{14}$ Rose, 2001, p. 12.
    ${ }^{15}$ Rose, 2001, pp.20-21.

[^8]:    ${ }^{16}$ 'Classical Allusions', (unsigned, but possibly by John Mallinson) Foresters Miscellany, (November, 1864), p. 210.
    ${ }^{17}$ 'Classical Allusions', 1864, p. 210.
    ${ }^{18}$ Rose, 2001, p. 13.
    ${ }^{19}$ Vincent, 1989, pp.54-56.

[^9]:    ${ }^{20}$ The Reform Acts left a sizeable proportion of the male electorate unenfranchised. It was not until 1918 that enfranchisement was afforded to some women with the Representation of the People Act, although it took a further ten years for women to achieve equality regarding suffrage. ${ }^{21}$ Dorothy Thompson, The Chartists: Popular Politics in the Industrial Revolution, (New York: Pantheon, 1984), p. 159.
    ${ }^{22}$ Thompson, 1984, p. 159.

[^10]:    ${ }^{23}$ Essentially, the Combination Laws (1780 and 1799) made it illegal for workers to unite against employers in their demands for better pay and working conditions.
    ${ }^{24}$ Simon Cordery, 'Friendly Societies and the Discourse of Respectability in Britain, 1825-1875', Journal of British Studies, 34, (January, 1995), p.48.

[^11]:    ${ }^{25}$ Francis Peek, 'The Workless, The Thriftless and the Worthless', The Contemporary Review, I (1888a), 53, pp.39-52; II (1888b), 53, pp.276-285.
    ${ }^{26}$ S. Barnett, ‘Distress in East London', The Nineteenth Century, 20 (July-December, 1886), p. 680 .
    ${ }^{27}$ Barnett, 1886, p. 680 .

[^12]:    ${ }^{28}$ Gill Davies, 'Foreign Bodies: Images of the London Working Class at the end of the $19{ }^{\text {th }}$ Century', Literature and History, 14. (1988), pp.64-65.
    ${ }^{29}$ Gary Day, Class, (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 133.
    ${ }^{30}$ Day, 2001, p. 133.

[^13]:    ${ }^{31}$ Alan J.Kidd. \& K.W. Roberts, eds. City, Class and Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Manchester, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985). ${ }^{32}$ H. Gustav Klaus, The Rise of Socialist Fiction 1880-1914, (Brighton: Harvester, 1987).
    ${ }^{33}$ Jack Mitchell, 'Tendencies in Narrative Fiction in the London-based Socialist Press of the 1880s and 1890s', H. Gustav Klaus, The Rise of Socialist Fiction 1880-1914. (Brighton: Harvester, 1987).
    ${ }^{34}$ William Christmas, Work, Writing and the Social Order in English Plebeian Poetry, 1730-1830, (New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 2001).
    ${ }^{35}$ Brian Maidment, The Poorhouse Fugitives: Self-taught Poets and Poetry in Victorian England, 1987, (Manchester: Carcanet, 1992).
    ${ }^{36}$ Martha Vicinus, The Industrial Muse: a Study of Nineteenth Century British Working-Class Literature, (London: Croom Helm, 1974), p. 107.

[^14]:    ${ }^{37}$ Vicinus, 1974, p. 107.
    ${ }^{38}$ R. Lithgow, The Life of John Critchley Prince, (Manchester: Abel Heywood, 1880), ch.1, pp.157 document the hostility of Prince's father to his son's intellectual and poetry writing activities.

[^15]:    ${ }^{39}$ Friedrich Engel's letter to Minna Kautsky, (London, November 26, 1885) in John Goode, 'William Morris and the Dream of Revolution', John Lucas ed. Literature and Politics in the Nineteenth Century, (London: Methuen \& Co.Ltd., 1971), pp.224-225.

[^16]:    ${ }^{40}$ Perry Nodelman cautions that in the very process of deconstructing assumptions about a specific group, the use of terms such as 'outcast' or an 'outcast society' may have the effect of reinforcing such assumptions .Perry Nodelman. 'The Urge To Sameness', Children's Literature, 28, (2000), p. 38 .

[^17]:    ${ }^{41}$ Cordery, 1995, pp. 35-58.
    ${ }^{42}$ Tholfsen, 1976, p. 294.
    ${ }^{43}$ For example, many records have been disposed of since their value was not recognised, and the London Blitz destroyed vast collections. Furthermore, the originals of some of the poems discussed in this thesis have been lost since starting this project, due to flooding of the basements that they were stored in.

[^18]:    ${ }^{44}$ The Railway Friendly Societies are an example of these organisations.

[^19]:    ${ }^{45}$ At times, the monthly Foresters' Miscellany was also published in bound format, as The Foresters' Miscellany and Quarterly Review. The differences between the two are in the extent of the contents, rather than in the nature of them.

[^20]:    ${ }^{46}$ David Green, 'The Evolution of Friendly Societies in Britain', Institute for Economic Affairs, 1993, http://www.caledonia.org.uk/friendlies.htm, accessed November 2004. ${ }^{47}$ Green, 1993, p.7.
    ${ }^{48}$ Green, 1993, p.6.

[^21]:    ${ }^{49}$ For example, the archives of the Ancient Order of Foresters have been closed since late 2001due to the reorganisation of the society. Oddfellows' Magazines may be consulted at the Manchester offices of the former society, by prior arrangement and within working hours.

[^22]:    ${ }^{50}$ The British population was first classified according to occupation and industry in 1851 , with occupational sub-categories being adjusted at several points during the remainder of the century. The Registrar General's Annual Report for 1911 (published 1913) included a summary of occupations designed to represent 'social grades.' This became known as the Registrar General's category of Social Classes, and was used for collating and understanding mortality data, as well as other phenomena.

[^23]:    ${ }^{51}$ Geoffrey Crossick, 'From Gentleman to the Residuum: Languages of Social Description in Victorian Britain', 'The Labour Aristocracy and Its Values: A Study of Mid-Victorian Kentish London', Victorian Studies, 19, 3, (March, 1976), pp.306, 310, 320, cited in Day, 2003, p.114.
    ${ }^{52}$ For more detailed analysis of the class composition, see, P.H.J.H. Gosden, The Friendly Societies in England 1815-1875, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), p.74. For sample analysis of membership, see Eric Hopkins, Working-Class Self-Help in NineteenthCentury England: Responses to Industrialization, (London: UCL Press, 1995), p. 34 and ${ }_{55}$ registration document from a branch of the Oddfellows in Appendix III.
    ${ }_{53}$ While a few members attained professional standing, as members, they also shared the collective experiences and expressions of this group.
    ${ }^{54}$ Day, 2001, p. 127.

[^24]:    ${ }^{55}$ Haywood refers to Louis James's view that the rise in fiction for the working man was 'in essence, a political defeat.' Ian Haywood, The Revolution in Popular Literature: Print, Politics, and the People, 1790-1860, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.4.
    ${ }^{56}$ Haywood, 2004, p.4.
    ${ }^{57}$ Haywood, 2004, p. 4.
    ${ }^{58}$ Haywood, 2004, p.4.
    ${ }^{59}$ James Vernon, 'Who's Afraid of the 'Linguistic Turn'? The Politics of Social History and Its Discontents', Social History, 19, (January 1994), 1, p. 93.

[^25]:    ${ }^{60}$ T.R. Burns, 'Strategy, Language and Leadership in the British Working Class Movement 18301875', Ph.D. thesis, (Manchester, 1993).
    ${ }^{61}$ Raymond Williams, Marxism and Literature, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp.147148.
    ${ }^{62}$ Williams, 1977, pp.182-183.
    ${ }^{63}$ Williams, 1977, pp.182-183.

