Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

University of Abou Bekr Belkaid Tlemcen

Faculty of Letters and Foreign Languages

Department of English

Political Thought and Social Welfare in Britain, 1867 – 1906

A doctorate thesis presented to the Department of English in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of doctorate in civilisation

Supervised by

Dr. Daoudi Frid

Presented by

Mr. Mohamed Cherif Seddiki

Jury Members:

01	Pr. Senouci Faiza	Professeur de l'enseignement supérieur	Université de Tlemcen	Chairwoman
02	Dr. Frid Daoudi	Maitre de conférences (A)	Université de Tlemcen	Supervisor
03	Pr. Boulanouar Mohamed	Professeur de l'enseignement supérieur	Université de Sidi Belabes	Examiner
04	Dr. Ghomri Tedj	Maitre de conférences (A)	Université de Bechar	Examiner
05	Pr. Ourrad Belabess	Professeur de l'enseignement supérieur	Université de Sidi Belabes	Examiner
06	Dr. Kheladi Mohamed	Maitre de conférences (A)	Université de Tlemcen	Examiner

Academic Year

2020-2021

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

University of Abou Bekr Belkaid Tlemcen

Faculty of Letters and Foreign Languages

Department of English

An account on Labour Unions and the Pursuit of Social Welfare in Britain: Setting on Political Campaigns or Physical Force Activities, 1867 – 1906

A doctorate thesis presented to the Department of English in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of doctorate in civilisation

Supervised by

Dr. Daoudi Frid

Presented by

Mr. Mohamed Cherif Seddiki

Jury Members:

01	Pr. Senouci Faiza	Professeur de l'enseignement supérieur	Université de Tlemcen	Chairwoman
02	Dr. Frid Daoudi	Maitre de conférences (A)	Université de Tlemcen	Supervisor
03	Pr. Boulanouar Mohamed	Professeur de l'enseignement supérieur	Université de Sidi Belabes	Examiner
04	Dr. Ghomri Tedj	Maitre de conférences (A)	Université de Bechar	Examiner
05	Pr. Ourrad Belabess	Professeur de l'enseignement supérieur	Université de Sidi Belabes	Examiner
06	Dr. Kheladi Mohamed	Maitre de conférences (A)	Université de Tlemcen	Examiner

Academic Year

2020-2021

Declaration of Originality

I, Mohamed Cherif Seddiki, hereby declare that the construction of the current thesis results from my sole efforts and work, and under the supervision of Dr. Daoudi Frid. I additionally certify that every piece of information, which is not original to this work, has been cited in text and referenced in the works cited page.

As for the scientific credibility and originality, all the sections of the present thesis have not been part of any academic paper, dissertation or thesis submitted for either a degree or a certificate to this or any other university or research center.

Dedication

I truly dedicate this work to all of those who have prayed for my success and never ceased supporting me, to my grandmother, my mother and my dearest wife.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Daoudi Frid for his inestimable assistance, constant counsel and mainly, his unconditional acceptance, without which this thesis would not achieve this stage.

I do further extend my acknowledgements to the jury members for their time and efforts they offered to evaluate this piece of writing as well as to both Dr. Yahia Zeghoudi, *University of Abha*, and Pr. Giorgio Mariani, *University of Rome*, for their support, words of advice and insightful recommendations, many of which were of a great value for the completion of this work.

Abstract

In addition to meeting individuals' needs, reform movements are meant to protect rights and privileges. Labour Movement in Britain, for instance, reveals how workers in different trades set on different canals, sometimes violent, to settle disputes and effect changes in their favour. These actions were in response to several factors as repressive legislation, the failure of governments to address grievances, and above all, industrial strain. The thesis argues that the workers, despite all means of pressure, ended up triumphant and able to capitalize on whatever opportunities to improve their lives. Based on this account, ***to what extent are physical force activities appropriate means to extract rights and step up welfare?*** The concern of this thesis is to explore what effective means can serve the achievement of welfare. Qualitative deductive approach is used to explore the circumstances that typified the rise of unionism, and which are thought to be the driving force behind the creation of welfare. The latter might result from strikes, stoppages and all sorts of physical force activities. This paper found that the road to labour rights and political liberties was too demanding in the sense that labour societies experienced a number of reverses. Yet, starting from 1924, they became no longer malleable by their masters or driven down by punitive laws. Through their labour associations and later their own party, the workers became fully involved in ruling their realm after they had been excluded both socially and politically. The value of this initiative is that it advocates peaceful practices to manage conflicts in the sense that repression usually culminates into nothing but violence. This attempt is significant for it pinpoints ways to alleviate pressure via effective political organization and campaigning.

Keywords: Labour unions- Physical force activities- Political parties- Reforms– Welfare.

Contents

List of Acronyms

AACS stands for the Amalgamated Association of Cotton Spinners

ASE stands for the Amalgamated Society of Engineers

ASRS stands for the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants

BSP stands for the British Socialist Party

GNCTU stands for the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union

GUS stands for the General Union of Spinners

ILP stands for the Independent Labour Party

LRC stands for Labour Representation Committee

MFGB stands for Miners' Federation of Great Britain

NAPL stands for the National Association for the Protection of Labour

SDF stands for Social Democratic Federation

SL Stands for the Socialist League

TUC stands for the Trade Union Congress

List of Graphs

List of Tables

Glossary

Anti-Corn Law League, a pressure group founded in 1839 by 'free traders' Richard Cobden and John Bright to campaign for the repeal of the 'corn laws'. Regulations forbidding grain exports had been introduced as early as the 14th century. Although much legislation followed, in this context 'corn laws' refers to the measures introduced in the late 18th and early 19th century. When domestic prices reached specified levels, grain exports were prohibited. Alternatively, to ensure artificially high prices, import duties were imposed on grain coming into the country. The result was that grain cheaper than domestic price levels was discouraged and bread became expensive.

Chartism, British working-class movement for parliamentary reform named after the People's Charter, a bill drafted by the London radical William Lovett in May 1838. The resulting movement was at the centre of the demands for parliamentary reform during the late 1830s and throughout the 1840s. Chartism also promoted the cause of trade unions and factory reform, and was vehemently against the new Poor Law ("Chartism", 2010).

Crompton's mule refers to a spinning device, largely known as the spinning mule, which permitted large-scale manufacture of high-quality thread and yarn ("Crompton's mule", 2010).

Guilds were medieval associations consisting of the chief traders of a town. The early merchant guilds excluded craft workers. The later craft guilds therefore sought to include employers, day workers (journeymen) and apprentices. The aim of the guilds was to regulate wages, prices and the number of apprentices entering the trade, as well as upholding standards of workmanship (National Archives).

Laissez faire refers to a policy of minimum governmental interference in the economic affairs of individuals and society ("Laissez-faire", 2010).

Landed elites, as a term, refers to a social class consisting of land owners who could live entirely off rental income. Often they worked only in an administrative capacity, in the management of their own lands, or in such professions as politics and the armed forces. The decline of the class largely stemmed from the 1870s agricultural depression ("Landed elites", 2015).

Luddites were bands of 19th-century English handicraftsmen who rioted for the destruction of the textile machinery that was displacing them. The movement began in the vicinity of Nottingham toward the end of 1811 and in the next year spread to Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, and Leicestershire ("Luddite.", 2015).

Radicalism refers to a term applied to the views, principles and policies of progressive and democratic campaigners' intent on a programme of political, social and economic reform. In the second half of the 19th century, the term was used for the progressive wing of the Liberal Party.

Robert Owen, (1771- 1858), Welsh manufacturer turned reformer, one of the most influential early 19th-century advocates of utopian socialism. His New Lanark mills in Lanarkshire, Scotland, with their social and industrial welfare programs, became a place of pilgrimage for statesmen and social reformers. He also sponsored or encouraged many experimental "utopian" communities, including one in New Harmony, Indiana and the U.S ("Robert Owen", 2010).

St.Peter's Fields, a radical meeting held on St. Peter's Fields in Manchester to reform labour laws and ask for more political rights. It resulted from a series of political rallies held in 1819, a year of industrial depression and high food prices. Presided over by the radical leader Henry Hunt, the meeting was intended as a great demonstration of discontent, and its political object was parliamentary reform ("St.Peter's Fields", 2015)

Suffrage means the right to vote in parliamentary elections. The Levellers (1645-9) and Chartists (1838-48) campaigned for manhood suffrage. The Representation of the People Act of 1918 gave the vote to men over 21 and women over 30. In 1928 women were given the same voting rights as men.

The Frame-Breaking Act, also known as the Destruction of Stocking Frames, was an Act of Parliament passed by the British Government in 1812 aimed at increasing legal penalties for Luddite behaviour to discourage machine breaking (Bailey, 1998).

The Spital-fields Act set up a standard of rules and rates of pay, under periodic control of the Justices of the Peace. The weavers were satisfied and only formed a union to ensure the carrying out of the Act (Mantoux, 2013).

Whigs were those who opposed the religious policies of Charles II and the succession of his Catholic brother James, Duke of York. By the early 18th century, the Whigs had become a loose political alliance made up of members of the aristocracy and the moneyed middle classes that supported the Hanoverian settlement. From the late 18th century, the Whigs favoured some measure of political reform, and this connection with parliamentary change was reinforced with the 1832 Reform Act. They came to adopt the term 'Liberals' quite early in the 19th century, although official usage dates from the 1860s.

General Introduction

With varied degrees, achieving social prosperity and political stability is connected to several factors such as powerful institutions, effective policies and active community service. Governments are theoretically installed to serve the nation's interests, but before anything, to address peoples' grievances when needed. Yet, it may happen that governments turn against individuals' rights and liberties. In this regard, public discontent, which has recently punctuated several parts in the world, can be seen in the context of political failure or rather the lack of political commitment to earlier platforms and promises. Public discontent equally means a clear condemnation of economic deficiencies, social defects and other failures, which can impel individuals and groups to initiate waves of change. Yet, most of reform movements go through a long process, which is often slow, insecure and above all uncertain. They additionally require constant efforts, strategies and means so as to handle social, economic and even political demands properly.

Setting on this experience of tracing the origins of welfare in Britain, in England particularly, will not only shed light on the relevant facts, which coalesced together to build up a political party able to meet peoples' aspirations, but also pinpoint some effective means by which contingents can protect their privileges and rights. In fact, this is the value of works as this one. Focus is chiefly on all that helps indicate what best measures can help promote social welfare rather than exploring what precipitated reform movement. In nineteenth century Britain, and in response to the degradation of working conditions, the deterioration of social services and more importantly the violation of rights, labour societies in different trades embarked on several activities that ranged from protests and strikes to parliamentary campaigning and political organization to defend their cause in a society that had once ignored their rights. These responses were the chief forces that contributed to the making of welfare in Britain in 1940's. Actually, this is what helped frame two of the key inquiries about the origins of social welfare in Britain: what helped these societies claim revolutionary amendments, and then changes in favour of their welfare? Given that the working class was less organized and vulnerable to a number of evils, what could help claim privileges if political representation failed to address peoples' grievances?

Indubitably, it is neither an attempt to demonize political parties nor to count on public disturbance as the basis of welfare project. In reality, there are several accounts about the effectiveness of political organisation. Political representation often proved successful and loyal to the programmes candidates had set to promote all forms of welfare. Yet, this is relatively true in some parts of the world, unlike certain others where the realization of welfare might be the product of campaigning, public disturbance, and rioting. In some instances, contingents were brought face to face with their state due to legal infringements of liberties, the deterioration of urban services, health care defects, unemployment and squalor. Leading pressure on different fronts, setting on

public rallies, strikes or simply resisting whatever the measures of legal restraints might work better than political activity. Accordingly, the resort to physical force activities and collective actions is possible if not effective to realize social or political schemes.

Exploring the workers' striving for better conditions might be helpful in testing the hypotheses above for it vividly describes what the working class movement managed to achieve, particularly between 1825 and 1871, in terms of legal amendments and social changes. These developments were the first steps towards the making of social welfare in Britain. It is in nineteenth-century Britain that one can understand the roots of welfare. To this end, a qualitative deductive approach is used to explore the ups and downs labour societies had gone through to protect their interests. A number of events revealed the way the ruling class managed the industrial conflict. In fact, their ineffective policies and utter ignorance of the workers' interests did only aggravate the situation. Both governors and employers failed to address the working class grievances and alternatively sought instruments to oppress all waves of reform the fact that mounted discontent in several trades. Thereby, tracing the origins of social welfare is significant in the sense that it provides experiences in political practices, syndicalist campaigning and other reform canals meant to overcome forms of restraint. In short, the story of the workers' struggle is more than listing the amendments they succeeded to claim before 1871, but rather an understanding of how the workers did triumph the challenges of the day and became another social and political force somehow hard to reckon with.

In the last two centuries, the working class emerged from a situation where most of its rights and privileges were utterly in the hands of factory masters to a position of social and political power. For many decades, workers contested the systems and conditions they were living in. They set on campaigns which developed out of several economic, social and even ideological changes that punctuated their realm. The shift to industrial economy drove a large number of peasants off their villages into areas where workshops were in need for labouring hands, but their hopes of better living conditions soon faded away since what they had hoped for was demonstrably different from what they began to experience. In other words, worse of all were the conditions at work and home. Besides low wages and long working hours, factory regulations often brought the workers into confrontations with their employers in an effort to lessen strain, but in vain. It soon became evident that only combining could help protect their labour privileges. Yet, even these nascent attempts of self-protection were intolerable if not a capital offense causing a legal pursuit.

Labour organization was still in its early days unable to stand against legal infringements of both governors and employers. Labour gatherings were scattered, local, financially fragile and more importantly, illegal. Not only these, the workers' rivals were often able to manipulate governments, shape laws in their favour given that the working population was neither represented nor enfranchised. Actually, the first labour guilds and councils received the first slap after passing the Combination Laws, which openly banned all forms of union among workers making it impossible to organize labour. These were the governors' responses to the workers' demands. In fact, legal proceedings, harsh sentences and other forms of restraint were meant to put down the working class movement and deter any wave of change calling for reforms. Yet, it is worth mentioning that these attempts were often resisted in several forms of

protest. In other words, neither the power of legislation nor the hostility of the employers could whittle away the workers' collective action.

