XI
Mrs. Gaskell and Newcastle

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ONE ASSOCIATES Mrs. Gaskell with Knutsford and Cheshire, and Manchester; and, of course, *Mary Barton, Cranford*, and *North and South* are set in those parts, where she lived most of her life. It is, perhaps, less well known that she spent some time in Newcastle, and that her stay here left its mark on some of her works.

Elizabeth Stevenson, to use her maiden name, was born in London in 1810. Her mother died the following year; her father remarried in 1814; and she was brought up by an aunt in Knutsford. After five years at school in Warwickshire, she returned to her father's house in London; and shortly after his death in March 1829, she came to Newcastle. She was connected by birth with the North East. Her father, William Stevenson, was a native of Berwick. (He was a Unitarian, indeed, for a time, a Unitarian minister—his daughter moved in Unitarian circles all her life, and married a Unitarian minister.) Her mother was Elizabeth Holland of Cheshire, and the Holland family was connected by marriage with a Yorkshireman, called William Turner, who lived in Newcastle from 1782 to 1841, and who had connections with Knutsford: his grandfather had been minister there (1735–7), and his father was minister at Allostock nearby.[1] Mr. Turner's first wife, Mary Holland, was a cousin of Elizabeth Stevenson's mother; and his second wife, Jane Willet, a niece of Josiah Wedgwood, was the sister of the first wife of one of Elizabeth's uncles, Peter Holland, and of the wife of another, Swinton Holland. (I shall refer to him as her uncle.)

It was with William Turner that Elizabeth Stevenson stayed when she came to Newcastle. He was then living, with an unmarried daughter, Ann, at 13, Cumberland Row. Cumberland Row is now part of Westgate Road, and no. 13 is the present no. 248. It is part of a motor-cycle shop, and has been rebuilt or refaced with modern brick; but some of the adjacent houses look much as they must have done 160 years or so ago. Miss Stevenson was a lucky girl—a member of a comfortably off, well-connected, middle-class, Unitarian family, sprightly, attractive, and at ease in society, the antithesis of her friend, Charlotte Brontë, shy, awkward, and uncomfortable. Socially speaking, Elizabeth Stevenson always fell on her feet, as, clearly, she did in Newcastle.

Turner had come to Newcastle in 1782, at the age of twenty-one, to be minister of the Unitarian chapel in Hanover Square. He was an innovator: in 1784, he started two Sunday schools, one for boys and one for girls—the first in Newcastle; and in 1787, he established "a Vestry Library, for the use of all persons attending public worship in Hanover-Square".[2] He was an excellent preacher, too, though occasionally too "recondite" for his hearers, even though they "represented for the most part the intellectual and literary life of the town".[3] He was charitable and generous, even saintly.

Mr. Turner was not only a minister, he also kept a grammar school. He opened it in his house in Percy Street in 1785, and between then and 1802, when it was closed, educated 161 boys. Henry Holland, Elizabeth Stevenson's cousin, later a fashionable physician in London was one of them. He spent four years in Newcastle (1799–1803), living in Turner's house.

I pass rapidly over these four years of boyhood at

> Newcastle, marked only, as far as I can tell, by a fair amount of bodily and mental activity. There was very little constraint upon me, quiet instruction, and a cheerful home. The knowledge I gained was perhaps somewhat vague and general, but such in kind as to give the appetite for more—an important step in every case in the process of education. (*Recollections of Past Life*, 1872, p. 8)

The school, reopened eleven years later, lasted till 1825; altogether Turner educated 210 boys.

He was a leading figure, not only in the religious and educational, but also in the intellectual, life of the city. "It is not too much to say," says Spence Watson, "that for more than half a century he was foremost in every movement which had for its object the social, moral, or intellectual welfare of the community [. . .]".[4] In Newcastle, Turner is, I suppose, best remembered as the founder of the Literary and Philosophical Society in 1793. He was one of its two secretaries from its inception to 1837. When what was called the New Institution for Public Lectures in Natural Philosophy in Newcastle upon Tyne was set up within the society, he was appointed lecturer. He had to give three lectures a week each winter, each lecture being given twice on the same day, once at 11 a.m. for country members, and again at 8 p.m. for townsfolk. He resigned in 1833, "finding [. . .] that his other numerous engagements prevented him from keeping up with the rapid march of science—chemical science more especially".[5] In the funeral sermon he preached after Turner's death, Mr. Gaskell, Mrs. Gaskell's husband, said:

> Learned and scientific men from the continent, names eminent throughout Europe, considered themselves fortunate if, before visiting Newcastle, they could obtain a letter of introduction to Mr. Turner.