[^26]:    ${ }^{64}$ Charles Marshall, 'Frank Newton: A Sketch of Village Life', Foresters' Miscellany, (January, 1878), p.34. (Appendix I, p.241).
    ${ }^{65}$ Margaret Beetham, A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914, (London: Routledge, 1996,) p.5.

[^27]:    ${ }^{66}$ Cordery, 1995, p. 35.

[^28]:    ${ }^{67}$ Rose, 2001, p. 106.
    ${ }^{68}$ Rose, 2001, p. 106.
    ${ }^{69}$ Rose, 2001, p. 106.

[^29]:    ${ }^{70}$ Donna Landry, The Muses of Resistance: Labouring Class Women's Poetry in Britain, 1739. 1796, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), cited in Rose, 2001, p.18.
    ${ }^{71}$ Rose, Jonathan, 'How Historians Study Reader Response: or What Did Jo Think of Bleak House?', J.O. Jordan \& R.L. Patten, eds. Literature in the Market Place: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing and Reading Practices, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 209.

[^30]:    ${ }^{72}$ K.D. Kingston, 'Not Gilded, But Golden’, Oddfellows' Magazine, (May, 1884), p.12. (Appendix I, p.218).

[^31]:    ${ }^{73}$ For example, this metaphor is discussed in Raymond Williams, The Country and The City 1973, (London: The Hogarth Press, 1985) and Linda Nochlin, Realism, 1971, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991).
    74 'Old Misery, The Miser', Foresters' Miscellany, (January, 1864), p.88. (Appendix I, p.235). Although unsigned, records suggest that this story was written by Charles Marshall and will be attributed to him in this thesis..

[^32]:    ${ }^{75}$ Anne Janowitz, Lyric and Labour in the Romantic Tradition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
    ${ }^{76}$ John Goodridge, gen.ed. Eighteenth Century English Labouring-Class Poets, 1700-1800, (London: Pickering \& Chatto, 2003).
    ${ }^{7}$ Christmas, 2001, p. 62.

[^33]:    ${ }^{3}$ Eric Hopkins, Working-Class Self-Help in Nineteenth-Century England; Responses to Industrialization, (London: UCL Press, 1995), p.2.
    ${ }^{4}$ F.M.L. Thompson, The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 18301900, (London: Fontana, 1988) p. 200.
    ${ }^{5}$ Hopkins, 1995, p. 35.
    ${ }^{6}$ John Foster, Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution. Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Towns, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), pp.96-97.
    ${ }^{7}$ For detailed analysis of the economic stratification of the working classes in London, see Charles Booth, East London: Life and Labour of the People in London, 1889, (London: Macmillan, 1902).

[^34]:    ${ }^{8}$ Alan Kidd, State, Society and the Poor in Nineteenth-Century England, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), p. 135.
    ${ }^{9}$ Kidd, 1999, p. 135.
    ${ }^{10}$ For the Oddfellows, branches were known as lodges, and for the Foresters, they were referred to as courts.
    ${ }^{11}$ Prior to 1863 this was not always the case, when few who attained positions of responsibility or office within the societies, could be described as employees
    ${ }^{12}$ Tholfsen argues that membership comprised mainly of workers from the upper strata of the working classes, but this is not borne out by the Registrar's data of 1880 which shows that members were mainly engaged in manual labour. Kidd argues that 'it may be reasonable to conclude that [membership] extended deep into the social structure of the male working class.' Kidd, 1999, p. 125.
    ${ }^{13}$ For more detailed analysis of class composition, see P.H.J.H. Gosden, The Friendly Societies in England 1815-1875, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), p. 74.

[^35]:    ${ }^{14}$ The majority of surviving records are Rule books, which do not include details of the social activities of the organisations.
    ${ }^{13}$ George Abbott's daughter became the first female Forester on the executive council.

[^36]:    ${ }^{16}$ These circulation figures have been calculated from the societies' available records, rather than from an official distribution source.
    ${ }^{17}$ Kidd, 1999, p. 116.

[^37]:    ${ }^{18}$ Walter G. Cooper, The Ancient Order of Foresters Friendly Society; 150 Years, 1834-1984, (Suffolk: Ancient House Press, 1984), p.4.
    ${ }^{19}$ The Royal Foresters are believed to be the precursors of the Ancient Order of Foresters. The first recorded reference of their meeting is dated $29^{\text {th }}$ October 1745 in Knaresborough, Yorkshire. As with much of the existing friendly society records, the connection between the two societies cannot be confirmed.
    ${ }^{20}$ Cooper, 1984, p.2.
    ${ }^{21}$ A.Fisk and R. Logan, Grandfather was in the Ancient Order of Foresters, (Southampton: Ancient Order of Foresters Heritage Trust, 1994).

[^38]:    ${ }^{22}$ Oddfellows' Magazine, (December, 1884), p. 244.
    ${ }^{23}$ J. Plummer, Oddfellows' sheet (1862).

[^39]:    ${ }^{24}$ Cooper, 1984, p. 21.
    ${ }^{25}$ For a guide to the statistics of membership see: Hopkins, 1995, p. 60.
    ${ }^{26}$ Cordery, 2003, p.1.

[^40]:    ${ }^{27}$ Bob James, 'Problems with UK and US Odd Fellow Literature', http://www.takver.com/history/benefit/ofshis.htm, accessed December 2004.
    ${ }^{28}$ This Act for the Relief and Encouragement of Friendly Societies invoked a system of local registration, and represented the first of the Government's attempts to quantify and regulate the movement

[^41]:    ${ }^{29}$ Simon Cordery, 'Friendly Societies and the Discourse of Respectability in Britain, 1825-1875', Journal of British Studies, 34, (January, 1995), p. 41.
    ${ }^{30}$ Cordery, 1995, pp.41-42.

[^42]:    ${ }^{31}$ Cordery, 2003, p. 54.
    ${ }^{32}$ unsigned letter, Foresters' Miscellany. (October 1864), p.324.
    ${ }^{33}$ Tholfsen, 1976, pp. 288.

[^43]:    ${ }^{34}$ Sam Newman, 'Oddfellowship’, Oddfellows' Magazine, (April, 1886), p.155. (Appendix I, p.304).
    ${ }^{33}$ Cordery, 2003, pp.4-5.

[^44]:    ${ }^{36}$ Cordery, 2003, p. 5.
    ${ }^{37}$ Tholfsen, 1976, p. 288.
    ${ }^{38}$ In 1825 , the Reverend J.T. Becher, patron of the Southwell Friendly Society, testified before a House of Commons Select Committee that 'unregulated [public house] meetings encouraged drunkenness and wasted scarce resources...[and inculcated] habits of idleness and intoxication.' Cordery, 1995, p. 44.
    ${ }^{39}$ The 1828 bill sought to regulate the societies even further but met with protest from over one hundred metropolitan societies petitioning Parliament.

[^45]:    ${ }^{40}$ The effect of the Act was that it took control out of the hands of the smaller, local societies in exchange for giving their funds some legal protection
    ${ }^{41}$ As late as 1878 , the issue of registration was still a topic aired within the friendly society journals. One article exhorts the scale of the movement, outlines the requirements of registration, and notes that the scale of funds held by the registered societies alone was $£ 28,662,888$ : Urquhart A. Forbes, 'Social Notes', Foresters' Miscellany, (January, 1878), p. 167.

[^46]:    ${ }^{42}$ Cordery, 1995, p. 47.
    ${ }^{43}$ this was incorporated in the 1850 Friendly Societies Act
    ${ }^{44}$ Cordery, 1995, p. 47.