There is no doubt that reform movements are usually met with mounting resistance, and this is typical for conflicts. Actually, nothing would go unanswered meaning that the working class radicals and leaders, in their turn, would respond in a number of ways. Early 1830's developments were so decisive that they compelled the working class to think of new strategies whereby they would manage the industrial conflict. Hopefully, earlier economic protests played a crucial part in lifting the ban on combinations, but they were not more than modest achievements. The working class soon realized that the aspirations they had hoped for were dashed by the Reform Act and Poor Laws of 1834. More than that, prosecutions continued to occur against radicals under the Servant and Master Act despite the repeal of the Combination Laws. Paradoxically, these legal changes did only entice the workers to hold on their cause if not initiate another wave of reform. The Chartists' political schemes, for instance, aspired to achieve social changes via political campaigning, but again these plans did not work out mainly due to the lack of national organization. Nevertheless, these reverses did never obstruct unionism, which in the 1850's began to loom large in the form of co-operative societies, coalitions and amalgamations. In these days, a new form of unions, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, gained hold among labour societies. In fact, it became the model, which would massively transform the working class social and political future in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Resistance was a recurrent issue in the working class movement, mainly from the workers who were ceaselessly seeking remedies. After some advances in labour organization, late 1860's unions became larger, more effective and above all able to place pressure on employers. These developments resulted particularly from the rise of class consciousness among labour societies, which could survive all forms of restraints. In fact, this became possible after the extension of the voting rights, which did not only involve the workers in the political calculations of the day but helped launch another wave of industrial conflict: political protest. This was a landmark in the struggle for welfare in the sense that labour disputes shifted from economic campaigns, namely strikes and stoppages, to political activity. At this stage, the workers oriented their energies to the legal recognition of their unions rather than struggle against their state and employers alike.

It is possible to say that the workers' industrial protests helped achieve certain developments in the workers' favour, but political rallying did the same in the years after 1867. Parliamentary lobbying for the workers' privileges proved so vital that it realized considerable legal achievements for the working population. The result was the acceptance of unions, and this means, the workers' right to combine. In other words, the Trade Union Act became a milestone in the history of the working class struggle for social and political liberties in the sense that it did not only conclude the industrial dispute but paved the way for revolutionary changes in 1880's and early 1890's as well. In fact, unionism became no longer dominated by craft unions, but it extended to unskilled workers who were still less organized. It seems that the working class began to aspire to more privileges apart from the right to combine. After their triumph in the fight for legal status, the working class leaders began to agitate for ways and means to increase political representation in parliament.

In their industrial rally, the workers set on whatever would help them protect their privileges and rights. This entails ways, means and even thoughts. Further, the working class movement was not away from the international currents. Alongside with the rise of New Unionism in the 1880's, the re-birth of socialist theories could shape the next phase of the industrial conflict if not brought the workers to the political arena. At this point, increasing labour representation in the House of Commons became the question of the day. Almost up to 1906, much of the working class efforts were dedicated to political organization and labour representation hoping to gain a stronghold in parliament. The working class, through their unions, could forge electoral agreements and lead successful campaigns given that they became politically and financially independent. They became able to bring forward their political schemes, mainly with the triumph of their allies, the Liberals, in the general election of 1906. With 29 Labour MPs in the Commons, their political future would not look bleak. This clearly indicates the degree of organization the working class managed to acquire and the effective instruments they developed to direct labour concerns in accordance with the workers' interests. After a long way entirely filled with hardships, the working class ended up with a respectable position, more exactly a new party of their own, allowing them not only to defend their concerns but influence decision in a nation the bulk of its population were labourers.

The workers' accounts were really worth exploring, but what kind of arrangement would be appropriate to retell the story of those who defied their employers and claim a position of power. Hence, and for a comprehensive description, this work is divided into four chronologically arranged parts, which aim at providing an in-depth understanding of the way welfare and labour organization did crop up in Britain. As it has been mentioned before, qualitative deductive approach is used, but I frequently tried to interpret facts from social and political perspectives. The first chapter provides an overview

on the chief factors behind the need for combining in the sense that the industrial developments prior 1830's as well as the socio-economic disruptions of the day brought workers face to face with their masters. In other words, the complexities of industrialization drove flocks of peasants towards industrial areas looking for better conditions, but the current factory systems dashed their hopes. They ended up in dreadful districts and unsafe workshops working for long hours for meagre wages. Along with these unbearable effects, guilds, councils and labour clubs of the day remained unable to handle labour grievances, except for minor benefits, and so were governments' policies. Thus, it became imperative for the working class to seek ways and means to organize labour and protect rights.

The industrial protest was not a mere response to the effects of industrialization, but as a mature attempt to step up living and working conditions. Thus, the second chapter covers the turbulent events that punctuated the first half on the nineteenth century, particularly the onset of the industrial conflict following the degradation of the working class livelihood. The outbreak of physical force activities in several forms was meant to protect crafts, halt mechanization and organize labour in the long run. Almost in all trades, the workers could no longer bear the ban on combinations and the violation of their labour privileges. Public disturbance, mass manifestations, strikes and machine wrecking were of equal importance to radicalism that in its turn, aimed at protecting labour rights. Thus, the Luddites were not only angry workingmen, but also activists like the socialists and the Chartists with visions and schemes to organize labour. It is in no way to state that these forms of industrial protest were unsuccessful, pointless or wholly ineffective. In fact, physical force activities were an attempt to get over the defects of the day.

Struggles for rights and liberties usually begin small but end great. The working class movement is no exception for it started with little hopes but ended with monumental achievements, which could transform the workers' political and social lives in the 1920's. The labourers' rallies, though desperate sometimes, lingered on into the second half of the nineteenth century but in a different front. The workers grew determined and aware enough of their political and social interests; they held on change and kept asking for remedies to their grievances. Almost for two quarters of a century, they struggled against legal proceedings, harsh sentences and the mounting hostility of their employers, but starting from 1848, they began to adopt some new strategies, which would change the nature of the industrial conflict. With this in mind, it was never an easy task for the working class to gain a better bargaining position. Thus, it is again vital to survey those organizational transformations and developments the working class itself did experience as far as political awareness and class-consciousness are concerned.

The third chapter explores the changes labour societies went through in the second half of the nineteenth century in terms of means and practices in favour of their movement. In fact, some labour groups embarked on new alternatives after they had realized that their industrial protest would come to no effects. With the coming of the Chartists, the objectives of the workers were extended to more than social and economic privileges. In other words, the Chartists aspired to make their six-point Charter the law of the land. Yet, few years later, their efforts were doomed to failure, but without any doubt, it is again unwise to undermine their effect on the progress of labour movement. Actually, the shift to political campaigns was revolutionary compared to the older practices when most of the industrial complaints took place in factories and workshops.

The extension of the franchise in 1867 and the legal recognition of unions in 1871 were really a turning point in the history of the working class struggle for better conditions. The former brought labour societies to the political arena allowing them to instigate labour politics, and the second limited legal encroachments against unions and workers. Both achievements are associated with the revolutionary changes new unions had collectively launched in the 1850's and 1860's. With the birth of amalgamations and trade councils, particularly in the 1860's, the unions were becoming national, larger, and most of all, financially powerful. The increasing number of affiliates and cooperation with varied trades were enough to determine the outcomes of strikes. In fact, these developments did not only help set a new example of effective unions but also consolidate unionism on a national basis. In less than a decade, most unions became more than labour societies seeking social changes but pressure groups increasingly involved in political activities. With the franchise of 1867, the working class, through their parliamentary committee, could lead campaigns and forge lobbies. The working class leaders were confidently walking towards legal acceptance, labour representation and later political organization. It could be said that, and up to 1871, the outcomes of the political campaigns were minor yet revolutionary in the sense that they marked beginning of legal unionism.

Though 1870's brought significant social and political developments in favour of the working population, a lot of labour disputes remained unsolved if not difficult to settle down. In fact, the struggle for better conditions in the workers' favour, regardless their skills, was still ongoing, but this time hand in hand with continental economic and ideological upheavals. The fourth chapter focuses on the legacy of labour societies rallies and their contributions to the workers' political independence and welfare in the end. The working class leaders turned to parliamentary politics alongside with union activism to advocate labour concerns away from their reliance upon political allies and

former agreements. New unionism led to the foundation of powerful pressure groups and lobbies. The worker, through their ILP and LRC, called for a labour alliance, immediate reforms, the extension of voting rights and other privileges. At certain points, the workers, whether leaders, radicals, unionists, socialists or non-socialists, were in need to tolerate their differences, forget all that might cause divisions, and above all, apply what would help them come together. Eventually, and in 1906, they could transform their labour association into a political party, which would later allow them to speak for the majority of the people and their aspirations for a better life. In fact, and in less than three decades, Labour MPs could introduce free education, improve healthcare and fight for equal rights for both men and women. Their fair deal and concern for the poor, unemployed and those who were lacking opportunities helped them articulate a number of values, which would in return help them win the confidence of the British people. In short, Labour governments played a major role in the foundation of powerful institutions that did not only help settle industrial dispute, but also guarantee peace and step up many of the services upon which people usually depend.

Surveying the accounts of trade unions and the workers' struggle for labour rights and liberties reveals how determined the workers, in different trades, were against the atrocities of industrialization and capitalist practices. A lot of them grew mutinous, sometimes violent, to protect their crafts and interests, but they were neither thoughtless nor anarchic insurgents in the sense that their agitations were varied, innovative and particularly, in response to legal restraint. The withdrawal of the governments of the day or rather the lack of political commitment, on the part of the Conservatives and Liberals, brought the industrial conflict to its head. It enticed radicals with different ideological leanings to dare think of many ways to settle down disputes and ask for reform. The workers' accounts were really worth exploring for they assembled between many ups and downs, some victories and reverses, which speak for the

workers' cost to realize welfare. At the same time, surveying labour movement in Britain was overwhelming in several instances in the sense that it reveals a great deal of events and incidents, political concepts and terms, which often require in-depth readings. It needed time to find the right literature that assembles the workers' struggles and the achievement of welfare state in Britain.

The Review of Literature

The question of social welfare has always been brought to the fore by politicians, social workers and unexpectedly by mobs, and it is often recurrent in human history regardless of the circumstances peoples are living. Down the centuries of the industrial age, groups and individuals have sought ways and means to develop the quality of their lives, the fact that makes social welfare, as a topic, much consumed. In this context, this thesis is not intended to list the number of privileges those groups, *labour societies in nineteenth century Britain in this case*, have so far achieved but to catalogue decades of protest, disorder and campaigns of all sorts to demonstrate that the road to welfare has been violent, often bloody more than an outcome of political organization. I tried to connect between physical-force activities, which resulted from many factors particularly clear-cut injustices and political oppression, and the considerable achievements both social and political the workers did valiantly claim after 1924. Another aim was to give a voice to mobs, and to those who were brought face to face with their masters, for it is generally believed that street violence and public disturbance are to no effect if not capital crimes against the countries' political stability. In his article, "*You've got the Luddites all wrong!*", Brian Merchant (2014) states that Luddism is always portrayed as a knee-jerk reaction to technology, but far from this conception, the Luddites were actually well-organized activists who fought a pointed and trenchant battle to protect their livelihood.

In explaining what best forces promoted the achievement of social welfare in Britain, I went through a spate of key events and developments in many issues: industrial protest and the fight for combination, better conditions, the battles for the franchise and parliamentary representation, Chartism and socialism, state repression and legal rights. It is impossible to edit stories, but I tried to look at these components from a foreigner's perspective without being too judgemental. In fact, they all contribute in different ways to the making of welfare in modern Britain. It was therefore inevitable to deal with the literature that tells the story of the first labour gatherings and the battles they fought to protect their interests or claim new privileges. Actually, it is in the historical developments of the first guilds and combinations that one can see the factors behind the workers' battles, their responses and the legacy of their movement. It is indeed in these developments that one might understand which endeavour, the industrial protest or the political change, did more to develop better conditions and additional privileges in the workers' favour. As for the literature, many studies focused on the working class potted history that range from strikes and lockouts to street violence and armed confrontations, but they were more into interpreting the practices of unionism, particularly from a social perspective, rather than highlighting the forces that helped the working class protect their interests, and thus bring in welfare.

In his book, "*A history of British trade unionism*", Pelling (1976**)** examines the accounts of trade unionism in Britain to explore the aspirations and the fears of ordinary people, particularly those who had been seriously influenced by social and economic upheavals; he is concerned with the workers' minor triumphs and setbacks, which could at certain points, put down their efforts to win over rights. Going through this literature was unimaginably helpful for it provides a thorough overview on what incentives were behind the beginning of the industrial conflict and what mechanisms the workers, both groups and individuals, did embark on to protect their interests and thus position

themselves in places of power, like their rivals. In the same way, A.E. Musson, in his book chapter entitled: "*British trade unions 1800-1875*", attempts to review the evidence related to the progress of the workers' struggle for better living and working conditions, from the early days of the first combinations to the legalisation of labour unions, as an advocate of the workers' interests. Again, it was in this period that the foundations of modern trade union movement were laid instigating a new age in labour relations.

Both studies were much concerned with the social and sometimes political circumstances that shaped the working class movement: industrial disputes, living conditions, class interests, Chartism and other forms of political reform (Musson, 1972). Yet, in both studies, if not in the bulk of research in ***British Labour History*** between 1800 and 1875, there has been less focus on the workers' physical-force endeavours to claim rights and protect liberties. Up to 1851, the workers could wrest many amendments in their favour; their physical force pressure could repeal the Combinations Acts in 1825. They could later prompt amendments and new reforms, the First Factory Acts and the Poor Laws Acts, which were revolutionary for the contemporaries. It is true that the years of bargaining by rioting ended moving to another phase of the industrial conflict, but this does not mean that the industrial protest, via strikes and violent confrontations, were pointless.