In 1841, he retired and moved to Manchester, where his daughter, Mary, who had married a Unitarian minister, called Robberds, was living. Mr. Robberds and Mr. Gaskell were both ministers at the same chapel, in Cross Street, Manchester, and the two families were intimate. He died in Mrs. Robberds's house on Easter Day, 1859, at the age of 97.

To return to his niece and guest: how long did she spend in Newcastle? what did she do here? It is probable that she first came in the autumn of 1829, and spent two successive winters (1829–30 and 1830–1) in Newcastle.[6] This is borne out by the evidence of her letters[7] and a statement by her daughter, Margaret Emily (known as Meta):

> Her stay in Newcastle on two successive visits was just the ordinary visit of a girl to her connections. Visits in those days were very long when journies were so tedious. *In each case* (my italics) she went on to pay visits to friends of her Father's and Mother's in Edinburgh.[8]

This statement is not quite accurate—in 1830, she left Newcastle to spend the summer at Woodside, Birkenhead; but she does seem to have gone twice to Edinburgh (in 1830 and 1832),[9] and, as far as Newcastle is concerned, it may be accepted. Assuming that she did spend two winters here, what is meant by "winter"? In a letter dated 20 October 1831, she talks of "settling down for the winter";[10] and the letters to Anne Burnett and Harriet Carr suggest that she did not leave Newcastle for Woodside in 1831 until May or early June. This tallies with Meta's remark about visits in those days being very long.

We can form a good idea of her life in Newcastle from her letters, eked out with a little speculation. No doubt Mr. Turner had a servant, and it may be that Ann Turner and Elizabeth Stevenson helped her with some of the housework, as Faith Benson and Ruth help Sally in the novel, *Ruth*; after her marriage, she was an admirable and conscientious housewife. In her spare time, we may take reading, letter-writing, and needlework for granted. She mentions in a letter one book that she read here (see below, p. 142); she was always a great letter-writer, and must certainly, at the very least, have corresponded with her aunt Lumb in Knutsford; and, in her letters to her Newcastle friend, Harriet Carr, she mentions

worsted work and working at coloured cloth for stools. We may be sure that she attended chapel in Hanover Square on Sundays. Mr. Turner, as I have said, was a good preacher, and he had a distinguished congregation—"a conspicuous constellation in the literary firmament of Tyneside".[11]

It is highly likely that she attended Mr. Turner's public lectures at the Lit. and Phil. They were given on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Fridays, and were open to men and women alike. Mary Turner, the future Mrs. Robberds, tells how she used to draw the diagrams for her father's lectures on the blackboard beforehand, and better understood the lecture thereafter.[12] At the beginning of 1830, Mr. Turner gave twenty lectures on mineralogy and geology. In May 1830, his son, William Turner junior, a minister in Halifax, gave six lectures on "The Origin and Progress of Civil Society", and presumably stayed at 13, Cumberland Row; perhaps she and her cousin met. In the winter of 1830–1, Mr. Turner gave a course on Optics and Astronomy. These subjects might not entice large audiences today; but Spence Watson in his history of the Lit. and Phil. makes clear their appeal to the people of an earlier generation: "We had no College, no School of Science and Art, no Evening Classes, no Debating Societies. They were places and occasions at and upon which we met our friends of either sex."[13]

She had an active social life. Her first extant letter was written in Newcastle in 1831. She had just returned from a visit to Bensham, and she was writing to a Newcastle friend, Anne Burnett, thanking her for a gift (a book), mentioning her "kind Newcastle friends", and telling her that she was about to leave Newcastle to spend the summer with an aunt at Woodside, Birkenhead.[14] I do not know whom she visited at Bensham, but there are at least two possibilities: (1) Joseph Watson, of Claremont Place. He had been a member of the Literary and Philosophical Society since 1824. He was wealthy enough to have a large house, Bensham Grove, built in 1837, which later belonged to his son, Robert Spence Watson, the historian of the Lit. and Phil. It is now Gateshead Community Centre.[15] (2) The Allhusens, mentioned in a letter written to William Turner soon after her wedding. Charles G. Allhusen, merchant, of Eldon Square in 1827, had, by 1833, become Charles George Allhusen, gentleman, of Bensham.[16]