[^47]:    ${ }^{45}$ Cooper, 1984 , pp.8-10.
    ${ }^{46}$ This could comprise of scarf, neck ribbon or sash, and carrying the emblem of the order.
    ${ }^{47}$ Cordery, 1995, p. 49.
    ${ }^{48}$ At the beginning of the 1870 s there were just 43,417 members of societies controlled by patrons in England and Wales, out of two million registered friendly society members -see Cordery 1995, p.45.

[^48]:    ${ }^{49}$ PP, 1847-48 (H.L. 648), 16:4 (report) cited in Cordery, 1995, p.51.

[^49]:    ${ }^{50}$ For example, although not agreeing that interpretations of respectability were class-specific, see: F.M.L. Thompson, The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900, (London: Fontana, 1988); Geoffrey Best, Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75, 1971, (London: Fontana, 1982); Peter Bailey, 'Will the Real Bill Banks Please Stand Up?: Towards a Role Analysis of Mid-Victorian Working-Class respectability', Journal of Social History, 12, (Spring, 1979), pp.336-353.
    ${ }^{51}$ Cordery, 1995, p. 37.
    ${ }^{52}$ Cordery, 1995, p. 37.
    ${ }^{53}$ Neville Kirk, The Growth of Working Class Reformism in Mid-Victorian England, (London: Croom Helm, 1985).

[^50]:    ${ }^{54}$ Bailey, 1979, p. 341.
    ${ }^{55}$ Bailey, 1979, p. 341.

[^51]:    ${ }^{1}$ J.W.N., 'Two January Incidents: A Narrative of Facts', Foresters' Miscellany, (January, 1879), p.9. (Appendix I, p.213).

[^52]:    ${ }^{2}$ W.E. Bailey, 'Outward \& Homeward Bound', Foresters' Miscellany, (October, 1887), p.206. (Appendix I, p.202).
    ${ }^{3}$ Bailey, 1887, p.206. (Appendix I, p.202).
    ${ }^{4}$ Bailey, 1887, p.209. (Appendix I, p.203).
    ${ }^{5}$ J. Redding Ware, 'How Misery and Poverty came to be Always on Earth: A Fairy Tale', Oddfellows' Magazine, (June, 1885), p.241. (Appendix I, p.268).

[^53]:    ${ }^{6}$ Ware, 1885, p. 243. (Appendix I, p.270).
    ${ }^{7}$ Ware, 1885, p.244. (Appendix I, p.271).
    ${ }^{8}$ Ware, 1885, p.242. (Appendix I, p.269).
    ${ }^{9}$ Ware, 1885, p.242. (Appendix I, p.269).
    ${ }^{10}$ Charles Marshall, 'Frank Newton: A Sketch of Village Life', Foresters' Miscellany, (January, 1878), p.34. (Appendix I, p.241).
    ${ }^{11}$ Y.S.N., 'Christmas at Bishops Langton', Foresters' Miscellany, (January, 1887), p.9. (Appendix I, p.284).

[^54]:    ${ }_{13}^{12}$ Anon, 'The Rainy Sunday', Foresters' Miscellany, (July, 1869), p.389. (Appendix I, p.291)
    ${ }^{13}$ 'The Rainy Sunday', 1869, p.389. (Appendix I, p.291).
    ${ }^{14}$ Keedy Kingston, 'Not Gilded, But Golden', Oddfellows' Magazine, (May, 1884), p.12. This story is in twenty five chapters, from May to December, 1884. (Appendix I, p.218)
    ${ }^{15}$ Charles Marshall, 'Old Misery, The Miser’, Foresters' Miscellany (January, 1864), p.88. (Appendix I, p.235)

[^55]:    ${ }^{16}$ The name 'Beetsmand' could possibly be a compound of the surname of Nikolaas Beets (18141903) and the latter's pseudonym, 'Hildebrand'. Often referred to as the 'Dutch Dickens', Beets' most famous work, Camera Obscura, (1839) was widely reprinted, as were his collected works which were published in 1873 and 1875. In April 1883, at the time when Kingston was possibly composing 'Not Gilded But Golden', Beets was awarded the honorary degree of LL.D. at Edinburgh University.
    ${ }^{17}$ Kingston, 1884, p.12. (Appendix I, p.218)

[^56]:    ${ }^{18}$ Kingston, 1884, p.12. (Appendix I, p.218).
    ${ }^{19}$ Kingston, 1884, p.12. (Appendix I, p.218).
    ${ }^{20}$ Kingston, 1884, p.12. (Appendix I, p.218).
    ${ }^{21}$ Kingston, 1884, p.42. (Appendix I, p.223).
    ${ }^{22}$ Kingston, 1884, p.42. (Appendix I, p.223).
    ${ }^{23}$ Kingston, 1884, p.72. (Appendix I, p.225).
    ${ }^{24}$ Kingston, 1884, p.72. (Appendix I, p.225).

[^57]:    ${ }^{25}$ Kingston, 1884, p.73. (Appendix I, p.226).
    ${ }^{26}$ Kingston, 1884, p.73. (Appendix I, p.226).

[^58]:    ${ }^{27}$ Kingston, 1887, p.74. (Appendix I, p.227).
    ${ }^{28}$ George Gissing, The Unclassed, 1884, (London: Ernest Benn, 1930).
    ${ }^{29}$ Gissing, 1884, p. 95.

[^59]:    ${ }^{30}$ George Gissing, Thyrza: A Fairy Tale, 1887, (Brighton:The Harvester Press, 1974), ch.IV, p.37.
    ${ }^{31}$ Arthur Morrison, A Child of the Jago [A novel], (London: Methuen, 1896), p. 11
    ${ }^{32}$ 'Social Darwinism' relates to the application of Charles Darwin's theories, such as 'adaptation' and 'survival of the fittest,' to social thought. It was used to support hierarchical social systems as natural and inevitable, if not desirable.
    ${ }^{33}$ Kingston, 1887, p.74. (Appendix I, p.227).

[^60]:    ${ }^{34}$ Kingston, 1887, p.74. (Appendix I, p.227).
    ${ }^{35}$ Kingston, 1887, p.74. (Appendix I, p.227).
    ${ }^{36}$ Kingston, 1887, p.76. (Appendix I, p.229).
    ${ }^{37}$ Kingston, 1887, p.76. (Appendix I, p.229).

[^61]:    ${ }^{38}$ Kingston, 1887, p.76. (Appendix I, p.229).
    ${ }^{39}$ Linda Nochlin, Realism, 1971, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), p. 150.
    ${ }^{40}$ Nochlin, 1991, p.151. However, this literary representation of the urban space must be qualified. Whilst it became a literary metaphor for all that was wrong with society, this perhaps did not recognise that for many, the urban environment offered a sense of freedom from close-knit communities and their local, social controls.

[^62]:    ${ }^{41}$ Kingston, 1887, p.12. (Appendix I, p.218).
    ${ }^{42}$ Thomas Williams, 'A Tale of the City', Foresters' Miscellany, (April, 1870), p.79. (Appendix I, p.276).
    ${ }^{43}$ Williams, 1870, p.79. (Appendix I, p.276).

[^63]:    ${ }^{44}$ Williams, 1870, p.80. (Appendix I, p.277).
    ${ }^{45}$ Williams, 1870, p.80. (Appendix I, p.277).

[^64]:    ${ }^{46}$ Williams, 1870, p.81. (Appendix I, p.277).
    ${ }^{47}$ Mary Poovey, Making A Social Body: British Cultural Formation 1830-1864, (Chicago \& London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), p.47.

[^65]:    ${ }^{48}$ Kingston, 1887, p.106. (Appendix I, p.233).

[^66]:    ${ }^{49}$ Kingston, 1887, p.106. (Appendix I, p.233).
    ${ }^{50}$ Kingston, 1887, p.106. (Appendix I, p.233).