Public disturbance, strikes, street violence and other forms of physical-force protests have often been there with us to claim new privileges, prompt amendments or change what went wrong with policies and public schemes. More than that, mobs have in many instances turned against governments and gripped them down for some factors, mainly the deterioration of public services and threats to liberties. In the same way in nineteenth century Britain, the workers in different trades initiated a trenchant struggle for better conditions after they had despaired of governmental reforms. So, *what made earlier works, in*

British Labour History, overlook industrial violence? Bargaining by riot, machine wrecking, strikes and other forms of industrial protest were means to restore rights, protect interests and why not claim more privileges. These physical force activities featured in all parts of the working class movement in Britain, from the Luddites riots to St. Peter's massacre, and from Swing riots to Taff Vale strikes in 1900. For almost a century, violent responses to social strain, legal intimidation and social exclusion proved more effective than any other form of protest. In fact, the outcomes of physical force activities were mostly measureable than the achievements of political rallies and campaigns up to 1918. Even among Chartist and socialist gatherings, which generally represent the political section of the workers' movement, there existed some wings that opted for strikes, stoppages and rioting rather than peaceful campaigning. Thus, it is time to consider collective action as a helpful means in realizing welfare.

For the reason above, this introductory chapter is intended to reconsider the fact that physical force actions were more than responses to industrial strain and legal repression. Industrial protest was a means of change or rather an effective canal to protect interests and claim liberties. Accordingly, this literature will be thematic. It will focus on the presence of physical force activities in the working class movement as well as the value of this kind of protest in preparing solid platforms to initiate real change and reform. In explaining these facts, some books and articles will be used to support the fact that industrial protest, in its physical force form, should be reviewed when it comes to the chief vehicles to realize favourable conditions, social justice, equal opportunities and additional liberties. In their books, "*Riots, civil insurrections from Peterloo to the present day*" and "*Social unrest and popular protest in England*", Both Ian Hernon (2006) and John Archer (2000) stress the fact that industrial protest was complementary to further rallies; it was more than a reaction on the part of the communities of the day. It was equally important to the rise of

labour and constitutional radicalism and thus the making of welfare later. In another literature, "*The Machine Breakers*", Eric Hobsbawm (1952) portrayed bargaining by riot as an effective means of change: activities that have their share in some developments in the workers' favour (p.67).

Long before the years of industrialization and technical advance, revolts and public anger had been a character in Britain. "*There had been riots in several corners of the country: uprisings about workhouses, riots of weavers, riots of coal miners, riots of sawyers; riots against enclosures and high prices, riots against the Irish and Dissenters; almost against everything*" (Gilmour, 1992, p.16). Protest was usually present in a hope to remedy social and political defects. Thus, it should be seen in its socio-economic and political contexts that brought craftsmen, and later labour societies in nineteenth century Britain, face to face with their masters and governors. In the absence of solid canals, between governments of the day and their communities, the workers had no alternatives to get their voice heard. They sought ways to address social distress and protect their interests via rioting; they aspired to organize labour, claim rights and take part in the management of their labour concerns. In fact, there had been no use to prolong the industrial conflict. More importantly, the workers' public disturbance increased only after they had despaired legal means, namely petitioning. In their turn, local authorities opted for the establishment of order, more exactly legal repression, rather than thinking of possibilities to address grievances and thus end disputes. The fear from foreign conspiracies had even politicized the industrial conflict placing blames upon combinations that they were to disrupt the country's political stability (Archer, 2000). In fact, these responses on the part of government did only breed violence in several forms, starting from civil disobedience to intimidation and property vandalism.

According to John Archer, in his "*Social unrest and popular protest in England*", Luddism, as one of the violent forms of industrial protest, was a crucial phase in the fight for craft interests and labour rights, in general. Though disorganized, and mainly ineffective in the long run, it could slow down the introduction of machines to certain trades and bring about the first notions of unionism to the fore. Archer (2000) additionally states that early works in British Labour History underplayed the significance of industrial violence and physical force activities in organizing labour (Archer, 2000). Some have termed machine breaking as "crude barbarism" of narrow-minded craftsmen, who were vainly trying to prevent mechanization (Musson, 1972). Yet, the Luddites were neither pointless nor unsuccessful; they were reactionaries to the displacement of crafts, social injustices, inflation, industrial distress, and more importantly, aware enough of their needs as well as the threats mechanization might bring to their crafts. Luddism, *as industrial jacquerie*, was the product of nineteenth century middle-class economic apologists, who declared that the workers had to be taught not to challenge economic truths, and that violent methods in labour action are less effective than peaceful negotiation (Hobsbawm, 1952).

The practice of industrial protest shows that physical force activities were an expression of strength. It reflected to what extent the workers were increasingly concerned with reform: changing both living and working conditions. In much of the discussion about the industrial protest, John Archer (2000) portrayed Luddism as a necessary response on the part of craftsmen to stand strong against the atrocities of capitalist schemes. According to him, the evolution from violence to permanent labour unions was utterly axiomatic. He additionally affirmed that the achievements of the first labour unions were mainly rendered to rioting. *This industrial sabotage was a traditional element of industrial conflict and labour negotiation and did not imply any particular antipathy to mechanization as such. It was, however, a highly selective method of bringing industry*

to a halt and imposing solidarity on the workforce (Archer, 2000, p.44). In some areas, industrial violence developed differently if not in a complex character. It blended with other riots, food uprisings for instance, and often degenerated into more violent activities like arson attacks and raids. These direct actions were somehow enough to dismantle machines in some mills, yet less effective in many other regions where large employers fortified their workshops. In brief, the rioters could valiantly instigate a revolutionary phase in their struggle for better conditions despite the fact that their rivals were well-positioned both politically and socially.

In any case, it is unwise to overlook the power of industrial violence in defending the workers' interests and thus transforming their lives. In his paper, "*The Machine Breakers*", Eric Hobsbawm (1952**)** argues that machine destruction was a strong weapon to identify the outcomes of disputes; it was effective at certain points to force mill owners and workshop masters to grant concessions with regard to wages and other labour matters. Further, Luddism was not confined to certain areas or particular trades, but instead, a collective action that spread like wild fire against all that would threaten crafts and living standards. Craftsmen in textile trades, miners and seamen, even in rural areas where farmers planned to burn employers' ricks, barns and houses, all managed to come together against distress and strain. In other words, disturbance in many forms helped ensure solidarity among workers (Hobsbawm, 1952). Coming together as a social and industrial force was undoubtedly an important habit to learn if not a high level of "trade union moral," according to Hobsbawm. In some trades, mainly among labour societies without sufficient funds for strikes, machine breaking proved ideal to counter-attack blacklegging. Thereby, industrial violence helped engage more sympathizers: it was shared by most of the people, including some manufacturers. This in fact shows that change was not only the concern of the working population but also many others, who had been seriously influenced by industrial strain.

In discussing the value of industrial protest, some earlier historians, like A. Randal and M. Thomis, argue that bargaining by rioting was not more than criminal acts, which bore no characters of authentic movements. These often coincided with crime acts, arms raids, robberies and trade union activities (Thomis 18). Actually, this interpretation is rejected in "*Social unrest and popular protest in England*" by John Archer, who advocates, together with many others including E.P. Thompson, that it is difficult to make a difference between, industrial and political action since they were often the same. In addition to solidarity among labour societies, industrial protest, particularly Luddism, brought in revolutionary methods if not radical attitudes to manage the industrial conflict. This, according to E.P. Thompson (1963), was an important phase in the making of the English working class. Accordingly, it is not strange to accept that industrial violence had some political features, which would be apparent in the ensuing years. If it was not of a political nature, why would local authorities respond with harsh sentences, deportation and a chain of Acts to protect the interests of certain circles?

In most of the literature on British Labour History, governments' responses to the workers' collective actions were noticeably harsh and often biased. In fact, the resort to legislation to enforce order and limit property destruction was even more violent than the workers' direct action (Hernon, 2006). In his book, "*Riots, civil insurrections from Peterloo to the present day*", Ian Hernon argues that rioting and public disturbance were usually met with hostility and repression. These did only mount violent deeds on the part of workers the point not many governments could recognize. During the first decades of the industrial conflict, the machine breakers received harsh punishments that range from imprisonments to execution. More severely, in St. Peter's meeting, workers in the agricultural sector were met with armed and untrained yeomanry, who rode into the mob, though contingents had had no intentions for physical intimidation (See appendix 3 and 4). In 1830, the workers, in different trades,

could stand neither depression nor inflation. The result was again violence, in form of civil uprisings against landowners, to denounce the Tories' ineffective policies if not their failure to address the workers' grievances. Overall, physical force responses, though met with an iron hand, marked the progress of the working class rallies, and at the same time, intimidation of all sorts from governments, which were determined to lower the workers' voice by any means. The incident at Peterloo gave the workers martyrs and heroes they would need to pursue their schemes for better conditions while the disturbances, known as Swing riots, brought to the fore the question of poverty and thus prompt a debate about social relief (Hernon, 2006).

Reviewing the history of trade unions in Britain has shown that governments were often ready to repress waves of change rather than address grievances. This basically means that counting upon political means to achieve real change might be unrealistic. Actually, there is a common agreement, in much of the literature on the working class movement, that there was a mounting hostility expressed in a series of laws and responses. Eric Hobsbawm (1952), in "*The machine breakers*", states that the governors were usually manipulated by employers and manufacturers, who sought whatever the means to eradicate trade union activities. This reveals the truth of politicizing the workers' movement in favour of landowners and factory masters, who petitioned the government constantly to uphold ancient laws. Even long before the uprisings of the Luddites, the acts between the years 1799 and 1800, known as the Combination Acts, were meant to devastate any type of labour gatherings looking for ways to manage labour matters. These legal measures made prosecution easier and more importantly consolidated the repressive power of legislation at a time governors together with employers were supposed to organize labour. According to Rule (1988), the chief purpose behind turning to legislation was to make the working population accept the rule of their masters (Rule, 1988). Yet, the power of legislation did never deter the workers from

holding on their industrial protest. So, w*hat would help protect their interests and legalize labour unions under these circumstances? Would workers hold on industrial violence to restore rights or think of other alternatives?*

The notion of violence in several phases of the industrial conflict was remarkably recurrent even during the years of radical meetings and political campaigns. In several trades, the workers continued to resist all forms of repression from both governors and employers: some opted for cooperative societies, which according to some reformers would lessen industrial strain on workers while others held on strikes to force employers to accept their demands. Yet, the working population remained liable to legal intimidation, high taxes, poverty and other social evils. They were still less organized, unrepresented, and above all disenfranchised; the fact that invited the workers to set upon new alternatives to protect their rights and liberties. It became obvious that parliamentary reform might help redress grievances if not achieve what earlier attempts, industrial sabotage, had failed to arrive at. Unexpectedly, radical movement, with regard to the working class interests, was equally punctuated by some violent incidents. John Archer (2000), in his "*Social unrest and popular protests in England*" stresses the fact that labour societies in some instances departed public disturbance and direct actions in favour of moderate and constitutional campaigns, commonly known as the reform movement (Archer, 2000).

Mass meetings and marches became new activities to confront both governors and employers. Radicals could to some extent mobilize mobs calling for social and political changes. Literally, this was a sign of political awareness and new radical attitudes among labour societies; the fact that brought the industrial conflict to its head. Yet, these efforts of reform were soon doomed to failure. Again, the response to peaceful meetings and radical campaigns was so violent if not brutal that it reflected to what extent local authorities were

incompetent in addressing the workers' grievances. The incident of St. Peter's meeting, in Manchester, and the Tolpuddle Martyrs, are bright examples of violent encounters in the history of trade unionism against the workers' efforts to organize labour, settle the industrial dispute and develop better conditions.

> The name of Peterloo has entered the pantheon of English working class history and is viewed as some kind of watershed, though in reality it was a bloody and spectacular defeat for the radical movement. Its infamy rests on the death of 11 people and the 400 injured, many of whom bore the cuts and scars of sabers wielded by the yeomanry who had been sent in to arrest Hunt on the platform (Archer, 2000, p. 69).

Like industrial sabotage, the first political campaigns, mainly Chartism, are also overlooked. Political campaigning, in the bulk of studies on the working class political protest, was more concerned with poverty, wages and living standards rather than political needs and aspirations. More than that, it was often portrayed, Chartism, as a complete failure without any precise knowledge on the nature or the organization of the workers' political rally, apart from that of 1906 (Evans, 1999). Again, this review tries to revise the value of the first political and radical campaigns without which the working class would not be able to position itself in places of power. In his article "*Chartism revisited*", Eric Evans (1999) addresses these gaps and strives to bring some recent research work on the topic of Chartism. There has been an excessive concentration on the fact that the rise of Chartist Movement was due to pure economic and social factors, as inflation, economic depression and public disappointments after the Poor Law Amendments, but these interpretations are narrow if not subjective. It is vital to consider Chartism as a political movement and a genuinely national one (Evan, 1999). In the decade after 1838, labour societies began to pin new hopes on political rallies after their industrial

sabotage had proved insufficient. It is certainly true that these campaigns developed out of the social and economic challenges the workers were trying to get over, but they equally came out of the need for the vote for all adult males, equal electoral districts, secret ballot and other points, which were purely political. In any case, it is unwise to write off a mass movement whose points had been debated for at least half a century, and whose radicals and leaders were more than working class agitators.