After leaving Newcastle, Elizabeth Stevenson corresponded with another Newcastle friend, Harriet Carr. Her delightful letters throw a good deal of light on her social life. She had a large circle of friends—her uncle, we must remember, was at the centre of the vigorous intellectual life of the city at the time. Besides the Carrs, Elizabeth Stevenson mentions the Dorriens, Dr. and "my dear" Mrs. Ramsay, the Rankins, the Headlams, the Collinsons, the Brandlings, the Loshes, and the Reeds—Mr. George Carr was the agent of the newly-established Newcastle branch of the Bank of England, and Mr. Dorrien was the sub-agent—Dr. Ramsay was a foundation member of the Literary and Philosophical Society. In 1800, he was appointed one of the physicians to the Newcastle Infirmary—The Rankins, members of the congregation of Hanover Square chapel,[17] lived in a large house at the Forth, where the Central Station is now. It was a very pleasant residence, says Mary Robberds, very near a square of large trees, having a large garden and a very pretty view over the river. Turner's son, Henry, had married Catherine Rankin, a niece, in 1819—The Rev. John Collinson, Rector of Gateshead, was another member of the Lit. and Phil.—So was Dr. T. E. Headlam, a doctor at the Infirmary, and twice mayor of Newcastle. His brother, whom Elizabeth Stevenson also mentions, was Archdeacon of Richmond—The Brandlings were a wealthy Newcastle family, and they, like the Reeds, provided the city with mayors. Archibald Reed was mayor from 1830 to 1832—he was mayor at the time of a dinner given to Turner on 21 Dec. 1831, "on the occasion of his entrance into the fiftieth year of his residence" in the town[18]—James Losh, later Recorder of Newcastle, was a member of Turner's congregation, and a prominent member of the Literary and Philosophical Society.

His statue stands on the staircase there. He presided at the dinner just mentioned.

Elizabeth Stevenson also mentions a Mr. Williamson, probably John William Williamson of Whickham, student of chemistry and mineralogy, Oriental traveller, favourite of the Shah of Persia, until jealous courtiers conspired against his life, and discoverer of a rich gold mine. He was one of the donors of a grand fancy dress ball given in Durham in 1832 by the gentlemen of Durham and its neighbourhood. He fought a contested parliamentary election in Gateshead in 1837. He was a J.P., for a long time chairman of Durham Quarter Sessions, and in 1845 deputy-lieutenant, High Sheriff of the county.[19] Clearly, he was a man of substance. In her letter, Elizabeth Stevenson asks how his bachelor dinners went off; did nothing come of it? Nothing did; he died unmarried at the age of sixty, in 1850.

Other names appear in a letter to William Turner, written shortly after her marriage in 1832. She mentions Mrs. Greenhow, from whom she has received a wedding present, and sends her kind love to Mrs. Welbank, the Allhusens, the Mortons, and "the Eldonites" (friends living in Eldon Square, presumably), as well as to the Rankins and the Carrs. Mrs. Greenhow may well be Harriet Martineau's eldest sister, who, in 1820, had married Thomas Michael Greenhow, a Newcastle surgeon. As Harriet Martineau's mother was a Rankin and Turner's son had married a Rankin, Harriet Martineau and Elizabeth Stevenson were, albeit distantly, related by marriage. These were all (apart, perhaps, from the mysterious Eldonites) Unitarian families. The Allhusens, Mr. Greenhow, and Miss Morton were present, along with the Rankins, the Brandlings, Mr. and Miss Jacques (see below, p. 142), the Carrs, the Collinsons, the Headlams, and Mr. Williamson, at a magnificent fancy dress ball given by the mayoress of Newcastle, Mrs. Reed, in the Mansion house on 22 March 1832. Mr. Williamson was wearing "Persian dress, actually made in Persia, richly ornamented with jewels of great value".[20] Clearly, Elizabeth Stevenson associated with the élite of Newcastle. Her stay here must have contributed a good deal to her intellectual development, and helped to make her feel at ease in society.