[^67]:    ${ }^{51}$ Y.S.N., 'The Pauper Funeral', Foresters' Miscellany, (January, 1864), p.36. (Appendix I, p.280).
    ${ }_{52}$ Raymond Williams, The Country and The City, 1973, (London: The Hogarth Press, 1985), p. 303 .

[^68]:    ${ }^{53}$ Kingston, 1887, p.72. (Appendix I, p.225).

[^69]:    ${ }^{54}$ For example, the character of Etienne in Émile Zola's Germinal, (1885); Oliver in Charles Dickens' Oliver Twist (1837-8); Jane in Charlotte Bronte's Jane Eyre (1848). Similar purpose is served by the use of aliens in science fiction, to depict 'otherness'.
    ${ }^{55}$ Paul Brown, discussing Shakespeare's Caliban in 'This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine: 'The Tempest' and the Discourse of Colonialism', J. Dollimore \& A. Sinfield, eds. Political Shakespeare: Essays in Cultural Materialism, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 52 .
    ${ }^{36}$ Henry Owgan, 'Making The Best of It: or Peace, Union, and Good Will', Foresters' Miscellany, (January, 1864), p.9. (Appendix I, p.249).

[^70]:    ${ }^{57}$ Owgan, 1864, p.9. (Appendix I, p.249).
    ${ }^{58}$ Owgan, 1864, p.12. (Appendix I, p.251).
    ${ }^{59}$ Owgan, 1864, p.12. (Appendix I, p.251).

[^71]:    ${ }^{60}$ Owgan, 1864, p.12. (Appendix I, p.251).
    ${ }^{61}$ Owgan, 1864, p.11. (Appendix I, p.250).
    ${ }^{62}$ Owgan, 1864, p.12. (Appendix I, p.251).

[^72]:    ${ }^{63}$ Owgan, 1864, p.16. (Appendix I, p.252).
    ${ }^{64}$ Owgan, 1864, p.72. (Appendix I, p.256).
    ${ }^{65}$ Owgan, 1864, p.12. (Appendix I, p.251).

[^73]:    ${ }^{66}$ Marshall, 1864, p.89. (Appendix I, p.235).

[^74]:    ${ }^{67}$ Marshall, 1864, p.88. (Appendix I, p.235).
    ${ }^{68}$ Rick Allen, The Moving Pageant: a Literary Source Book on London Life 1700-1914, (London: Routledge, 1998), p.13: Allen notes that 'the Dante revival in English Romantic and postRomantic culture no doubt encouraged the use of inferno imagery to represent the urban environment and those trapped within it', although he suggests that' very few writers on London subscribed to the idea of absolute perdition implied by that imagery'. He also notes that 'the inferno imagery was generally replaced with, or merged with, that of the abyss.'
    ${ }^{69}$ Simon Cordery, British Friendly Societies: 1750-1914, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p.118.

[^75]:    ${ }^{70}$ The 1867 Reform Act which extended the franchise to all rate-paying householders and Forster's Education Act of 1870, which led to the creating of local school boards
    ${ }_{72}^{71}$ Marshall, 1864, p.89. (Appendix I, p.235).
    ${ }^{72}$ Marshall, 1864, p.90. (Appendix I, p.236).

[^76]:    ${ }^{73}$ Marshall, 1864, p.91. (Appendix I, p.236).
    ${ }^{74}$ Marshall, 1864, p.91. (Appendix I, p.236).

[^77]:    ${ }^{75}$ Marshall, 1864, p.94. (Appendix I, p.238).
    ${ }^{76}$ Marshall, 1864, p.94. (Appendix I, p.238).

[^78]:    ${ }^{77}$ Marshall, 1864, p.94. (Appendix I, p.238).

[^79]:    ${ }^{78}$ Charles Dickens, Barnaby Rudge, 1841, (New York: William H. Colyer, 1842).
    ${ }^{79}$ Charles Dickens, A Tale of Two Cities, 1859, (London: Cassell \& Co., 1907).
    ${ }^{80}$ Marshall, 1864, p.92. (Appendix I, p.237).

[^80]:    ${ }^{81}$ John Plotz, The Crowd: British Literature \& Public Politics, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).
    ${ }^{82}$ G. Rudé, The Crowd in the French Revolution, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959).
    ${ }^{83}$ Eric J. Hobsbawm, Primitive Rebels. Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the $19^{\text {th }}$ and $20^{\text {th }}$ Centuries, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959).

[^81]:    ${ }^{84}$ Further discussion of the use of the crowd or mob may be found in: Donald Richter, 'The Role of Mob Riot in Victorian Elections, 1865-1885', Victorian Studies 15:1 (September, 1971).

[^82]:    ${ }^{85}$ Cordery, 2003, p. 108.
    ${ }^{86}$ Cordery, 2003, p. 108.
    ${ }^{87}$ 'The Rival Schoolmasters', Foresters' Miscellany (October, 1867), p.406. (Appendix I, p.245). Unsigned, records suggest that this story is by J.Northey, and thus will be attributed to him throughout this thesis.
    ${ }^{88}$ Northey, 1867, p.406. (Appendix I, p.245).

[^83]:    ${ }^{89}$ Charles Marshall, 'The Old Wiltshire Fiddler', Foresters' Miscellany (July, 1870), ch.1, p.204. (Appendix I, p.239).

[^84]:    ${ }^{90}$ Marshall, 1870, p.204. (Appendix I, p.239).
    ${ }^{91}$ Marshall, 1870, p.204. (Appendix I, p.239).
    ${ }_{92}$ Marshall, 1870, p.204. (Appendix I, p.239).
    ${ }^{93}$ Charles Dickens, A Tale of Two Cities, 1859, (London: Cassell \& Co., 1907).

[^85]:    ${ }^{94}$ Marshall, 1870, p.205. (Appendix I, p.239).
    ${ }^{95}$ Marshall, 1870, p.205. (Appendix I, p.239).
    ${ }^{96}$ Marshall, 1870, p.205. (Appendix I, p.239).
    ${ }^{97}$ Marshall, 1870, p.205. (Appendix I, p.239).
    ${ }^{98}$ Marshall, 1870, p.206. (Appendix I, p.240).
    ${ }^{99}$ Marshall, 1870, p.206. (Appendix I, p.240).
    ${ }^{100}$ Marshall, 1870, p.206. (Appendix I, p.240).

[^86]:    ${ }^{101}$ Marshall, 1870, p.206. (Appendix I, p.240).
    ${ }^{102}$ Marshall, 1870, p.206. (Appendix I, p.240).
    ${ }^{103}$ Marshall, 1870, p.205. (Appendix I, p.240).

[^87]:    ${ }^{104}$ P.J. Keating, The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction, 1971, (London: Routledge \& Kegan Paul, 1979), pp.24-30.
    ${ }^{105}$ Keating, 1971.

[^88]:    ${ }^{106}$ Martha Vicinus, The Industrial Muse: a Study of Nineteenth Century British Working-Class Literature, (London: Croom Helm, 1974), pl15.
    ${ }^{107}$ John Goode, 'William Morris and the Dream of Revolution', John Lucas ed. Literature and Politics in the Nineteenth Century, (London: Methuen \& Co.Ltd., 1971),p.221.
    ${ }^{108}$ Northey, 1867, p.406. (Appendix I, p.245).