Malcolm Chase (2007), in his book entitled "*Chartism: A new history*" was reluctant to assign failure to the workers' political agitation. The Chartists were articulate souls and able to address what concerned their living and working conditions. Some of their leaders spent months touring the country up and down like itinerant preachers in the Chartist Church. They were able to reach more adherents via their newspaper, the *Northern Star*, which proved to have better sales than the national newspaper of the day, the *Times*, more than 50.000 copies a week. This in fact reflects the degree of Chartist activity in the years between 1838 and 1842. Chartism was a working class culture: petitioning, public speeches were set alongside with Chartist concerts; cooperatives, homes and even schools were decorated with prints from the *Northern Star*. There had been meetings for reading articles aloud expressing the feelings and opinions of the radical press. These activities did strongly foster a Chartist tradition that assembled poetry, religion and politics (Chase, 2007). In brief, Chartism was indubitably vital for the recognition of the working class demands. Certainly, there had been divisions and strategic blunders that the Chartists fell victims to, but this does not entail that the workers' first political agitation was to no effect. In fact, the Chartists embarked upon many protests, some of which were violent, to promote their six point Charter, and thus, claim both social and political privileges.

Though it lost coherence after 1848, Chartism left a lasting impact upon the outcomes of the workers' rallies and campaigns. It did not only agitate labour societies for favourable wages and further trade unionists' privileges but helped promote a distinctive political culture characterized by effective methods of dissent (Chislett, 2014). The Chartists wanted to take part in the management of their realm. Without the ethics the Chartists had earlier nurtured, labour societies would not hold on their industrial and political protest to claim rights and protect interests. In other words, they set the stage for effective unionism, which in return brought workers from different trades together in 1850s and 1860s. This political wave of change generated a great degree of enthusiasm, for the workers' enfranchisement, that has never been replicated. It, Chartism, increased class consciousness and solidarity, and more importantly, consolidated the workers' position. Additionally, and for public services and better living standards, the circulation of the Chartists' ideas infused the quality of municipal work. The Chartist Movement, though it did not fully succeed, superseded other forms of protest: it was a movement for constitutional rights, in a manner no other movement was equal (Chase, 2007).

With the changes trade unionism witnessed in the 1850s and 1860s, the workers' protest leapt to another phase demonstrably different from earlier accounts. Labour unions grew in numbers and changed in character; the fact that dictated moderate treatment of the workers' grievances on the part of both factory masters and governors. The working class became notably homogenous, conscious enough of their interests and more importantly, able to proceed with different forms of dissent. After the Franchise of 1867, labour societies finally received their legal recognition, which in return, could transform the social and political future of labour societies in the beginning of the twentieth century. Indeed, the working class secured a number of statutes, amendments and Acts of Parliament in their favour. It is worth noting that the transformations trade unions had gone through and the revival of socialism were of a great impetus

for the workers' cause: welfare state. In a variety of ways, both unionists and socialists promoted working-class activity with organizational skills, thoughts and of course funds. Again, some groups, mainly the SDF, opted for agitation and violent means of pressure to protect the workers' interests while others were more interested in discussion than action (Bevir, 2011). The point is that even with the developments that the working class movement witnessed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century "reform" and "revolution" went hand in hand to pursue the workers' rallies for better conditions and more political liberties. At certain points, and up to 1900, it was necessary for workers, groups and radicals, to alternate between direct actions and political campaigns to build up a gathering able to stand against all that would pull down labour interests and privileges.

After they had generated both syndicalist and political reputation among their fellows, the workers seemed well-placed to embark on a fresh attempt to serve the workers if not the whole nation. With the foundation of their party, they became no longer those scattered labour societies excluded both socially and politically but a political organization willing to set their differences apart and work on how to promote the workers' schemes. Their earlier experiences with Chartism, socialism, new unionism and many other rallies allowed them to capitalize upon their potential not only to appeal to more constituents, but win over campaigns, forge coalitions and hold ministerial positions. In other words, 1906 marked the beginning of the workers' political organization, which according to contemporaries would help achieve additional privileges. In its years of process, Labour could set itself politically independent of the Liberals; it could impressively increase its recruits and more importantly reinforce its organizational structure with outstanding programmes, namely *Labour and the nation* and *Let us face the future*, which allowed it to be a true party of government (See Table 1). These facts, and many others, are impressively

described, and in a single volume, in Andrew Thorpe's fourth edition of *A History of the British Labour Party*.

Table 1:

Labour Party Membership between 1901 and 1931

Date	Individual Membership	T.U. Membership	Co-operative Societies Membership*	Socialist Societies etc. Membership	Total
1900–1	Nil	353,070	Nil	22,861	375,931
1901–2	Nil	455,450	Nil	13,861	469,311
1902–3	Nil	847,315	Nil	13,835	861,150
1903–4	Nil	956,025	Nil	13,775	969,800
1904–5	Nil	855,270	Nil	14,730	900,000
1905–6	Nil	904,496	Nil	16,784	921,280
1906–7	Nil	975,182	2,271	20,885	998,338
1907	Nil	1,049,673	472	22,267	1,072,413†
1908	Nil	1,127,035	565	27,465	1,158,565
1909	Nil	1,450,648	678	30,982	1,486,308
1910	Nil	1,394,403	760	31,377	1,430,539
1911	Nil	1,501,783	911	31,404	1,539,092
1912	Nil	1,858,178	1,073	31,237	1,895,498
1913	Nil	Not compiled‡	1,328	33,304	Not compiled‡
1914	Nil	1,572,391	1,526	33,230	1,612,147
1915	Nil	2,053,735	1,792	32,828	2,093,365
1916	Nil	2,170,782	1,792	42,190	2,219,764
1917	Nil	2,415,383	2,608	47,140	2,465,131
1918	Not compiled	2,960,409	Nil	52,720	3,013,129
1919	,,	3,464,020	Nil	47,270	3,511,290
1920	,,	4,317,537	Nil	42,270	4,359,807
1921	,,	3,973,558	Nil	36,803	4,010,361
1922	,,	3,279,276	Nil	31,760	3,311,036
1923	,,	3,120,149	Nil	35,762	3,155,911
1924	,,	3,158,002	Nil	36,397	3,194,399
1925	,,	3,337,635	Nil	36,235	3,373,870
1926	,,	3,352,347	Nil	35,939	3,388,286
1927	,,	3,238,939	20,000	34,676	3,293,615
1928	214,970	2,025,139	20,000	32,060	2,292,169
1929	227,897	2,044,279	32,000	26,669	2,330,845
1930	277,211	2,011,484	32,000	26,213	2,346,908
1931	297,003	2,024,216	32,000	4,847	2,358,066

Pelling, H. (1978). *A Short History of the Labour Party*. The Macmillan Press LTD, p.156

For the political triumphs Labour could achieve via political activity, it was preferable to consult studies that cover Labour's history in a single account. Accordingly, Andrew Thorpe's book, "*A short history of the British labour party*, was a good choice; it chronologically describes the steps this political gathering went through to conclude the workers' industrial conflict in 1924 moving from the years of construction to the days of political triumphs and power. This literature has shown that there is an attempt to stress the significance of both unionism and socialism in identifying the scope of the Labour Party: both groups provided the wherewithal to proceed with schemes and programmes; they helped lay down certain values as solidarity, coherence in approach and a mode of conduct (Thorpe, 1997). Labour attitudes were generally derived from

unionists and socialists, who provided better experiences in committee work, oratory and the ability to lead mobs for particular causes. In other words, they were the means and ways to defend the rights of the working class, but this does not mean that the party was purely a trade union gathering or a socialist community. Without any doubt, there had been times of tensions, divisions if not failure due to differences in backgrounds, attitudes and interests, but the party proved able to adapt. As far as the outcomes of political rallies are concerned, the Labour Party succeeded to fulfil its national schemes and set an agenda for the British government only after earlier defeats in 1924, 1929 and 1931. In brief, Thorpe's account is to be applauded for the details and analyses it provided about each phase in Labour's history.

There is no doubt that research on welfare state in Britain is inextricably linked to many topics such as industrialism, capitalism, individuals' rights and political parties the fact that makes it difficult if not contradictory to synthesise. Yet, exploring this literature is really commendable. There can be no denying the fact that skilled and unskilled workers went through drastic social conditions and deep transformations that forced them to resent their situation; they sought ways to form associations that would stand on their side, protect their interests and take part in the management of all that concerns labour matters. Accordingly, Luddism, public disturbance, social campaigning and even violent rioting should not be written off for they were earlier means to settle industrial disputes at a time both trade unions and governments were weak. On the contrary, they were complementary to political rallies and organized waves of change; they were effective at certain points, controlled and above all widely recognized by the communities of the day. In any case, this attempt was not to overlook political organization or more exactly the efficiency of political parties as often complacent with business folk, but to revisit what really helps protect rights and liberties, and improve the wellbeing of people.

Chapter One

Social Climate following the Industrial Age

Welfare, as a sign of social prosperity, is commonly associated with a series of changes and legal arrangements in favour of societies. It can be the outcome of constant struggles against all that might affect the quality of life. Accordingly, if it is imperative to trace the origins of welfare in Britain, one should go back to the circumstances that are thought to be the driving force behind change. In this vein, exploring the workers' movement in nineteenth century Britain might understand the origins of welfare. This necessitates a detailed assessment of the experiences the workers had gone through before the recognition of their labour rights and liberties. In other words, the workers' legal triumphs have their roots in the social and economic upheavals that followed the Industrial Revolution. A lot of labour societies were trying hard to combine against the encroachments of governors and employers as they could neither bear the harsh discipline in factories nor the dreadful conditions in cities and industrial districts (Hopkins, 2002).

Literally, the early decades of the nineteenth century were visibly so harsh that industrialization left nothing untouched. This chapter is concerned with what encouraged the working class to initiate a wave of change. It surveys a chain of events between 1780 and 1830 in an effort to assess the complexities of the industrial age as well as the nature of industrial quarrels, which forced lower classes to come face to face with their employers. Alongside these facts, giving a brief overview on old practices in unionism in reference to the powers and activities labour groups performed in favour of labour concerns as well as the feature of the industrial relations might additionally help comprehend the privileges and rights they lost with the advance of industrialization. It could be said, though too early, that the industrial impacts offered a seedbed for the workers in different trades to combine against the violation of rights and the disruptions of the factory system in its early days. The workers' attempts were meant to protect crafts, but also to position themselves, through powerful associations, so as to settle disputes, or more precisely, adopt what would meet better conditions.

1- Industrialization: Positive at First, Devastating at Last

After a long period of economic and political changes, British labour societies formed their own party initiating a new age of individuals' liberties and labour privileges. From 1906 onwards, the workers became no longer malleable by their masters or driven down by labour laws without their consent. Yet, these privileges were undreamt of in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the sense that workers were utterly excluded from social and political orders of the day. It is thus in the Industrial Age that it is probable to understand the origins of social welfare, the nature of the workers' protest, the character of the working class struggle and other elements, which coalesced together to bring lower classes into an industrial conflict with upper classes. In other words, the

achievement of social welfare can be seen in the economic and social transformations that took place in nineteenth century Britain. It is in these days that workers in all trades, both skilled and unskilled, survived all forms of pressure in a variety of ways to organize labour, in particular, and limit the industrial strain, in general.

It is commonly agreed that a number of factors set the stage for an industrial age, which would in return transform people's social and economic lives in the ensuing decades of the nineteenth century. The widespread of workshops in Britain did unintentionally stir up the pace of industrialization almost in different parts of Britain; it succeeded to satisfy the increasing needs of both local and foreign markets, but it also brought about unexpected changes that seriously influenced all walks of life. Without any doubt, eighteenth-century Britain had fully been prepared to lead the world's economic affairs. Several factors coalesced together to make Britain the world's busiest workshop. First, agricultural developments led to notable improvements in food production, which in return paved the way for a steep growth of population in many British cities. British farming could fully satisfy local needs for food at lower prices with less labour. Undoubtedly, the growth of population was in favour of industrial needs. It provided what new factories and workshops were looking for to speed up the wheels of their machines and heavy devices. Another part of inducement was the circulation of money. Credits facilities together with substantial profits out of trade provided a ready capital for different investments. Both individuals and groups demonstrated a sheer interest in making profit taking any opportunity, which might arise (Spielvogel, 1997). However, food supplies and capital alone would not fuel industrialization in Britain, for there had been other impelling incentives that could revolutionize Britain's economy.

Britain's physical formation did greatly supply the needs of factories and workshops with natural resources. It played a vital role in the progress of manufacture providing considerable amounts of coal, iron, copper, lead and other minerals with less effort: different mines were bountiful. This natural outlook did additionally make transportation incredibly feasible, especially its easy access to different seas and navigable rivers. From 1780 onwards, the construction of roads and bridges evolved considerably; it did contribute a lot to the establishment of mutual commercial ties between the major industrial areas scattered in the south and the north. Transportation had thereby helped the flow of both finished products and people from one city to another, from one centre to another and even to foreign outlets. It seems that everything was in favour of industrialization in the sense that nothing could impede such a swift circulation of products and materials locally. Besides these, and which might seem too early to speak about is the governmental support to commerce and capitalist orientations. Government's schemes, or more exactly convictions, had no barriers or any kind of restrictions, which might have hindered domestic trade.

Local authorities' involvement in the course of industrial activity was notably significant. In this sense, the governments of the day did speed up the pace of industrialization through several changes. The adoption of the laissez faire policy was meant to reinforce Britain's capital. This arrangement did strongly encourage private and public sectors to stimulate different investments. The institutional role was so influential that it helped create a suitable business climate for merchants, city financiers and many others, who were looking for any opportunity to spot. Passing flexible laws, privileges for entrepreneurs and low taxation facilities clearly demonstrate the significant role institutions did play. They altogether could assure a steady economic development. This in return created a national debt very important to bring about British colonial and commercial aspirations to several corners of the world. "*The government, which had*

no industrialisation policy, played no significant role in this revolution. Rather, it gradually adopted a laissez-faire policy. Taxation was very low by modern standards and had no substantial redistributive consequences" (Harris, 2008, p.204). This shows that Britain's political stability and institutional roles were significantly vital for the financial sector, in general, and the rhythm of industrialization, in particular. They somewhat softened the ground for the right functioning of internal and foreign markets as well as to the advance of innovations and inventions.