One letter affords us a glimpse of two of her visits:

> Do you remember sending me Sydenham [a novel by William Massie] that rainy day, and an invitation to *wade* over and drink tea with you and Mr Carr, and how I enjoyed it—practising the Mazurka and screaming away at "Drums [?] done" with a voice that was much better suited to "Sleep no more, my voice doth murder sleep".
>
> How is Mr Waldie? uninteresting wretch that he is—and you putting me, the very worst person in the whole world for keeping my countenance opposite to the piano at Jesmond when he began "Amore che sorgerai".

Mr. Waldie was another member of the Hanover Square congregation.[21] There are other references to dancing in these letters. She mentions an Assizes Ball. She recalls the patience of Harriet Carr's brother, William, in "waltzing with the personification of the 'waves of the sea'" [herself presumably]; and she says of Miss Jacques, a cousin of the Brandlings, that "as far as I could judge from seeing her in a ball-room, she never evinced any extreme of mauvaise honte [. . .]"

There is a puzzling passage in one of her letters:

> I enjoy a thunderstorm but a long drizzle is my abomination such as we are having today and here I cannot go to the window, and make signs to a nice kind little friend of mine to put on her bonnet, and dash and fly over to me; at least if I make signs to you I much doubt if you could see them.

The Carrs lived on the premises of the Bank, at the corner of Bailiffgate and Clavering Place, which adjoins Hanover Square. I hardly think Miss Carr could see signs from the window of Cumberland Row, half a mile away as the crow flies. But it is odd that Miss Stevenson should be sitting in the Hanover Square chapel on a wet day; and if she were, why should she not go and call upon her friend in her house?

One further connection between Mrs. Gas-

kell and Northumberland should be mentioned. In Heidelberg in 1858, she made the acquaintance of Charles Bosanquet of Rock, Northumberland. She became friendly with him, and he bulks large in her correspondence. In 1859, she describes him to her nephew as "a very tall young man with a stiff outside & manners à la Sir Charles Grandison but with a very strong desire to know you, hidden under ice & snow [. . .][22] He was a forbear of the late Charles Bosanquet, the first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Mrs. Gaskell's residence in Newcastle has left its mark upon her works. There are two reminiscences in her letters. Writing to Mary Howitt on 18 August 1838, she mentions a local custom, giving eggs and salt to a newborn baby.

> I have been a good deal in Northumberland, and have just remembered a custom there. When a baby goes out for the first time, it is taken to the houses of the parents' friends, who each give it an egg and salt. There it is so general they carry a basket. Here [i.e. in Manchester] my baby once came home with an egg and salt, so I suppose it was once a general custom. (*Letters*, p. 33)[23]

In 1849 she uses the word "coute" for a cosy chat.

> . . . a coute is—a coute—two or three people,—sitting by firelight, in a very confidential open-hearted mood, talking of everything that comes uppermost,—a conversation is a coute.

She says that she does not know where she learned the word, but she thinks it must be a Newcastle word. I do not know if she is right; I have not found the word in any dictionary of Newcastle or North-country words. But that does not matter. The main thing is that she goes on to say:

> I picked up quantities of charming expressive words in canny Newcastle "and I suspect" coute's parish is there, only I don't mean to pass it back again. (*Letters*, pp. 88–90)

In 1851, Mrs. Gaskell published an essay entitled *Disappearances*. She was particularly interested in the subject, her own brother having been lost at sea: Peter in *Cranford* is one of several such characters in her works. One of the disappearances she mentions took place in North Shields, and I suspect she heard of it during her stay in Newcastle. Her reference to "the alleys (or 'chares') which lead down from the main street of North Shields to the river", suggests that she had been there. The incident took place on 22 February 1827, according to Sykes, who relates:

> A young man named John Margetts, apprentice to a surgeon of North Shields, having been sent by his master, Mr. Greenhow, with some medicine to a sick person about five o' clock on the morning, most mysteriously disappeared, and has not since been heard of. He was about nineteen years of age. (II, 201)

Mrs. Gaskell's account is much fuller. Was there, one wonders, any connection between this Greenhow and the Mrs. Greenhow who gave her a wedding present?

Newcastle occurs in *Cranford* (1851–3). In Chapter 5, "Old Letters", we learn that Miss Jenkyns visited some friends near Newcastle.