[^89]:    ${ }^{1}$ Medicalisation theory does not challenge the basis of medical knowledge, but challenges its application as a product of unequal social interactions'negotiations-ie professional determination of what counts as sickness may involve areas of life previously the concern of non-medical, lay persons.
    'Keeping a Conscience', Ecresters'Miscellany (October, 1864), p.325. (Appendix I, p.207). Unsigned, records suggest that this story is by John, Hinchclife.
    ${ }^{3}$ Y.S.N. 'The Pauper Funcral', Eersssers' Miscellany (January, 1864), p.37. (Appendix I, p.280).
    ${ }^{4}$ This structuraliss perspective views welfare provision as acting as an institution for social control within a capitalist economy. As a consequence, doctor/patient relationships are implicitly governed by, and concemed with, the reproduction and maintenance of capitalist social relations. Medical knowledge thereby mediates social relations, and explanations of disease may serve to reinforce existing social structures.

[^90]:    Medical know ledge thereby mediates social relations, and explanations of disease may serve to reinforce existing social structures.
    'Supplement to the Registrar-General's $65^{\text {th}}$ Report, 50. Source: Department of Health

    - A key issue in the sociology of health and illness is the extent to which levels of mortality and morbidity are mediated by socio-structural variables such as class. These structural theories are of major concern to issues surrounding inequalities in health, arguing that it is the structure of society that produces inequalities such as working class people suffering more ill health than their middleclass counterpars. For analysis of this approach, see R.G.Wilkinson, 'Class Mortality Differentials, Income Distribution and Trends in Poverty, 1921-1981', Joumal of Secial Policy, 18(3), (July, 1989), pp.307-35 (although outside of the period of this project, this gives the substance to this perspective); M. Whitchead, The Healh Divide, (London: Health Education Council, 1987).

[^91]:    ${ }^{7}$ Ruth G. Ilodgh inson, The orisins of the Nations Ul lalth Service. The Medical Services of the New Pocr law 1834-1871. (London: Wellcome Medical Library, 1967).
    W. Norris, extract from Lurmal of che Amalsamased Society of Tailors reprinted in 1887 pamphlet of the Oddfellows.
    George Moore, Esiher Walersi a noysh, (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson \& Co., 1894) p.115, cited in Athena Vrettos, Sematic.Fictionsi Imasining Illness in Victorian Culture, (Califomia: Stanford University Press, 1995), p. 7.
    ${ }^{10}$ Vrettos, 1995, p.7.
    "Vretos, 1995, p.7.

[^92]:    ${ }^{12}$ S. Netteton, The Sociology ofllealth and Illness, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), ch.2.
    ${ }^{13}$ Eliot Freidson, Profession of Medicine:Study of the Sociology of Anslied Knouledse, (New York: Dodd, Mcad \& Co, 1970).
    ${ }^{14}$ Vrettos, 1995, pp.2-3.
    ${ }^{15}$ Gustave Flaubert, Madame Boyary, 1857, trans.E.M.Aveling, (New York: Random House, 1946).
    ${ }^{16}$ George Elioh Midllemanch. A. Sudy of Proyincial Life. (Edinburgh \& London: William Blackwood \& Sons, 1871. 72).
    "Simon Cordery, British Erisndly Secieties; 1750-1914, (Basingstohe: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 129.
    ${ }^{11}$ Cordery, 2003. p.129.

[^93]:    ${ }^{19}$ David G. Green, Working-Class Patients and the Medical Establishment: Self-llelp in Britain from the Mid-Nincesenth Century 10 1948, (Ilampshire: Gower Publishing, 1985), pp.1-2.
    ${ }^{20}$ James C. Riley, Sick Nor Dradithe Ulealth of British Workingmen during the Morality Peclins, (London: Johns Ilophins University Press, 1997), pp.49-51.
    ${ }^{21}$ The tripartite system comprised of general practitioners, consultants and apothecaries who, to a great extent, acted independently from each other.
    ${ }^{2}$ For further analysis of the medical profession, see Ivan Waddington, The Medical Profession in the Industrial Revelution, (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan Ilumanities Press, 198-4).

[^94]:    ${ }_{25}^{25}$ Green, 1985, p.2.
    ${ }^{24}$ An article in The Order of Druids Qumarcly Joumal (January, 1890) p.15, notes the general fecling of aversion by the medical profession to what is termed 'club practice.'
    ${ }^{25}$ Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, 1909, pp 870-871.

[^95]:    ${ }^{24}$ Extensive discussion of the negotiations between the friendly societies, medical practitioners, Royal Commissions and the General Medical Council may be found in Green, 1985. ${ }^{27}$ TBuchingham, Maidstone lodge of Oddfellows' supplement, (1879).

[^96]:    ${ }^{24}$ 'Exercise', Ecresecrs' Miscsllany, (January, 1865), p. 348.
    ${ }^{29}$ During the second half of the nineteenth century, the dominant model of medicine was biomedical. This model gives primacy to a mechanical interpretation of the body, whereby explanations of disease focus on biological changes. This reductionist account of ill healch was supported by the 'germ theory' of disease, which assumes that a specific, identifiable agent, such as a virus or parasite, causes every disease. As a consequence, this contemporary approach to medicine fails to achnow ledge the impact of social and psychological factors on health, or to account for social inequalities that affect healch. Equally, it does not recognise that lay people have their own valid interpretations and accounts of their experiences of health and illness. Thus, selfcare, and care by immediate family and friends, came to be regarded as inferior to that provided by trained health professionals.
    ${ }^{20}$ J.W.N. 'Two January Incidents: A Narrative of Facts', Eeresters' Miscellany, (January, 1879), p.9. (Appendix I, p.2|3).

[^97]:    ${ }^{31}$ J.W.N. 1879, p.12. (Appendix I. p.215).
    ${ }^{21}$ J.W.N., 1879, p.12. (Appendix I. p.215).
    ${ }^{31}$ J.W.N. 1879, p.12. (Appendix I. p.215).
    ${ }^{2}$ J.W.N., 1879, p.13. (Appendix I, p.215).

[^98]:    ${ }^{35}$ J.W.N., 1879, p.11. (Appendix I. p.214).
    ${ }^{26}$ J.W.N., 1879, p.11. (Appendix I, p.214).
    ${ }^{31}$ Y.S.N., 1864, p.36. (Appendix I. p.280).
    ${ }^{31}$ Y.S.N., 1861, pp.38-9. (Appendix I, p.281).

[^99]:    ${ }^{39}$ This medical provision was offered as charitable relief for the poor and was a constant concern for the friendly societies, primarily because of the unequal relationships patients often had to endure as recipients of charity, when at their most vulnerable. This obviously contrasted with the more equal doctor/patient relationships which their own medical provision afforded.
    ${ }^{40}$ see Thomas McKeown, The Role of Medicine: Dream, Mirage or Nemesis?, (London: Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust, 1976) where he demonstrates by way of historical demographic studies that the decline in mortality which has occurred in Westem societies has had more to do with nutrition, hygiene and patterns of reproduction (essentially social phenomena) than it has with vaccinations, treatments or other modes of medical interventions.
    ${ }^{41}$ Y.S.N., 1864, pp.36-37. (Appendix I, p.280).
    ${ }^{42}$ Y.S.N., 1864, p.37. (Appendix I, p.280).

[^100]:    ${ }^{43}$ Although sympathetic to their plight, Gilbert's descriptions contain implicit moral judgements of the poor. For example, describing a home of the poor, he observes 'That dirty, disreputable look of squalid poverty was over it'. W. Gilbert, Dives and Lazarus: or the Adventures of an Obscure Medical Man in a Low Neighbourhood, 1858, (New York: Doubleday, Page \& Co., 1912), p. 30. ${ }^{44}$ George Gissing, Workers in the Dawn, 1880, (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1985). ${ }^{45}$ Gissing, 1880 , part 1, ch.v, p. 73.

[^101]:    ${ }^{46}$ Vrettos, 1995, pp.7-8.
    ${ }^{47}$ Charles Dickens, Bleak House, 1856, (London: Dent, 1907).