Social welfare, at this stage, was not part of the realm due to the fact that the early years of the industrial age were to extremely overwhelming, mainly for lower classes. Everything, including the social and economic structure of the whole society, was increasingly changing. For workers, the first decades of the nineteenth century brought notable transformations to the economic system: a remarkable shift from an economy based on agriculture to another one based on industry and trade. Basically, this does not mean that Britain had not had the ability to manufacture or market its products before the nineteenth century but to say that Britain's recent economic dependence on industrialization replaced agriculture, brewing, milling and leatherworking, and marked the onset of a new economic age (Hopkins, 2002). This economic change dictated other unexpected transformations which government and people could no longer ignore. The rise of industrialization and the growth of industrial nodes brought several living and working difficulties hard to undermine. They seriously influenced many aspects of social life: family life, its structure and its living circumstances, working conditions and industrial relationships, urban services and municipal amenities, and many other aspects, mutually linked to the well-being of people, were wholly changing. To understand the nature of the problems above, it is important to explore the incentives behind this notable change.

In pre-industrial societies, the bulk of the population used to live in agrarian societies and this tells a lot about their living. A lot were either farmers or craftsmen having little or no knowledge in mind about engines, machines and labour patterns. Labour organization, rights and privileges were not usually addressed in these days, but with the rise of industrialization, a lot has changed. From its early days, industrialization diversified sources of production. It put an end to several activities and brought others instead. It dictated new arrangements on landlords, small farmers, craftsmen and even governors making a start of a new social and economic order. This change necessitated laws and regulations to organize businesses, protect interests and assert rights. In this sense, the first of these amendments, which transformed, if not disrupted the lives of small farmers and craftsmen, were the Enclosure Acts[1]. Apparently, these acts were meant to protect the agricultural sector, but in fact to empower landlords and drive small farmers out their farmlands. A lot plunged into economic and social difficulties for they could not resist the changing trends of late eighteenth-century communities.

The change these societies were going through would leave nothing untouched. Farming was gradually becoming secondary compared to some crafts and activities, related mainly to factories and workshops. A lot went unemployed, if not bankrupt. In fact, farmers and craftsmen were forced to relocate looking for better living conditions. Industrial areas therefore became the main spots to resort to. This shift of villagers towards towns and industrial areas was a notable feature of the early days of the industrial age the fact that would transform the character of industrial cities and districts. Overall, pre-industrial societies could not easily acknowledge transformations described in the lines above in the sense that these

[1] The Enclosure Acts were a series of Parliamentary Acts, the majority of which were passed between 1750 and 1860; through the Acts, open fields and "wastes" were closed to use by the peasantry. "Enclosure" refers to the consolidation of land, usually for the stated purpose of making it more productive. The British Enclosure Acts removed the prior rights of local people to rural land they had often used for generations (McElroy, 2012).

changes marked a line between agrarian and industrial societies. Almost everything did change including the character and size of both villages and towns. Certainly, living patterns, master worker relations, working conditions and even legal measures would not be an exception since nothing would survive that sudden economic disruption.

Late eighteenth century changes were not purely economic. As industrial activities developed, certain groups dominated the social scene. An elite class, the industrialists and landowners, rose to prominence; they managed to dominate towns' life for they had long possessed what lower classes, particularly the workers, had never thought of: power and capital. These were wholly vested in their hands, unlike many others who were walking in poverty and misery. These industrialists managed to initiate different business activities and projects hoping to meet their economic plans first. Their power helped them to prompt legal procedures if not manipulate governors in their favour. It could be said that the rise of industrialization did seriously influence the structure of society; it indeed helped certain classes dominate every single aspect of life. Landowners, manufacturers and traders, in general, could surge ahead in business life taking the initiative of industrial growth, political stability, a supply of overseas markets and a well-developed navy ready to mobilize every finished article to every corner of the world. They could prevail as an elite class very different from the remaining classes. These were, unfortunately, less privileged simply because the growth of industrialization was not in their favour. Again, the early days of industrialization brought certain classes to prominence, marked the beginning of a new economic age based on both industry and trade, but paved the way to poverty, distress and cruel exploitation. The early decades of the Industrial Age were notably appalling for the working families, children and women, in particular, if not the whole working population.

2- Industrialization and the Massive Upheavals that followed

The spread of small workshops across the country and the development of new machinery brought significant transformations to early nineteenth century communities. At first, these changes were positive for they marked a giant leap in both industrial productivity and economic profitability. The introduction of the flying shuttle, the spinning jenny, the Crompton's mule to workshops and small factories did wholly turn industrialization around, particularly cotton industry. These new devices allowed weavers, spinners and many others in this trade to expand their activities and thus go ahead in business. Greater profits and better factory patterns were the first outcomes such a rising activity could bring to the masters' working and living conditions. Soon, industrialists started to think of new ways to boost their investments and means to help organize labour inside their workshops and factories (Spielvogel, 1997). These changes in factory means were undoubtedly of a great impact on working patterns, the pace of production, the quality of products and even the employers' mindset. Gradually, industrial nodes, though still small, sprang up around rivers and streams to turn the wheels of machines instigating a new age of factory systems. Yet, mechanization was not often seen positive. It did not only develop the factory system, but it also paved the way for serious effects, mainly social. In short, it is true that the triumph of machines over primitive means revolutionized Britain's economy and transformed the factory system, but it was at the expense of individuals' standards if not rights and privileges. Conditions, both at workplaces and houses, were appalling. A lot of labour concerns, namely labour rules, working hours, wages and the devices themselves called the labourers' well-being to questions.

As industrialization grew faster and wider, consequential social changes were becoming ostensible that no one could ignore the upcoming challenges, which might have arisen in response to the above transformations. Migration, factory organization, labour regulations, urban services, housing and population were altogether changing. The Industrial Revolution had a durable effect on various aspects of individuals' lives. Labourers together with their families swamped those industrial regions and districts looking for new opportunities as they had suddenly lost all that would remind them of rural life and craftsmanship.

> Although much of Europe remained bound to its traditional ways, already in the first half of the nineteenth century, the social impact of the Industrial Revolution was being felt, and future avenues of growth were becoming apparent. Vast changes in the number of people and where they lived were already dramatically evident (Spielvogel, 1997, p. 721).

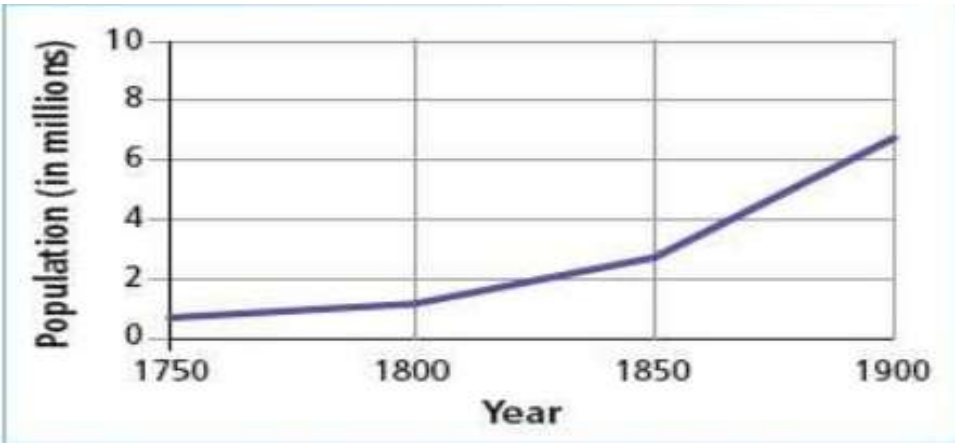
The rise of industrialization did notably displace villagers and drive them out of their rural groupings. In fact, the age of crowded cities and busy workshops has just started. Eventually, cities grew larger with limited urban services causing additional challenges for city governors, who often failed to address such an abrupt social flux for a number of reasons. More than that, other difficulties did unexpectedly spark off in workplaces; the thing that would threaten the workers' liberties and privileges later. The working families, for instance, did encounter a number of hazards connected mainly to safety, hygiene, working hours and wages, and that they would not be able to cope with. In brief, the enormous changes that the cities of the nineteenth century were undergoing marked the serious effects industrialization brought to those communities.

2.1. Countrymen Relocating to Industrial Cities

The growth of industrial activity in the cities did appeal to a large number of countrymen, both skilled and unskilled. In the years between 1801 and 1850, the towns of England expanded fourfold due to a number of factors, one of which was the growing industrial activity. As an example, Manchester experienced a six-time increase in its population between 1771 and 1831 (Trueman, 2015). Basically, technical invention did considerably change factory systems and eventually help increase productivity. It made the labourers' performance a bit easier and faster. This in fact offered new positions and new ways to perform tasks at work. This technical change was welcomed by masters and employers for it ended old practices and limited handcrafted production. Yet on the flip side, it led to a major social upheaval: the displacement of a huge number of low-skilled workers. The last decades of the eighteenth century witnessed a steady flow of countrymen towards industrial cities and urban centres (See Graph 1). They flocked together with their families to get accommodation and a job, especially the enclosure developments had already reduced the need for labour in farmland (Trueman, 2015). In all cases, this flow of individuals to urban centres would not only supply adequate labourers very malleable in the hands of their masters, but it would also lead to difficulties very hard to handle particularly in larger cities.

Graph 1:

Population Growth in London, 1750-1900



International Historical Statistics. (1998). Europe 1750-1993.

The flow of countrymen brought about an increased demand for food, goods, services, and above all, labour. This was often on the side of factory masters and employers, who sought ways and means to increase their potential even if it would be at the expense of workers' rights and privileges. Eventually, mechanization helped get tasks done easily, organized labour in workshops and most of all improved the quality of products, but it brought about ruinous effects, particularly for the living standards in these growing cities. The latter were not ready to receive that massive flow of countrymen. In almost all the cities, squalor became the chief feature. More than that, and on the part of local authorities, there was little to be done to improve urban services. Mills, factories and mines were all owned by wealthy men, who often alienated themselves from the areas their workers, or more exactly the poor, used to live in. "*Any money spent on improving the workers' living areas would have been seen as lost profit* (Trueman, 2015)". The result was overcrowded cities difficult to manage if not impossible to live in. Overall, the advance of industrialization did indeed instigate some social challenges that low-skilled workers and craftsmen had not expected to encounter in the industrial districts and cities.

For farm labourers, moving to cities meant possibilities of better living standards, namely the availability of municipal amenities. Yet, the cities of the day were of another kind. They were manufacturing nodes where urban services were terribly lacking. Mechanization and the rhythm of production had deeply driven governors, investors and even masters off public services, labour regulations and other commitments of municipal nature. Cities could afford some energy outlets except better living standards. Problems with water supply, sewage and garbage disposal were common in these industrial cities. Housing was a municipal issue difficult to overcome: some families used to live in one room (Fourth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales, 1838, p. 143). Indeed, the spread of workshops in many parts of Britain could help low-skilled labourers find jobs and settle down, but it did put the workers' livelihood through a dreadful situation. The cities of England were increasingly walking into social difficulties not witnessed in other parts of the world at this time. This was a fine indication that the growth of industrialization did deeply transform the character of cities though it served the needs of certain sections in terms of both labour and factory systems. The growth of industrial activities did indeed dash the hopes of those who were searching for better opportunities in the cities.

2.2. Living Conditions in the Industrial Cities

The impact of the industrial activities in cities was even more appalling. The towns of England, mainly Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and Bradford, were changing from bad to worse as they absorbed great numbers of both skilled and unskilled workers. In these areas, problems were often very complex to deal with. Housing, for instance, was one of the chief difficulties almost all the cities suffered from. Most of the inhabitants used to live in small houses with few rooms not suited for human habitation. A lot of houses were astonishingly

crowded, without doors and overflowing with dirt, particularly in the working class areas (Spielvogel, 1997). To meet the increasing demand, construction was often done quickly and cheaply since there were few regulations on the part of legal measures to organize this industry. Even for hygiene, most houses were built without bathrooms, toilets or running water causing additional burdens (Trueman, 2015). Thus, and for many labourers, living in the city was synonymous to misery and hardships; the fact that depicts an image about how serious the impact of industrialization on the labourers' livelihood had been.

In many other ways, the cities were not more than places for wastes of all sorts. Courtyards and streets, where the workers lived, were often filled with sewage and other disposals. A doctor in Manchester reported: "*Whole streets, unpaved and without drains or main sewers, are worn into deep ruts and holes in which water constantly stagnates, and are so covered with refuse and excrement as to be impassable from depth of mud and intolerable stench* (Trueman, 2015, p.?)". This description tells a lot about how terrible urban services were. As for water supply and in many areas again, it was difficult for people to get fresh water. Some families used rainwater for their daily needs while others were lucky enough to have a well with a pump, but there was always the chance of contamination. Certain others lived near rivers, but this was where night-men get rid of all kinds of rubbish. It could be said that sanitation rarely existed in the cities of England throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries making the chance of decent living standards very slim. Social welfare, in these days, was the least measure to think of since the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century were notably calamitous in all walks of life. Neither local authorities nor any sort of labour combination could handle both industrial and social challenges of the day.

As cities grew larger, health care and sanitation were increasingly becoming a heavy burden to handle. The growth of industrial activities was a prelude to the deterioration of public health and sanitation. Several urban centres became death traps filled with dirt and awful smell that both municipal governors and city dwellers could not overcome. Broken sewage systems, shortage of potable water and other urban problems made nineteenth-century industrial areas completely unfit for human habitation. Worse of all were the living conditions in these areas; the thing that demonstrates how dreadful welfare state in Britain during the early decades of industrialization was. In these lines, Engels (2009) describes the living circumstances in Manchester, being one of growing industrial cities at that time: "(…) *the '350,000 working people of Manchester and its environs live, almost all of them, in wretched, damp, filthy cottages, that the streets which surround them are usually in the most miserable and filthy condition, laid out without the slightest reference to ventilation, with reference solely to the profit secured by the contractor* (p. 100)". Drainage systems would have changed the urban scene, but less privileged families could not afford pipes and other costs to maintain their districts and streets. Thus, the industrial districts of the day were potentially vulnerable to cholera, typhus and typhoid epidemics.