> These friends were intimate with the commandant of the garrison there, and heard from him of the preparations that were being made to repel the invasion of Buonaparte, which some people imagined might take place at the mouth of the Tyne. Miss Jenkyns was evidently very much alarmed; and the first part of her letters was often written in pretty intelligible English, conveying particulars of the preparations which were made in the family with whom she was residing against the dreaded event; the bundles of clothes that were packed up ready for a flight to Alston moor (a wild hilly piece of ground between Northumberland and Cumberland); the signal that was to be given for this flight, and for the simultaneous turning out of the volunteers under arms; which said signal was to consist (if I remember rightly) in ringing the church bells in a particular and ominous manner. One day, when Miss Jenkyns and her hosts were at a dinner-party in Newcastle, this warning summons was actually given [. . .], and Miss Jenkyns, hardly recovered from her fright, wrote next day

> to describe the sound, the breathless shock, the hurry and alarm [. . .]

Something like this actually occurred. The burning of whins on the Lammermuir Hills, gave rise on 1 February 1804 to a false alarm throughout Northumberland; it spread to Durham the following day. As a result, the Corporation published a notice, making it clear that the signal for danger was by day a red flag, and by night a light, on towers and church steeples, accompanied by five minute guns fired at four places in the city.[24] Scott makes use of this same episode in his novel, *The Antiquary*—Incidentally, had Mrs. Gaskell ever seen Alston Moor? Her ghost story, *The Old Nurse's Story* (1852), is set at Furnivall Manor House, in Northumberland, "at the foot of the Cumberland Fells", a vague phrase, but suggestive of Alston.

A Northumbrian maid is introduced into *Morton Hall* (1853), "a good honest farmer's daughter", who has the Northumbrian burr, and, when she pronounced her name (Turner), "both Ethelinda and I could have sworn she said Donagh, and were afraid she was an Irishwoman". This is a good attempt at a phonetic transcription of the Northumbrian pronunciation of Turner.

Newcastle plays a considerable part in two of Mrs. Gaskell's novels, *Ruth* and *Sylvia's Lovers*. *Ruth* (1853), indeed, she spoke of "as her Newcastle story, because in it is woven so much of her own life when staying with Mr. Turner and his daughter".[25] Neither of the two towns in which the novel is set, Fordham and Eccleston, much resembles Newcastle. However, one or two details of Fordham are reminiscent of it. Ruth attends St. Nicholas's church; and one Sunday Mr. Bellingham takes her home, not by the direct road, but by some meadows called the Leasowes. Is the resemblance between Leasowes and Leazes fortuitous? As for Eccleston, the house of Thurstan Benson and his sister Faith is remarkably like no. 13, Cumberland Row—two rooms on each of three floors, with a kitchen built on to the back of the ground floor, and a garden behind, and the life that Ruth leads there with the two Bensons and their maid Sally is no doubt rather like that of Elizabeth Stevenson with the Turners in Newcastle, except that Elizabeth Stevenson had a far more active social life. Mrs. Gaskell has given Ruth's lover the name of a Northumbrian town and family, though it is also possible that she came across it in Kendal: Levens Hall belonged to the Bellinghams, and there is a Bellingham Chapel in Kendal parish church. Similarly, in another story, *Curious, if True*, a fantasy on fairy tales, Mrs. Gaskell gives the name Richard Whittingham (a thinly disguised form of Dick Whittington) to her hero.

Mr. Turner has been thought to be the prototype both of Thurstan Benson in *Ruth* and of Mr. Gray in a later work, *My Lady Ludlow*.[26] No doubt, in describing a minister or a clergyman (Mr. Gray is an Anglican), Mrs. Gaskell drew on her impressions of men she had known; and that Mr. Turner's "kind feeling for the poor was in the novelist's mind when she described Thurstan Benson in *Ruth*"[27] may well be true. But the deformed Benson, who loses the respect of his congregation or some of it when his deceit in passing an unmarried mother off as a widow is discovered, and the timid, awkward, blushing, sickly Gray, even though he does start a Sunday school, are very different from the energetic, highly successful, and deeply respected Turner, founder of the Literary and Philosophical Society, and so much besides, schoolmaster, lecturer, member of committees, honoured by a banquet and presentations. Faith Benson, on the other hand, seems to owe a good deal to Mr. Turner's daughter, Ann.[28]

Elizabeth Stevenson had left Newcastle for Woodside long before the cholera came (7 December 1831); so, though it may be reflected in the typhus epidemic in *Ruth*—she must have heard about it from Mrs. Robberds, or from Ann Turner, or from William Turner himself—she had no first-hand experience of it.