[^102]:    ${ }^{48}$ Vrettos, 1995, p. 5.
    ${ }^{49}$ Vrettos, 1995, pp.6-7.
    ${ }^{50}$ Mary Poovey, Making A Social Body: British Cultural Formation 1830-1864, (Chicago \& London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 58.
    ${ }^{51}$ for a detailed analysis of the social significance of disease in the period, see: Bruce Haley. The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978). ${ }^{52}$ see Poovey, 1995, ch.6. This theory was discredited by John Snow's bacterial hypothesis, see: Kari S. McLeod, 'Our Sense of Snow: The Myth of John Snow in Medical Geography', Social Sciences and Medicine, 50, (2000), 923-935.

[^103]:    ${ }^{53}$ Carolyn Steedman, Policing the Victorian Community; the Formation of English Provincial Police Forces, 1856-1880, (London: Routledge \& Kegan Paul, 1984).
    ${ }^{54}$ Poovey, 1995, pp.59-60.

[^104]:    ${ }^{55}$ Y.S.N., 1864, p.39. (Appendix I, p.281).
    ${ }^{56}$ Y.S.N., 1864, p.39. (Appendix I, p.281).

[^105]:    ${ }^{57}$ For a history of women in medicine, see: Enid Hester Chataway Moberley Bell, Storming the Citadel. The Rise of the Woman Doctor [With special reference to Elizabeth Blackwell, Elizabeth Garrett Anderson and Sophia Jex-Blake], (London: Constable \& Co., 1953).
    ${ }^{58}$ Vrettos, 1995, p. 91.
    ${ }^{59}$ Vrettos, 1995, p. 95.
    ${ }^{60}$ Vrettos, 1995, p. 95.

[^106]:    ${ }^{61}$ Y.S.N., 1864, p.39. (Appendix I, p.281).
    ${ }^{62}$ Y.S.N., 1864, p.41. (Appendix I, p.282).
    ${ }^{63}$ Y.S.N., 1864, p.41. (Appendix I, p.282).

[^107]:    ${ }^{64}$ Foresters' Miscellany, (April, 1881), pp.400-401.
    ${ }^{65}$.John Hinchcliffe, 'Keeping A Conscience', Foresters' Miscellany, (October, 1864), p. 325.

[^108]:    ${ }^{66}$ This movement succeeded in restricting the sale of alcohol with the introduction of The Intoxicating Liquor (Licensing) Bill of 1872. By the end of the nineteenth century, there were many temperance clubs and societies which offered friendly society benefits. For example, railway temperance societies flourished in response to fears of potential accidents caused by drunken railway workers
    ${ }^{67}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.325. (Appendix I, p.207).

[^109]:    ${ }^{68}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, pp.325-6. (Appendix I, pp.207-208).
    ${ }^{69}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.327. (Appendix I, p.208).
    ${ }^{70}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.328. (Appendix I, p.209).

[^110]:    ${ }^{71}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.328. (Appendix I, p.209).
    ${ }^{72}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.328. (Appendix I, p.209).
    ${ }^{74}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.328. (Appendix I, p. 209).
    ${ }^{74}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.328. (Appendix I, p.209).
    ${ }^{75}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.328. (Appendix I, p.209).

[^111]:    ${ }^{76}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.329. (Appendix I, p.209).
    ${ }^{77}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.329. (Appendix I, p.209).
    ${ }^{78}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.329. (Appendix I, p.209).
    ${ }^{79}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.329. (Appendix I, p.209).
    ${ }^{80}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.329. (Appendix I, p.209).

[^112]:    ${ }_{81}^{81}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.330. (Appendix I, p.210).
    ${ }^{82}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.330. (Appendix I, p.210).
    ${ }^{83}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.330. (Appendix I, p.210).
    ${ }^{84}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, pp.331-32. (Appendix I, pp.210-211).

[^113]:    ${ }^{85}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.333. (Appendix I, p.211).
    ${ }^{86}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.333. (Appendix I, p.211).
    ${ }^{87}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.333. (Appendix I, p.211).

[^114]:    ${ }^{88}$ Melanie A. Kimball, 'From Folktales to Fiction: Orphan Characters in Children's Literature', http://www.highbeam.com/library, accessed November 2004

[^115]:    ${ }^{89}$ for example, Honoré de Balzac, Scènes de la vie de campagne; Le médecin de campagne, 1833; George Eliot, Middlemarch, A Study of Provincial Life, 1871, 72.
    ${ }^{90}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.332. (Appendix I, p.211).

[^116]:    ${ }^{91}$ Hinchcliffe, 1864, p.333. (Appendix I, p.211).
    ${ }^{92}$ Vrettos, 1995, p.3.
    ${ }^{93}$ Vrettos, 1995, p.3.

[^117]:    ${ }^{1}$ Jonathan Rose, The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes, (New Haven \& London: Yale University Press, 2001), p.4.

[^118]:    ${ }^{2}$ Bridget Keegan, 'Lambs to the Slaughter: Leisure and Laboring-Class Poetry' , Romanticism on the Net, No.27, 2002, http://www.erudit.org/revue/ron/2002/v/n27/006562ar.html.
    ${ }^{3}$ Anne Janowitz, Lyric and Labour in the Romantic Tradition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 8.

[^119]:    ${ }^{4}$ J H .Eccles, 'United Efforts', Foresters' Miscellany, (September, 1865), p.469. (Appendix I, p.299).

[^120]:    ${ }^{5}$ Robert E. Veto, 'The "Friendly Societies" and the Fabian Society as Mechanisms for Gradualism in Industrial Era Britain', Summer 2000, http://www.umassd.edu/ir/rveto/friendly societies.htm. accessed November, 2004.

[^121]:    ${ }^{6}$ W. M. Heaton, 'Brotherly Love', Foresters' Miscellany, (January, 1864), p.145. (Appendix I, p.302).

[^122]:    ${ }^{7}$ B. Stott, 'Lines to the sacred Memory of John Roach'. Although very poor quality copy, it seems that Stott was a member of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, possibly Lodge 5,511. Single sheet, circa 1880. (Appendix I, p.307).
    ${ }^{8}$ Rose, 2001, p. 106.

[^123]:    ${ }^{9}$ John Plummer, untitled poem, possibly produced for a garment \& staymakers' society, a trade friendly society. (1861). Plummer was believed to also be a member of the Oddfellows friendly society.

[^124]:    ${ }^{10}$ William Christmas, Work, Writing and the Social Order in English Plebeian Poetry, 1730-1830, (New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 2001), p. 84.

[^125]:    ${ }^{11}$ Christmas, 2001, pp.83-84.
    ${ }^{12}$ Martha Vicinus, The Industrial Muse: a Study of Nineteenth Century British Working-Class Literature, (London: Croom Helm, 1974), p.1.

[^126]:    ${ }^{13}$ Effie, 'The Blue Bell', (circa 1860/62). May have been produced for a friendly society in Elland and a garment workers' association. Original lost in flood at archives. (Appendix I, p.300). ${ }^{14}$ John Keats 'Ode to a Nightingale' composed 1819, $1^{\text {th }}$ pub. 1820. D. Enright, (ed) 'Ode to a Nightingale' and other poems/John Keats. (London: Michael O'Mara, 2002).

[^127]:    ${ }^{15}$ 'The Bluebell', lines 45-48, p.99, C.W. Hatfield, ed. The Complete Poems of Emily Jane Bronté, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), pp.97-99.
    ${ }^{16}$ Raymond Williams suggests that pastoral and industrial contrasts are a dominant structural device, which indicate a mode of perceiving in early accounts of the industrial city. Raymond

[^128]:    Williams, The Country and The City, 1973, (London: The Hogarth Press, 1985), particularly introduction and ch. 5 .
    ${ }^{17}$ Ruth Wills, 'Summer Sea', (circa 1861). (Appendix I, p.310). This was possibly produced for a trade friendly society, the Circular Framework Knitters' Society.