Certainly, not all the cities were plagued with the distressing conditions described in the lines above. There existed some attempts on the part of employers to arrange favourable working and living conditions in the workers' favour. Some reformers believed that a healthy workforce would work better, and thus, benefit their employers. Yet, these examples were very few. In addition to poor sanitation and alarming health problems, the workers could not bear social differences or rather social exclusion. City governors could not handle any sort of responsibility towards urban services, sanitation, housing and other social difficulties, which remained for many years unsolved. In fact, the withdrawal of governors could be seen from two perspectives: they either did not have enough

experience to manage cities or were themselves the masters, the industrialists and the factory owners who tended to live a different pattern of living. Thereby, no one could ignore the social gap between workers and their governors or employers. Accordingly, and unlike the labourers, employers used to live in houses of two floors, with a kitchen and a bath while many officials lived in houses with gardens the privilege that was not offered to everyone living in the industrial city (Spielvogel, 1997). These differences between workers and their masters would loom large in the ensuing years.

For factory masters, the cities remained the main centres for their social and economic potential. A lot of masters were going ahead in business; the fact that did wholly transform their lives. Many middle class families began to send their children to grammar schools, or even second rank public schools. So many others worked for a living, but in non manual occupations as many were lawyers, bankers, teachers, engineers, shopkeepers and clerks. In a nutshell, they were self made men, who created their own opportunities and wealth. More than that, they had better food and housing, which led to fewer diseases and longer lives (Everyday Life in the Industrial Era). In brief, everything seemed in their favour if not all of those who were gradually forming an upper class. Yet, the same cities were noted for misery, disorder and chaos for labourers. They were generally associated with poverty and harshness; the fact that confirms the existence of social stratification and class division. In the end, the cities of England provided greater potential for factory masters and employers who could in some respects enjoy better living standards than those of their workers. The latter were wholly overwhelmed with overcrowding, poor sanitation, little or no health care and above all social exclusion, which made their life even more terrible.

As shown earlier, the failure in making some cuts in the deterioration of urban life can be rendered to the failure of governors and city officials. They could not handle squalor and public health issues. They believed that it was not their concern to manage cities, organize labour and address difficulties as housing, water supply, sanitation and sewage. This plainly demonstrates that some governments, usually in the hands of industrialists, did not try to alleviate the workers' industrial and urban ills. In Wales, the inhabitants of Merthyr Tydfil were walking into serious urban problems following the development of their village into a town of more than 8000 inhabitants by 1801. They could not stand the expansion of iron industry, which contaminated their rivers and streams, and thus, poisoned water. This in fact led to serious health problems added to little urban services in Merthyr Tydfil (Developments in Public Health and Welfare). Thus, it was worse of all to live in an industrial city whose city officials paid little or no attention to how harsh urban life was becoming. Slums, workshop cottages, insanitary conditions and diseases were all signs that the growth of mechanization walked its way through the lives of people, especially the workers. More than that, many people were sunk in crime and immorality, particularly in the workers' districts. In the end, it could be said that squalor, ignorance, poverty and poor living standards were the chief evils that drained the workers' energies, but what was more alarming, as far as labour rights and privileges are concerned, was harsh working conditions even in factories and workshops.

2.3. Adverse Working Conditions in Nineteenth Century Factories

The well-being of people was the last concern to address during the days of industrial advance. The working conditions were likewise scaring and entirely awful. Wages were so low that labourers could not even sustain their families. Some had to work for more than 14 hours for few shillings. Workplaces generally lacked security measures and the regular norms appropriate for safe environment. Most of the nineteenth-century workshops were in need for laws and regulations that might guarantee rights and privileges like holidays and work benefits. In addition to these poor working conditions, factory masters often ignored the rights of workers to get labour organized. In mining, for instance, women and children were brutally exploited. For they cost less, both women and children were on high demand, but they were callously subjected to a range of hazards at workplaces. They used to work with dangerous materials, close to pipes and under machines (Simkin, 1997). Again, it was worse of all in mills and mines; the fact that indicates the infernal scene workers in all trades lived in.

In many other ways were the working conditions very appalling, mainly for children. Not only were there unacceptable wages and unreasonable working hours, but being beaten was something very common for children if they had been caught sleeping or doing nothing. Besides cruel treatment, working in the murderous effects of heat coupled with the stink of gas caused children a host of health problems (Pike, 2013). In mills and textile workshops, their bodies became very crooked and deformed due to carrying heavy loads. More appalling than that, children in mines often encountered deadly incidents as they were forced to crawl through long airless trenches; the fact that caused them several breathing disabilities. Having limbs crippled or bodies distorted was the worst experience that these younger labourers might have gone through. Again, life at these workplaces was unimaginably pathetic. These working conditions demonstrate that the working class had no choice to quit these death-traps or change their

working conditions; they had no choice except working in such calamitous circumstances in an effort to lessen poverty, misery and other social dilemmas that had plainly punctuated their life on the whole.

Favourable conditions can be seen as part of the social welfare project, but none of them was relevant to the age of industrialization. During the first decades of the nineteenth century, factory masters could not think of ways to arrange reasonable working conditions that might have gone with labour needs. Instead, they continued to run their business at the expense of the labourers' living conditions; they employed women and children for their performance with machines and, of course, because they cost less than adult labourers. Additionally, the absence of legal restrictions or labour laws had worsened the whole climate, if not increased abuses. For sure, the regulation of labour could have minimized these gross violations, and thus, saved the lives of many labourers. Yet, governors and employers failed to come up with what could organize labour. Families, women and children in particular, could almost find no alternative except working at the mercy of their masters. In brief, miserable living circumstances, harsh working conditions, and above all, utter ignorance, on the part of governors and employers, of labour privileges were what the Industrial Revolution offered to labourers. No one could think of appropriate arrangements and assets, which might have improved the working conditions in factories and workshops. Health measures were the last concern for many masters, who could not think of how to reduce risks and possible work accidents. Late eighteenth century workshops and factories did never provide a healthy environment according to Trevor (1996) in the following lines: "*stories of physical atrocities in the mills abounded, and there were allegations of accidents from unfenced machinery, excessive heat and lack of ventilation in spinning rooms, which were thick with cotton dust, and general physical over-exertion* (p.76)." Now, imagine how adverse the working conditions were at that age.

The years between 1780 and 1810 were terrible for the working class more than one can imagine. For most of the labourers, the working day was often characterized by brutal physical effort in dangerous places, for low wages, with long working hours, fierce fines added to very bad living conditions. Both women and children were physically exploited; they had no chance to relax for a while except for short breaks. Some accounts report that they had no time even to wipe sweat on their foreheads. More shockingly, in case of a work accident or any other hazardous incident, workers had no injuries compensation because safety was not a concern for masters. Workers were likely to have their fingers or arms cut off, but almost no regulation could guarantee their right for medical care. These labourers had gone through very bad experiences both at work and home, but neither their masters nor their governors could handle these issues. No one could control the rise of industrialization at the expense of health matters during its early decades: a lot of accounts state that young workers were cruelly treated. Child labour, for instance, was common, but no one, on the part of governments, employers or labour combinations, could dictate favourable conditions in favour of young labourers.

2.4. Early Age Labour

The early decades of industrial age were indeed devastating for the whole family. The growth of industrialization did noticeably escalate demand for a new labour-force to meet the increasing needs of factories, especially in textile workshops and coalmines. It gradually drove poor families, including their children, off their homes; they were involved in running different activities for long working hours at workplaces that provided unfavourable conditions. Most of these labourers had little or no food to help themselves while working. More than that, all sorts of complaints were prohibited. Children, though younger than ten years, were usually impelled to work to sustain their families. Calls for

children were in some respects very high than for adults not due to their physique but for other factors. They constituted a large proportion of the labour force in textile factories and coal mines for they were ideal for some tasks as pulling carts or crawling in narrow passages. These tasks were neither safe nor rewarding. Children used to work for long hours, up to fifteen hours per day with a one-hour break. They were put through harsh conditions as they used to work close to large machines that often caused them serious injuries if not death. Drowsiness, vulnerability to errors and accidents were very common among younger labourers. Thus, it was hard for these younger labourers to cope with these hard working conditions. Again, none could think of their health or safety at work. In addition to these circumstances, children were underpaid; they received a wage that ranged from 3 to 5 pence a day. These facts clearly indicate that the growth of industrialization brought nothing bright and promising for children as they were deprived of schooling, forms of relaxation and all that suits a child's ordinary needs (Deane, 1965).

For it proved practical for factory masters, child labour grew considerably in the ensuing years of industrialization. In fact, the resort to children was meant to supply the increasing needs of mechanization but regardless the appropriate working conditions of those younger labourers. Poor families together with their children were impelled to dive into tiring usually hazardous activities to make a living. In addition to low wages and long working hours, children were subject to abuses of all kinds; they were interminably exposed to verbal abuses, especially, they became no longer under the control of their parents but the rule of factory masters instead. It is worth mentioning here that nothing could protect children from violating their rights; they were subject to difficult if not dangerous working conditions that did not suit their mental or physical abilities. Mistreatment and rigidness continued to aggravate the lives of children: nothing like laws or

government control could restrain the masters' lust over what labourers would need, at least at their workplace. In brief, the workers had not any legal right that might protect their labour rights, in particular, and welfare, in general.

Facts above demonstrate that the life of lower classes was notably hard unlike their masters. More than that, it seemed that living a miserable life was never an issue for governors and employers to address. Factory masters did additionally set some rules if not penalties, which aimed at maximizing discipline. Via these regulations, the masters wanted to limit tardiness, absenteeism and any other misbehaviour, which might slow down the functioning of factories and workshops. Thus, no one can deny that the families' economic and social status were behind impelling children and women to handle dangerous activities in different trades, but one should not ignore that child labour was undoubtedly the product of the industrial age. It was a natural outcome of the industrialists' lust for wealth, power and social prestige at the expense of the workers' rights. In fact, industrialization disrupted everything, mainly the structure of families. It did utterly cloud the future of the coming generations, in some respects.

Another serious effect brought about by industrialization was the family's social instability. Children were not the unique section that had painfully gone through desperate circumstances, but the whole family did encounter terrible hardships. "*Many moralist contemporaries expressed the view that factories had adverse effects on family life, by forcing the wife as well as the husband to go out to work* (Moore, 1989, p.?)." The need for any source of income was strong enough to force women to join men to back up their families. Both had to work despite the harshness of working conditions. In fact, this could seriously influence the structure of the family. At that time, poor labourers had never dreamt to enjoy any kind of

entertainment. The whole living situation was so dreadful that they soon started to suffer from health problems such as typhoid, cholera and smallpox. Their houses were often overcrowded and unclean since few women could handle household chores. Socio-economic hardships did therefore aggravate the family's unity and stability. A lot of working families were painfully striving to make a decent living. What is more shocking is that these deep developments were secondary compared to the most devastating change: the fragmentation of the family's structure, changing roles, crime and other problems of social nature.

> Mechanization transformed the interrelationship between family and labour. Merchants no longer put out work to cottagers; instead, the latter had to leave their homes to earn a daily wage. Frequently they had to abandon their homes in the countryside and migrate to the towns and cities where production became concentrated. Not only did such migration often break up families, but factory labour itself changed the relationship between parents and children. Mechanization made some skills obsolete and created other new skills. Training no longer took place in the home and, for the most part, sons no longer learned from their fathers. Factory work also transformed the economic role of women. Because leaving the home to work conflicted with child care, mothers could no longer easily contribute to the family income (Accampo, 1989, p.4).

2.5. Socially Disintegrated Families

The early decades of industrialization were unequally harsh for the whole society, but the working families were the most unfortunate. The growth of industrial activity continued to hold pressure on children, wives and all the labourers who remained unable to overcome their daily challenges: miserable conditions, poverty, harsh labour, bad nourishment, diseases and many other problems. In addition to these circumstances, families encountered serious damages mainly the dramatic deterioration of family relationships. Like children in mines and workshops, women were driven out for working. They left their

traditional chores to perform other roles dictated by industrial developments. They were going through some experiences even worse than their children had had. Their absence, or rather their long working hours, caused major defects. The cost of life left no choices for both men and women. They had to work to meet their needs, yet at the expense of household tasks, education and psychological wants. This culminated into other unexpected changes, namely the breakdown of family's unity, physical separation, immorality and misconduct sometimes. Women often could not handle their families' duties; they could neither devote enough time nor provide care for their children since they had had their hands full for the whole day. Consequently, children grew up socially maladjusted and psychologically unstable for they lacked enough care, emotional relatedness and proper education (Sadler, 1832).

The changing roles of women brought to question several concerns about the survival of families. With the growth of the industry, it became too hard to maintain balance between social responsibilities and professional commitments as individuals' interests were suddenly oriented to ways and means of earning money. Women, men and even children had no chance to nurture their social bonds. Socialization and fostering social connections were not prioritized; they became part of the families' memories that they had in many ways enjoyed in the pre-industrial society. Fathers lost their control over their family members, especially on children. Relationships were completely loosened due to the rising strain and pressure on families. In other words, maintaining the family's economic independence gained much of the family's interest unlike social cohesion as Wanda (1920) states in what follows:

> The relationships which bound kin together were based on the construction and the maintenance of reciprocal obligations, rather than on pure affection. There were strong pressures in society towards a high degree of independence for individuals or nuclear family groups. Adolescents and young adults had good work and earnings opportunities and could move away from parental home, while migration to urban areas might physically separate kin from kin (Wanda, 1920, p.51).