Sylvia's Lovers (1863) is set in Monkshaven, i.e. Whitby, where Mrs. Gaskell spent ten days in November, 1859, in the time of the revolutionary wars and the press-gang. Newcastle plays a considerable part in the novel. Rela-

tions between Whitby and Newcastle are close. Sylvia's preferred lover, the Northumbrian Kinraid, is the cousin of Sylvia's neighbours, the Corneys, and her friend, Molly Corney, meets her future husband in Newcastle while staying with relatives. Darley, a sailor, killed by the press-gang, met Kinraid in Newcastle; and the sister of the colleague of Kinraid's rival, Philip Hepburn, was an apprentice there. Sylvia's father, Daniel Robson, knows Newcastle well. When Philip Hepburn is sent on a mission to London, he walks to Hartlepool, takes the coach thence to Newcastle, spends the night in an inn on the quayside, and travels by ship from the Tyne. The servant, Kester, at the end of the novel is sent to the Cheviots to bring back the sheep his employer has bought.

Mrs. Gaskell's local knowledge is clear. She is acquainted with "singing hinnies". She knows—or her characters do—that the name of the city is pronounced "Newcassel". Kinraid, the son of a Northumbrian farmer, whose people live at Cullercoats, mentions the "coal-miners round about Newcastle way". He has "the Northumbrian burr, the Newcastle inflexions", and leads his men through Acre singing "The Keel Row", "the old Newcastle song". Sylvia's friend, Molly, marries a Newcastle man with a shop on the Side, "wheere there's many a hundred carts and carriages goes past in a day". He sells cheese; another shop, Robinson's, on the Side deals in ploughs. Directories both of 1801 and of Elizabeth Stevenson's time, show that there were a cheesemonger and an ironmonger on the Side. There are two further reminiscences of Newcastle in *Sylvia's Lovers*. Mrs. Gaskell gives the name of St. Nicholas to the parish church of Monkshaven, and that of Turner to Kinraid's uncle in Cullercoats.

An odd thing is that, in *Sylvia's Lovers*, Newcastle and the district around it are a baneful influence, and its people are unfavourably portrayed. They may be good-natured, but they are superficial and fickle. Our first encounter with Newcastle people comes at the beginning of the novel, on the return of the whaler. Sylvia and Molly pass five or six girls "with flushed faces and careless attire", "wild and free in their gestures", singing "The Keel Row". One of them, who "belonged to the lowest class of seaport inhabitants" is "known all down t' quayside as 'Newcastle Bess'". Newcastle Bess foreshadows Charles Kinraid, Sylvia's preferred lover, who has already jilted at least two girls. He is a lady's man, "a bad man", according to William Coulson, the brother of one of them. When Sylvia leaves the New Year's party at which Kinraid makes up his mind to marry her, "he found it easy to turn his attention to the next prettiest girl in the room". After bidding Sylvia farewell, he whistles:

> It steeled Philip's heart to what was coming [Kinraid is being ambushed by the press-gang] to hear his rival whistling, "Weel may the keel row," so soon after parting with Sylvia.

"The Keel Row" is almost a theme song in *Sylvia's Lovers*. In contrast to Kinraid and Bess, Philip and Sylvia are unwavering in their affections.

Finally, it is the sailors of North Shields who set the example of attacking the men of the impress service and drive the guard-ships down to the Yorkshire coast. This results in the riot at Monkshaven, the execution of Sylvia's father, and the disastrous marriage of Sylvia and Philip. In fact, the Whitby riots (26 and 27 February 1793) preceded the riot at North Shields (18 March).[29]

NOTES

[1] Mrs. Ellis H. (Esther Alice) Chadwick, *Mrs. Gaskell. Haunts, Homes, and Stories*, 1910, p. 146.

[2] W. Turner, *A Short Sketch of the History of Protestant Nonconformity, and of the Society assembling in Hanover-Square, Newcastle*, 1811, p. 26.

[3] *The Diaries and Correspondence of James Losh*, ed. Edward Hughes (Surtees Society), 2 vols, 1962–3 (Vol. I, p. 125, 25 Dec. 1820); Richard Welford, *Men of Mark 'twixt Tyne and Tweed*, 3 vols, 1895 (Vol. II, p. 454).