[^129]:    ${ }^{18}$ Christmas, 2001, pp.83-84.
    ${ }^{19}$ Williams, 1973, p. 222.
    ${ }^{20}$ Williams, 1973, p. 223.

[^130]:    ${ }^{21}$ Maidment , 1985, p. 150.
    ${ }^{22}$ Maidment, 1985, p. 150.

[^131]:    ${ }^{23}$ Janowitz, 1998, p.8.
    ${ }^{24}$ Ruth Wills, 'The Age of Gold', (circa 1861). This was possibly produced for a trade friendly society, the Circular Framework Knitters' Society. (Appendix I, p.311).

[^132]:    ${ }^{25}$ Effie, 'The Muse', circa 1860/62. (Appendix I, p.301). May have been produced for a friendly society in Elland and a garment workers' association. Original lost in flood at archives.

[^133]:    ${ }^{26}$ Susan Zlotnick, 'Lowly Bards \& Incomplete Lyres - Fanny Forrester and the Construction of a Working-Class Woman's Poetic Identity', Victorian Poetry, 36 (Spring, 1998), 1, 18.

[^134]:    ${ }^{27}$ T. Williams, ‘Changeable', Foresters Miscellany, (April 1870), p.78. (Appendix I, p.309).

[^135]:    ${ }^{28}$ Anon, 'The Notch', Foresters' Miscellany, (July, 1865) p. 421.
    ${ }^{29}$ Peter Burn, 'Lilies of the Valley', Oddfellows' Magazine, (July, 1879), p.142.

[^136]:    ${ }^{30}$ Anon, 'Again' Foresters' Miscellany (July 1869), p.397. (Appendix I, p.312).

[^137]:    ${ }^{31}$ H.Owgan, 'January', Foresters' Miscellany, (January 1864), p. 48.

[^138]:    ${ }^{32}$ Anon, 'True Nobility', The Order of Druids Quarterly Journal, (October, 1891), p. 191.
    ${ }^{33}$ Robert E. Veto, 'The "Friendly Societies" and the Fabian Society as Mechanisms for Gradualism in Industrial Era Britain', Summer, 2000, http://www.umassd.edu/ir/rveto/friendly_societies.htm., accessed November, 2004.

[^139]:    ${ }^{34}$ Veto, 2000.
    ${ }^{35}$ E. Williams, 'Quaking Grass', Foresters' Miscellany, (October, 1887), p. 92.

[^140]:    ${ }^{36}$ Robert Leighton, 'Solitude', Foresters' Miscellany, (April, 1870), p.76.
    ${ }^{37}$ Matthew 11:29-30: Take my yoke upon you and learn from me, for 1 am gentle and humble in heart, and you will find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light"

[^141]:    ${ }^{38}$ Simon Cordery, British Friendly Societies: 1750-1914, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 150.
    ${ }^{39}$ Edward Spawton, 'Pontypridd', Oddfellows Magazine, (January 1877), p. 271.

[^142]:    ${ }^{40}$ Edward Spawton, 'A Lonely Path', Oddfellows' Magazine, (January 1893), p. 271.

[^143]:    ${ }^{41}$ E.P.Thompson, William Morris:Romantic to Revolutionary, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1955), p. 763.

[^144]:    ${ }^{42}$ 'The Orange Tree', Foresters' Miscellany, (January, 1878), p.293. (Appendix I, p.315).

[^145]:    ${ }^{43}$ For Victorian approaches to death see two books by Michael Wheeler: Heaven, Hell, and the Victorians, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Death and the Future Life in Victorian Literature and Theology, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
    ${ }^{44}$ See: Victor Shea and William Whitla, Essays and Reviews: the 1860 Text and its Reading, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999).

[^146]:    ${ }^{45}$ Gertrude Himmelfarb, Poverty and Compassion: the Moral Imagination of the Late Victorians, (New York: Knopf, 1991), pp.4-5.

[^147]:    ${ }^{46}$ William Whitmore, 'Priest', (1865). Whitmore was a member of the Oddfellows friendly society, but this poem appears to have been produced for a Leicester trade friendly society and originally appeared in a periodical, 'The Leicestershire Movement; or, voices from the frame and the factory, the field and the rail', (Leicester, 1850).

[^148]:    ${ }^{47}$ Thomas Hind, 'The Snowdrop', Foresters' Miscellany (October, 1867), p.92. (Appendix I, p.303).

    48 'the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return'.-Genesis 3:19. Importantly, this line did not necessarily form a part of the non-liturgical friendly society funeral service.

[^149]:    ${ }^{49}$ For example, see reference to the staff of a workhouse in 'Frank Newton: A Sketch of Village Life', (Foresters' Miscellany, (January, 1878), p.35. (Appendix 1, p.241).

[^150]:    ${ }^{50}$ Charles Marshall, 'The Pauper's Funeral', appeared in St Crispin (The Boot \& Shoemaker) Journal_(January, 1869), p.11. Marshall was secretary of the Rogate Branch of the Ancient Order of Foresters friendly society.

[^151]:    ${ }^{51}$ Anon, 'Under The Snow', Foresters' Miscellany, (January, 1869), p.284. (Appendix I, p.316).

[^152]:    ${ }^{52}$ Anon, 'Dead', Foresters' Miscellany, (April, 1865), p.459. (Appendix I, p.313).

[^153]:    ${ }^{53}$ Millicent Langton, Musings of the Work-Room, (Leicester, London: 1865), preface.

[^154]:    ${ }^{54}$ Millicent Langton, 'To A Snowdrop, found on an Infant's Grave', Lancashire tailors or garment workers' friendly society pamphlet, (circa 1866). This poem also appears in Musings of the WorkRoom. (London, 1865).

[^155]:    ${ }^{55}$ Janowitz, 1998, pp. 31-32.

[^156]:    ${ }^{1}$ An account of this may be found in Francois Bédarida, A Social History of England 1851-1990, $2^{\text {nd }}$ ed. (London: Routledge, 1991), pp.99-109.

[^157]:    ${ }^{2}$ Simon Cordery, British Friendly Societies: 1750-1914, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 136.

[^158]:    ${ }^{3}$ Cordery, 2003, p.154-5.
    ${ }^{4}$ i.e. The Commonweal or Today. Ruth Livesey, 2004, 'Socialism and Victorian Poetry: Politics, Revolution, Rebellion \& Protest', http://www,literature-compass.com/viewpoint.
    ${ }^{5}$ Livesey, 2004.
    ${ }^{6}$ Livesey, 2004.
    ${ }^{7}$ Livesey, 2004

[^159]:    ${ }^{8}$ Thor Coles, 'An Elegy (National Insurance is as Dead as Queen Anne)', Oddfellows' Magazine, (October, 1885).
    ${ }^{9}$ Anon, 'When any sick to me apply', possibly Oddfellows' sheet, (January, 1885).

[^160]:    ${ }^{10}$ G.H., 'Stitching with maniac haste', Ancient Order of Foresters' pamphlet, (circa 1884).

[^161]:    ${ }^{11}$ Tom Coales, 'Thy Neighbour', Oddfellows' Magazine, ( October, 1886), p.346. (Appendix I, pp.297-298).

[^162]:    12 'Capital \& Labour', Public dinner of Boiler Makers' and Hull South Friendly Society, pamphlet 1872 (Appendix I, p.314).

[^163]:    ${ }^{13}$ M. Moor, 'I have heard of freedom, men say', possibly produced for Cirencester Friendly Society, circa 1898.