The decay of social ideals, the deterioration of family's relationships and many other social implications clearly suggest that the growth of industrial activity once more worked its way on the social structure of families. Labour did reduce time for family members and their needs. Instead, workshops had pulled women, mothers in particular, out of their houses for pure economic factors. Yet, the break-up of family structure was not a sudden change, but part of the gradual process of industrial developments. New social patterns or arrangements were dictated by industrialization. Time with children and other family members was unfortunately replaced by performing other chores in factories; it became much longer, up to 14 hours per day, and this basically means less attention and consideration the remaining family members can receive. Overall, the transformations brought about by the growth of industrial activity, coupled with the need to sustain families, disrupted social cohesion. They gave birth to disintegrated families liable to social deficiencies; the fact that threatened the whole society and its social future.

The effect of industrialization was remarkably acute on several families, mainly peasant families. Conventional chores were progressively changing since supporting the family economically became a number-one priority. This was not the case decades before the growth of industrial activities. Earlier, in pre-industrial societies, women's time had been devoted to household tasks as sewing, cooking and other needs. Mothers' time was absorbed by everything that

could support the family socially and economically. With the progress of industrialization, though, women's social commitments were gradually oriented towards factories, mills and textile workshops. The worker's family, therefore, lost its unity. Family houses therefore became nothing but shelters to resort to after a long tiring working day (Wanda, 1920). It could be said that the need to be at work did indeed deform the structure of the families.

In addition to social disruption, working for long hours gave birth to atomized families, independent housewives, abandoned children and many other unforeseen transformations. Crime and illiteracy among children became another burden if not a future social crisis that the whole society would encounter in the next decades (Mackenzie, 1985). Thus, it is unwise to undermine the connection between industrial developments and the social concerns of the whole society, or more exactly the family, whose unity and structure were constantly changing. Of course, the family's living patterns, economic independence, education and other related living standards would be difficult to achieve under those circumstances. More than that, the changes above coupled with the developments in factory systems would dictate new arrangements at work. Labour patterns, factory laws, labour organization, and above all, employer-worker industrial relationships were liable to change in the same way the social developments communities of the day were going through.

3- *Industrial Relations and Labour Organization up to 1800*

Besides social developments, master-worker relationships and labour organization were becoming the other concerns to mind following the growth of industrialization. The twofold division of classes, the bourgeoisie and proletariat, gentry and common people, high and low began to fade away slowly in the wake of the eighteenth century (Trevor, 1996). A new layer of social classes was in process. In fact, middle class men were trying to position themselves, and thus, protect their class interests. Accordingly, new industrial relations had to be redefined to go in accordance with the new industrial, social and economic developments of the day. As time wore on, some craftsmen succeeded in exhibiting a number of qualities that might help them identify their class features being different from others. In other words, the early decades of the industrial age were plainly prosperous for some, like factory masters and craftsmen, yet unpromising for lower classes, more exactly unskilled workers. The latter were painfully striving to make a living only. These were in fact the first signs of social differences between the layers of the British society. Industrial developments could gradually widen the gap between masters, craftsmen and workers.

The birth of the middle class was more than a new social order. Class interests and class relations would certainly determine the economic and mainly the industrial character of the society in the ensuing years. The potential offers of industrial activities and the growth of trade, at the same time, could help certain groups to surge ahead in different industrial sectors, and mainly authority, unlike many others. This might not only lead to differences between classes, but social, economic and even industrial confrontations. A lot of workers were lost in the realm of industrial and economic change. They could neither overcome their industrial and social pains, which typified their life inside and outside their homes, nor prompt remedies to protect their rights and privileges. these

developments precipitated social conflicts if not disorder. They would influence industrial relations inside mills, workshops and factories, and thus, dictate a new social and industrial order demonstrably different from that of late eighteenth century.

> Isolated from other classes, radical mechanics, artisans and labourers had perforce to nourish traditions and forms of organisation of their own. So that, while the following years provided the democratic impulse, it was in the repression years that we can speak of a distinct "working-class consciousness" maturing (Thompson, 1963, p.181).

The making of the middle class would additionally bring class interests to the fore. Both factory masters and craftsmen, or skilled workers, were looking for new ways if not patterns to get ahead in life. The skilled workers, for instance, were all of those who became able to buy large estates, initiate deals and small-scale industrial activities. They became aware enough of their needs. They were trying to gain privileges, extend their authority and why not get involved in running public affairs in their towns through city-councils and other governing bodies. Their will to negotiate for their wages, somehow change their working conditions and more importantly their power to lead pressure, all helped them to rise to prominence as a different class. In fact, these were the first attempts to protect interests and secure better conditions. They wanted to shield their crafts, combine and defend their privileges, determine and orient their interests. The middle class realized that organizing themselves into labour gatherings or combinations might be a source of power in favour of their class. More importantly, the whole atmosphere was, in some respects, very alluring if not in their hands for it offered a seedbed for money making.

Apart from its minor success to position itself both economically and socially, the middle class would help determine the nature of industrial relations and privileges in favour of workers. It would be part of the industrial conflict, which would in return help identify the chief incentives behind the realization of labour rights, and then, welfare. Coming from diverse backgrounds, craftsmen and skilled workers succeeded in diversifying their wealth sources; they managed to initiate other activities apart from ironwork, textile, mining and farming. They could direct their interests to different activities; the thing that profoundly transformed their mode of living. Soon, they became socially prominent due to a combination of factors. Yet, these social and economic developments in favour of the middle class would alternatively cause them some industrial challenges if not perturb their relations with their masters, more exactly the upper class. The employers' hostility, using the power of legislation, would be among the chief impediments that might lessen the labourers' voice, craftsmen in particular, as a rising social power. At the same time, it is also possible that skilled workers and craftsmen might get over these hindrances, and thus, change the fate of workers, in general.

3.1. Class Confrontations and Social Divisions

It is inappropriate to discuss the workers' welfare, as an achievement, at any time before the social and economic disruptiveness of the industrial age, mainly the last decades of eighteenth century. The industrial developments had undoubtedly played a crucial role in bringing the industrial conflict to being. In fact, the circumstances of the day helped forge the first forms of labour gatherings. Labour societies in different trades were striving to limit all types of industrial and social strain. At this time, rivalries, if not struggles, became notable among upper and middle classes, or more exactly between masters and their workers. In fact, demands for better living and working conditions, looking for more privileges and changes in factory systems might breed hostility and

dissatisfaction on both sides. For governors and employers, it was natural to think of whatever the means to curb the rising powers of these groups. In brief, the years of industrialization were so prosperous for some classes yet very challenging for certain others; the fact that led to social, and later, syndicalist confrontations.

At the very beginning, labour organization was still less common due to the fact that the working class itself was less homogeneous or rather liable to division. The increasing control over capital and sources of production was not welcomed by the workers whose labour interests and rights were utterly undermined. It is in these days that social differences, as the root of the struggle, became apparent. Class conflicts, between upper and lower classes, became unavoidable and divisions among the labourers loomed large. Skilled workers, for instance, wanted to protect the privileges they had managed to secure, but away from the unskilled workers. In fact, this indicates the first fractions the working class began to experience. Craftsmen could impose a certain degree of social and professional respectability unlike unskilled labourers whose living and working conditions were still going from bad to worse. Without any doubt, these divisions would delay labour organization, and thus, weaken the workers' position when it comes to pressure to secure further labour developments.

Differences in skills were the first challenge for the workers, as a class, in their struggle for better working and living conditions, if not more. Via some guilds and labour clubs, and from the last decades of the eighteenth century, craftsmen were able to combat against their masters. They could, in some respects, protect their interests. More exactly, they succeeded in running small workshops, and be part of some factories too. They bought lands and large estates. On the whole, they could acquire social respectability despite all their masters' attempts, through factory laws, to put them down. On their turn,

craftsmen, and unlike unskilled workers, had never ceased to challenge what the masters were trying to enforce. They sought ways to express their industrial worries about their crafts if not form some pressure groups, which they had thought they might help defend their cause. In the end, it became clear that the whole society had gone through a profound change. Social differences, class interests, class confrontations and divisions were all important issues that would later identify the nature of industrial relations. These variables would undoubtedly help prompt lower class to rethink of ways and means to safeguard interests, as it is explained in the following lines:

> Another impact of industrialization was a deepening divide between classes. Before industrialization, there was communication between master and servant. Industrialization brought an end to this interaction as the relationship changed from provider or capitalist to servant or wage earner. This led to rising ignorance of the living and working conditions of the poor (Clermont, 2002, p. 6).

The increasing craftwork, after the growth of industrialization, was basically in craftsmen's favour in the sense it helped empower this class, but at the same time, a reason behind the rift among workers. Craftsmen became economically independent due to a number of changes. They became ready to ape the landed elites, and thus, set themselves different from unskilled labourers. In other words, their skills and crafts placed them in a different position within the working class itself. Accordingly, the birth of this social layer was not sudden but both gradual and unremarkable. It was a new social order, which would influence labour concerns, mainly changes in labour organization, rights and liberties. This might be considered as a turning point in the history of class relationships; especially that craftsmen already became aware enough about their class interests. As far as labour rights are concerned, craftsmen would try to protect the future of

their crafts and then help bring a lot of industrial imperfections to questions in the ensuing years. Through a number of ways and means, this class, or more exactly skilled workers, would determine the first attempts to combat the harshness of urban life and working conditions created by the advance of industrialization.

Class awareness was an initial step towards developments in labour organization. Concerns like factory laws and labour privileges were all subject to change following the rise of craftsmen, as a social class. These changes would disrupt former labour relations between masters and their journeymen, between gentry and commoners; they would additionally lead to disputes if not tensions. Each group would strive to protect the interests of their class. It was in these days that the first forms of labour combinations were forged to handle labour interests and settle industrial disputes. In the wake of the eighteenth century, many skilled labourers could start bargaining for wages for they recognized that their masters had not the right to put down their crafts. Doing so, though not yet fully developed, they brought the first attempt of labour organization into being. It is in this period that combining, campaigning and the first forms of reform movements, in some respects, began to emerge. According to Jaffe (2000) "*life and work in nineteenth century England had been penetrated by forms of dispute resolution that were meant to secure order without law* (p. 525)". It could be said that the first forms of labour organization had their origins in those days, particularly when skilled labourers managed to position themselves economically as contributing members to the whole economy.

The coming of new social forces coupled with industrial developments paved the way for additional changes, namely the foundation of labour clubs. These might be able to organize labour and thus, stand against industrial strain. Attempts to combine against the excessive powers of employers would soon start, and in different forms. It is true that they would remain inefficient for many decades, but they were essential for the onset of labour organization, and the workers' labour interests. These facts suggest that the early notions of social welfare were on the road, especially when lower classes grouped themselves to end the workers' living and working miseries. Labourers wanted to protect their crafts from the disruption of industrialization; they wanted reasonable wages and favourable conditions both at work and home, but this would not be easy for they would encounter several challenges, particularly legal repression. It is worth noting that, over the last half of the eighteenth century, the regulation of wages and many other labour matters were really indisputable (Jaffe, 2000). They were decided either by parliament, and very often employers, who fought fiercely against any sort of labour combination, which was meant to defend the workers' privileges. Some even went further with their control; they did not tolerate the formation of labour groups for they believed that these combinations would bring nothing except instability to their factories.

The workers' demands for the regulation of labour concerns marked the first step towards labour organization and reform. At this stage, labour groups, or what would be later known as trade unions, were still in their formative period. They had to await until the mid nineteenth century, in 1860's exactly, to achieve organizational powers (Hobsbawm, 1967). Workers, particularly craftsmen, were trying ceaselessly to organize labour; they used a number of ways to denounce industrial strain. They used to submit petitions, lead campaigns and call for public rallies to express their discontent. They tried to secure their rights after their employers had failed to offer favourable working conditions. These facts

indicate that eighteenth-century guilds and labour clubs were the first canals workers had resorted to settle disputes and protect interests. It is true that these organizations might have lacked organization and efficiency, but they helped recognize labour rights in the ensuing years. To some respects, they could secure labour regulations and amendments in favour of the working population. Thus, it would be wrong to undermine the contributions of these guilds and clubs to labour concerns. Yet, they were not enough. The complications of industrial growth and the changes it brought to different classes added to the fear to lose class privileges were factors, which did altogether stir the workers' movement against their masters and governors. They impelled labour societies to come together to put an end to their social and industrial sufferings. To understand the value of the working class movement, mainly the considerable amendments the workers could secure in their favour, it is preferable to discern the first guilds and clubs, their powers, their legacy and all that could help lower classes express their social and political worries against the industrial strain.

3.2. Old Labour Practices and Organization

There is no doubt that the labourers' drastic living standards both at workplaces and homes were among the chief incentives behind the labourers' collective action against the social and political defects of the day. Indubitably, the protection of rights would go through a long process; it would sometimes cost the workers a lot, but it was a necessary evil to experience. Lower classes thought of a variety of ways, petitions to parliaments for instance, to voice their labour concerns. They were looking for all that might help them get over their industrial pains, but both their employers and governors undermined their rallies for they had little or no knowledge about how adverse the impact of industrialization on lower classes had been. Social pressure came to its head when employers in different industrial areas showed no reluctance with the labourers' attempts to

combine, a practice that might potentially threaten the productivity of their factories. They, masters and employers, remained resilient as they could resist all sorts of the labourers' collective actions, often using legal means. In fact, these made it hard for the labourers to organize themselves against this rigid discipline dictated by the employers for a number of decades. In brief, defending labour rights was still something hard to pursue if not daring. On their turn, labour societies were infant, ineffective and low for many factors, both professional and economic.

Labour market was undoubtedly subject to the developments and changes listed above. Lower classes, in general, were unable to change their fate, more exactly found unions able to settle their labour disputes. The abundance of cheap working hands, little or no labour organization as well as divisions among the working class itself, were all factors that strengthened the position of the factory masters. Many labourers could have run the risk of losing their positions; they had no alternative to bargain for wages or negotiate about their working hours; they might have even been punished or got their tenancy terminated without any previous notice. Worse of all were the relations between the working men and their masters following the fluctuations of industrialization. Negotiations about wages, rights and other labourers' concerns could be treated only after 1860 when trade unions became able to defend the labourers' interests and extract legal privileges, but long before then, everything remained under the master's rule. Unions were not recognized or fully developed. Labour clubs and guilds were the unique labour groupings formed by some craftsmen to stand for their causes, but they were limited to certain labour societies, less organized and more importantly, less effective. These features make it again hard to know to what extent these early guilds succeeded in developing labour rights or rather the well-being of the working population.