[4] R. Spence Watson, *The History of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne (1793–1896)*, 1897, p. 33.

[5] Spence Watson, p. 224.

[6] Chadwick, p. 145; Elizabeth Haldane, *Mrs. Gaskell and her Friends*, second impression, 1930, p. 24; Winifred Gérin, *Elizabeth Gaskell. A Biography*, 1976, pp. 40–1.

[7] A letter written in Newcastle to Anne Burnett is printed in J. A. V. Chapple and J. G. Sharps, *Elizabeth Gaskell. A portrait in letters*, 1980, pp. 11–12. For five letters written to another Newcastle friend, Harriet Carr, in 1831 and 1832, see J. A. V. Chapple, "Before 'Crutches and Changed feelings'; five early letters by Elizabeth Gaskell (née Stevenson)", *The Gaskell Society Journal*, vol. 4, 1990, pp. 1–27.

[8] Gérin, pp. 40–1.

[9] The bust of her by David Dunbar, mentioned in a letter to Harriet Carr dated 31 Aug. and 1 Sept. 1831 (Chapple, p. 8), must date from 1830; and the miniature by W. J. Thom(p)son is dated June 1832 (A. Stanton Whitfield, *Mrs. Gaskell. Her Life and Work*, 1929, p. 253; J. G. Sharps, *Mrs. Gaskell's Observation and Invention*, 1970, p. 669, n. 16).

[10] Chapple, p. 13.

[11] Welford, II, p. 455.

[12] Mary Robberds, *Recollections of a long life*. There is a typed copy of this MS. in the library of the Literary and Philosophical Society.

[13] Spence Watson, p. 254. The information in this paragraph is derived from his book.

[14] Chapple and Sharps, pp. 11–12. According to Hodgson's and Ihler's Directories of 1833, George Burnett, agent, was then living at 33, Cumberland Row.

[15] *Copy of Register of the Electors for the Northern Division of the County of Durham 1835–6*, 1835; Percy Corder, *The Life of Robert Spence Watson*, 1914, pp. 14–16; F. W. D. Manders, *History of Gateshead*, 1973, p. 330.

[16] J. A. V. Chapple, "Unofficial lives: Elizabeth Gaskell and the Turner family", in Charles Parish, *The History of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne*, vol. II, *1896–1989*, 1990, pp. 106–20 (p. 108). Parson and White's *Directory*, 1827, lists Allhusen and Co., 29 Quayside, under "Cornmerchants and factors", and Charles G. Allhusen, merchant, with a house in Eldon Square. In 1833, both Hodgson and Ihler list Christian Allhusen, general merchant, 29 Quayside, while Charles George Allhusen has become a "gentleman", now living at Bensham.

[17] Losh, I, p. 148.

[18] J. Sykes, *Local Records*, 2 vols, 1833 (vol. II, p. 334).

[19] William Bourn, *Annals of the Parish of Whickham*, 1902; Sykes, II, pp. 351–2; Manders, p. 271; Welford, III, p. 641.

[20] Chapple, "Unofficial lives", p. 108. Details of the fancy dress ball are given in Sykes, II, pp. 347–51. Sykes lists Dr. and Mrs. Morson and Miss Morton. I suspect that Morson is a misprint for Morton: neither Hodgson nor Ihler list a Morson, whereas both give Lewis Morton, surgeon dentist, of 39 Blackett Street.

[21] Losh, I, p. 149.

[22] *Letters*, p. 526, 5 Feb. 1859.

[23] This custom is mentioned in an article by Stan Pearson in the *Hexham Courant* (Sept. 1990): "From a very early period it had been the custom that when a baby was for the first time taken into a neighbour's house it was there presented with a little salt, an egg and a piece of bread. These articles were put together and folded into the infant's gown".

[24] Sykes, II, p. 19.

[25] Chadwick, p. 152.

[26] Chadwick, pp. 105–6, 359; Gérin, pp. 41–2.

[27] Chadwick, p. 151.

[28] Chapple, "Unofficial lives", pp. 114–16.

[29] G. DeWitt Sanders, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, 1929, pp. 116–17; Sykes, I, 366–7. The account of the riot at North Shields in Chapter 22 of *Sylvia's Lovers* echoes that in Sykes's *Records*. Did she use Sykes, or was there a common source?