[^164]:    ${ }^{14}$ The precise meaning for the word 'slut' in this context can only be guessed at. 'Sluther' was an early (cl900) Scottish term for any wet or slimy substance, mud, mire, or filth. Also, a 'slut' was a rag which had been greased, usually with animal fat, and this was used as a candle, one of the original ways of providing light in coal mines before the development of tallow lamps. The word 'slut' is also used in a slightly different version of this poem which appeared in Welsh's later collection of poems, James C. Welsh, Songs of a Miner, (London: Herbert Jenkins Limited, 1917), pp.72-74.
    ${ }^{15}$ James Welsh, Nottingham branch of Oddfellows, 'Labour' pamphlet, c1900.

[^165]:    ${ }^{16}$ James Welsh, 'The Miner', Oddfellows pamphlet, c1900. (Appendix I, p.308).

[^166]:    ${ }^{17}$ Martha Vicinus, The Industrial Muse: a Study of Nineteenth Century British Working-Class Literature, (London: Croom Helm, 1974), pp.220-221.
    ${ }^{18}$ candymen were rag-and-bone merchants hired to help with evictions from company-owned housing during a strike -Vicinus, 1974, p. 220.
    ${ }^{19}$ Vicinus, 1974, p. 62.

[^167]:    ${ }^{20}$ James Welsh, 'Labour', 1900.
    ${ }^{21}$ W.S. Rennie, 'Lines to the Zurich Congress', 1894. (Appendix 1, p.306). Possibly produced for a local friendly society, the poem's title relates to one of the many annual conferences for

[^168]:    workers' movements were held in Zurich during the last decade of the nineteenth century, typically to discuss Socialism and the protection and advancement of working people.

[^169]:    ${ }^{22}$ W.N. Cameron, in W.N. Cameron \& W.S. Rennie, 1894. Possibly produced for a local friendly society. (Appendix 1, p.296).

[^170]:    ${ }^{1}$ Simon Cordery, 'Friendly Societies and the Discourse of Respectability in Britain, 1825-1875', Journal of British Studies, 34, (January, 1995), pp.40-41.
    ${ }^{2}$ Simon Cordery, British Friendly Societies: 1750-1914 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p.4.
    ${ }^{3}$ Trygve Tholfsen, Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England, (London: Croom Helm, 1976), p. 292.

[^171]:    ${ }^{4}$ Rose, Jonathan, The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes, (New Haven \& London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 398.

[^172]:    ${ }^{5}$ Arthur Morrison, A Child of the Jago [A novel], (London: Methuen, 1896).

[^173]:    ${ }^{6}$ Here, 'agency' is used in the Marxist sense, that is, as the positive and creative act/power of an individual.

[^174]:    Thompson, F.M.L., The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900, (London: Fontana, 1988).

[^175]:    entreamers fiew, for bow she was Comewarl limini:" Wiliay E. Baller.

[^176]:    330
    
    
    
    
     soon as possible to a rovtnge Mr. Morrell had taken on the bauks of Mry
    Regis river, three miles south of the town. In about three weets fires
     (
    
     startled by Maria asking me one day, whether such continued potions of
    and strong drink as the nurse administered could be either necessary or sasel
    I found, on inquiry, that my original prescription had been donbled quantity. In vain I tried to reduce the dose. Sleeplessness and teribso ${ }^{\text {a }}$ neuralgia wore the sufferer, or deep despondencep threatenfol to
    down upon her. I would have given my right arm to haveiundope
    
     agninst any reduction of either sedatives or stimulants. Uueact, som waned into nutumn, I becamo convinced that the ntention, and as sumsere person to administer stimulants, cithher ns medicine or bererage. timo at his counting house ant Mill-Regis. He weat imumedintely to the the
     that the norso talked to her in tho night and prevented her slepping, med proposed that the woman's bed slould be removed to the ndjoining romest As this seemed to meet the difficulty half-way, and to be a prelimimany
    that would lead soon to tho dismissal of the nurse, my friend assented to the plan, and left his wife's sofa considcrably relievel. He then looked
    in upon his children, who were with Miss Digby in the nurser Prest in upon his chillaren, who were with Miss Digby in the nursery. Presciag
    busincess compelled him to return and pass the night at Mill-Regis and When he parted from his wife he remembered afterwards that she calvel
    hiin back and said- 'Edward, dear I forgive me all the trouble I have caused you.'
     more, Yorgive me, dear !
    "He humoured her request, for the tears were brimwing her erees, mind
    "Hej parted-ah! never to meet again! they parted-ah! never to meet again! "Mrs. Morrell's apartments were tro parlours on the left hand dide of
    the little entrance hall. They were convenient, as she could be carrel

[^177]:    ,

[^178]:    .

[^179]:    

[^180]:    "Gentlemon," asid Misery, " Good day-a pleasant journey to you. Your principal atopa with mol"
    "Hang you", bawls the djin, in a very small voice from the depths of the purse. "Iake another ten years, and let me out of this !"
    "Well no," mays Misery. "I'm getting ancient; my wants are few; porridge is my delight in these later days, and I have enough money left to buy up all the oatmeal in bonnie Scotland. I have got you, and I'll keep you, and the world shall be all the better for Misery. Gentlemen of the Guard-royal good day.:
    "Did you ever !" said several of the Guard-royal.
    "Never," replied the rest of the Guard-royal.
    And they went.
    Now the great djin in those dass was completely an incarnets wickedness. It was ho who prompted sleeping men to waking crimes.

    But the djin being baulked, and no longer in circulation, the world became intolerably good. People who had borrowed money actually returned it; heirs no longer wished the old people dead; wives never even thought of deceiving their husbands; judzes were continually having white pairs of gloves given to them; and eren the bojs gave up robbing orchards.
    The world became bored to death with goodnees, and authors began to write histories of all the delightful vices which were then merely memories of the past.
    " ing good man-I nerer meant you to upset the entire World of Society," cried the Fairy Mensconscia, who had arrived with a crash, to Misery.
    "Madam-what do you mean?"
    "You are boring the whole world with goody-goodness. Everybody is dyiog of sheer mental imbecility. Do let that unfortunate djin out of that wretched old leather purse, or the earth will be unpeopled!"
    "Madam-I am yours to command, but not before I have got my ten years as before."
    "Tuke twenty," said the djin.
    "Done," said Misery.
    Out he came. The djin brought Misery a ringing slap in the face, and hurried off in great haste, once more to set the whole world by the ears.

    Society recovered its tone in a fortnight.
    But, alas ! as yoars went on Misery found that age and life do not agree, so he called in a medical man (who never missed a patient), and Misery was dead within a short week-Poverty, who with imprudent curiosity tasted the doctor's drugs, going out at the same time.
    So Misery and Poverty started in the spirit for Fairyland. There knocking at the door, and it being opened, by chance Mensconscia was passing, and aaw him.
    "Don't let that man and his dog in," said sho. "He would set us all awry before a week was out."
    So Misery and Poverty tramped down to the River Styx, paid an obolus each, and were ferried accruss.
    The King Djin happened to be strolling that way, and the moment he saw his old enemy ho bawled out to the boatmana
    "Here-chery me that fellow and his dog back quick to the human mortals
    I ahould huve to abdicate in a month if ever he got his foot in here."
    "Well Jack Poverty," saya weary old Misery ; "it seems we must stay upon earth."
    And upon earth they have tarried-too fatally.
    So now you know how it in that Misery and Poverty are ever to bo found amongst us human mortals. Unless there is some very great change, they will hiever, Never leare us.

[^181]:    
    
    
    
    

[^182]:    J. II. Eccifss, Coull 1/IG, Lecols.