Guilds and clubs were the first canals to voice some labour needs up to the beginning of the early nineteenth century when the growth of industrialization did additionally disrupt labour organization. A lot of guilds used to function secretly yet insufficiently. This denotes that the practice of founding labour unions, though less common and inadequate, was older than the age of machines. The idea of combining can be traced to the mid-eighteenth century when certain groups of craftsmen began their first attempts to combine. Of course, nothing like labour organization, the regulation of wages and other related labour matters by negotiation did exist in early nineteenth century Britain. Labour concerns were confined to certain crafts, clubs and limited social benefits (Pelling, 1987). Some artisans succeeded to combine to cater for common interests. These early forms of unions could protect the crafts, often determine prices, define the terms of service and organize some concerns between masters and their employees. More than that, they did frequently defend the interests of crafts, specialization more exactly, through preventing other workers, unskilled ones, from being part of their associations and therefore share their privileges. It could be therefore said that guilds and clubs were to some respects able to manage specific labour gatherings with limited tools and mechanisms.

Both guilds and clubs had few powers that would help guarantee rights. The regulation of wages, for instance, was directed by governors. In Stuart times, unskilled workers had no way to form guilds; the fact that denotes the workers' need for statutory intervention. Wages were sometimes fixed by Acts of Parliament, and in many other cases, by justices of the peace, which were responsible for that too. This practice, wage regulation, continued up to the mid of the eighteenth-century, but it began to fade away in the early decades of industrialization. Once more, the impact of industrialization was so profound that it left nothing untouched, even labour regulations. It did unexpectedly lessen the functioning of eighteenth-century guilds and clubs. The latter had lost their value

after new industrial developments began to take place. More accurately, the growth of trade, the introduction of machinery, new means of communication and transport, all led to changes in interests, more exactly a sudden separation between masters and workers, who used to work side by side. Thus, and under these circumstances, what would help lower classes, particularly unskilled workers, secure their rights, develop living and working conditions and if possible realize their welfare?

By the end of the eighteenth century, the first forms of labour gatherings began to decay due to the changes dictated by a number of economic arrangements. The industrial growth meant, for the skilled workers exceptionally, new opportunities to spot, but at the same time, a source of trouble. The new developments might sour relationships between workers and their masters. This in fact made the continuity of old guilds at stake. Craftsmen wanted effective forms to protect the privileges they had enjoyed before. On their part, the masters did not want to maintain the formal system of regulation; especially machines replaced the old patterns of working. Different skills, different crafts and interests all indicate that new labour patterns were taking place. From then on, the need for new alternatives became obvious and soon the practice to combine separately started to spread among craftsmen and masters as both were supposed to shield their privileges. Of course, this would fuel struggles between masters and their apprentice workers, and then subject labour organization to deep changes. This was the onset of the industrial conflict, which would determine the mechanisms of the first combinations, labour rights, laws and relations between lower classes and upper classes. The workers, both groups and individuals, would respond in different ways against punitive law and all that was meant to depreciate labour interests. Thus, it would be too early to speak about trade unions and their achievements at any time before the nature of first labour gatherings during the first decades of the industrial age.

3.3. The First Attempts to Combine

The breach between masters and their journeymen in some industries was a stepping stone for the future of trade unionism. Some craftsmen, like the weavers and artisans, managed to form their separate clubs despite the employers' hostility; they began to submit petitions against their employers expressing their grievances if not their discontent about the regulation of wages. Yet, neither the governors not the factory masters could respond to these earlier demands. Labour clubs could therefore resort to direct actions in their workshops. "Go-slow" pace was the first response to get attention. This denotes that skilled workers could set the first platforms to alter their working conditions and alleviate strain they were still suffering from. In fact, they succeeded to lay down the cornerstones of the first combinations and protect some of their privileges guaranteed either by their former guilds or by Acts of Parliament. The case of Spa Fields weavers is a fine example about the success of the first labour clubs in organizing their labour matters. In 1773, the weavers could secure an Act of Parliament regulating wages, rates of pay and other issues to organize this trade (Mantoux, 2013). However, this was not the case for all labourers and clubs. In fact, very few labour groups could stand for their rights and thus resist whatever the masters' responses could be. It is worth noting that any attempt to found a legal combination was often met with hostility if not legal repression. All in all, labour societies remained vulnerable to factory masters' abuses, only few craftsmen as printers, artisans, weavers, carriers and smiths, who could form corporate bodies, at least to ensure the implementation of laws in favour of their crafts. Some labour groups could even cater for some rights and social needs like social relief and insurance against sickness or death, but these cases were really very few.

One of the old forms of labour gatherings, which realized some minor privileges and continued to operate up to 1770's, was "the chapel". In each London printing establishment, there was a body to protect the social advantages of the printers. They could make rules and apply penalties to serve their common interests. Some other craftsmen, like lightermen in mines, could come together in a form of a "friendly society" to raise local funds for their own relief. Soon, labour clubs became common in other trades and in different areas of the country. Yet, the first elaborate labour club to raise wages in the course of the eighteenth century was "the journeymen of felt makers" This labour grouping could stand against the rule of their masters. Members of this gathering resisted their employers' attempt to make cuts in their wages. It was among the very first labour groups to bargain for wages; the issue that led to tensions between masters and their journeymen. These attempts demonstrate that the labourers' endeavour to form labour clubs for their professional and social benefits is an old practice that goes back to the first decades of eighteenth century, if not earlier. Yet, it is important to mind that these clubs were limited, often ineffective and less powerful, but they could instigate the first attempts to resist the infringements of labour rights by factory masters, who in return, did not hesitate to shield their interests. Thus, combining was an old practice meant to protect certain privileges, but it was still limited to few trades and crafts. In many instances, it helped guarantee some rights, but again, it was literally unable to stand for additional labour causes.

Defending labour rights and privileges was not only limited to the labourers but the factory masters as well. In fact, both parts sought mechanisms to organize labour the way it would suit their interests. In 1721, the master tailors coalesced together against their journeymen. They submitted a petition to revise the regulation of wages and working hours, and soon, an act was passed in favour of the master tailors. This shows that there existed several disputes,

grievances or rather demands on both sides to manage labour, in general. Up to the close of the eighteenth century, the industrial conflict was in its early days. It took the labourers almost decades to establish powerful labour societies able to carry out their labour concerns, but it is worth noting that guilds, chapels, friendly societies and many other corporate bodies tried to accomplish certain social and professional goals despite the employers' intimidation and repression. The first labour gathering remained inadequate and unable to go further with the expectations of their members and adherents, yet difficult to suppress. This means that the first forms of labour unions, though scattered and less organized, were on the road to changing the workers' conditions. Chapels, friendly societies and many other labour groups did indeed soften the ground for a transition towards elaborate labour combinations able to consolidate the workers' cause.

As a conclusion, it is inconceivable to view the realization of labour privileges away from certain key events that punctuated the first decades of industrialization. This age was more than a mere economic change towards varied sources of production as it did disrupt everything. The deterioration of industrial relationships, between factory masters and their workers, confrontations against the imperfections of industrialization on one part, and the infringements of employers on the other part as well as the failure of legislation to address grievances, were all a prelude to the industrial conflict, and thus, the foundation of mid-nineteenth century labour unions. The establishment of these labour societies was meant to protect rights and liberties to which the workers set on a long striving. It is in the midst of these circumstances, particularly the social and economic implications of the industrial age that it is possible to understand the origins of the industrial conflict or rather the factors that brought the working population face to face with their masters and governors.

Talking about fully developed labour unions before the mid nineteenth century is somehow unconvincing for there had not been enough impacts upon the privileges or rights of the craftsmen and other workers. Yet, this would change with the beginning of industrialization. The dramatic changes brought about mainly by the Industrial Revolution were a strong motive behind thinking of ways to combat the harshness of industrial life. In fact, it overwhelmed the communities of the day at an increasing pace, only few decades after the growth of machine-based economy. It is indeed in the wake of the eighteenth century that the technical ability to manipulate environment for the human benefits became a fact. Many could transform their living conditions and get ahead in life while many others plunged into chaos and unexpected socio-economic imperfections. Lost in the excitement of industrialization, certain classes followed their industrial instincts to serve their schemes even it would be at the expense of those who were working for them. Changes like these impelled several voices to stand against the violation of rights and liberties. They pointed out the terrible evils of industrialization as it became difficult to ignore that massive change: crowded cities, housing problems, municipal difficulties, poverty and crime, were all implications workers could no longer handle. Families were torn to shreds; education and health were accessible to few individuals unlike many others, and working in miserable conditions was an additional burden that brought the working class, if not classes, to their knees.

At workplaces and factories, the situation was even worse. Low wages, long working hours with physically unbearable tasks were the norms, which did in return worsen the living conditions of the working class. The implications of industrialization again loomed large in other walks of life, even for the life of the newly emerged classes: a lot of skilled workers had been suddenly displaced by the mechanization of their crafts. Many craftsmen could not acknowledge the economic losses they might encounter in the midst of those industrial and

economic developments. Protection the crafts became more than a necessity. Craftsmen, in some trades, had to combine to get over the current changes. In fact, combination was still naïve and subject to many defects. It is important to mind that the industrial developments reordered skills and crafts: some crafts prospered while others faded away. Yet, and at a slow pace, the workers' collective responses to industrialization paved the way for a reform movement, which would not only work on better living and working conditions but the labourers' political liberties and rights.

The need for labour organization was also rendered to the fact that older labour groups remained unable to effect considerable changes in the workers' favour. They could neither support the workers adequately nor protect their interests. Though an old practice, guilds and clubs remained less effective and in some respects, outdated. This was enough to think of new ways to protect labour privileges and new arrangements that might help extend the powers of labour societies. Eighteenth-century guilds and clubs had been the first means or rather labour groupings to cater for certain social needs, particularly social relief. In many other cases, they could secure some minor achievements in favour of their members, groups or simply their crafts. Yet, even these attempts were often met with hostility. The masters did fiercely resist the creation of corporate bodies, combinations and labour associations as they were of a disturbing power to the stability of factories and workshops. Thus, it could be said that the first forms of combinations did indeed try to regulate labour, participate in the management of labour concerns, but their endeavours were insufficient due to many factors: new economic interests, class struggles, the employers' powerful position and more importantly, the power of legislation, which made it difficult to combine effectively.

On their turn, craftsmen continued to look for alternatives to manage the industrial conflict and regulate labour, but differences in trades were of a big challenge hard to get over. The working class was less homogeneous; the fact that did impede combination and coming together. In some trades, the new economic and social developments required certain craftsmen to form combinations able to negotiate for wages, working hours, prices and ensure the carrying out the relevant Acts of Parliament unlike many others who were still under the mercy of their masters. Combining was still less common for all labourers. The craftsmen's early attempts, and later the unskilled workers, can be viewed as the first steps towards the end of the industrial strain, and that labour unions are just an extension of eighteenth-century combinations, but more efficient and elaborate. During the first decades of the nineteenth century, the workers would continue their attempts to regulate labour, end industrial strain and improve their conditions. They would resist the violation of their rights by their masters and governors. Public disturbance, rallies, protests and other forms of collective action would be the new alternatives to set upon. They would make every endeavour to achieve their goal: the foundation of labour groups able to carry out the cause to organize labour, and why not set better standards in favour of every single worker in Britain.

Chapter Two

The Beginning of the Working Class Industrial Conflict, 1800-1833

The belief in meeting great economic and social opportunities in factory towns and industrial districts was in few decades dashed by the disillusions or rather the terrible impacts industrial developments brought to lower classes. The working family, particularity, ended up working long hours for unfair meagre wages. On the top of that, the bulk of workers remained firmly stuck between heat, dirt and dreadful living conditions that did utterly exhaust them both physically and mentally. The workers' earliest reactions to those abominable conditions came into being when they decided to found separate combinations, especially when industrial interests became no longer the same. However, these labour groups were simply a desperate attempt to limit industrial strain as they

did only arouse the masters' hostility in different forms. This marked the beginning of the industrial conflict between workers and their masters. The early days of industrial conflict were remarkably overwhelming as few craftsmen could claim certain privileges unlike many others, who were completely deprived of their rights. On the other corner, governors played their part in this industrial conflict through legislation. They put the workers through a rigid discipline in different trades in an effort to slow down the functioning of combinations and labour clubs. This chapter tries to shed light on the repressive power of governors and employers on labour societies to deter any effort of reform. It is worth mentioning that labour legislation added to the industrial developments of the nineteenth-century brought the workers face to face with employers and governors. They were additional factors behind the industrial unrest, which typified the early decades of the nineteenth century. The chapter has also a strong bearing on what alternatives the labourers finally resorted to following the reinforcement of policies and acts that did utterly prohibit any type of combinations, and what achievements industrial protest, mainly physical force responses, could bring to the labourers' rights and liberties.

1- Labour Legislation up to 1810

The decay of guild system and the massive developments in both industrial and economic interests did strongly compel the workers to think of alternatives to defend their rights. Groups as workmen societies were meant to stand collectively against the evils of industrialization, but more importantly, against the rising powers of the factory masters. These attempts were not welcomed by factory owners and masters who thought that labour unions would only disrupt the management of their businesses and thus threaten their interests. Legislation was therefore a means to ensure discipline if not repress labour gatherings calling for change. In mills and factories, journeymen meetings,

assemblies, calls to win an increase in wages or a decrease in working hours were declared illegal and utterly intolerable. Any attempt to combine could not go unanswered, on the part of masters, the thing that forced the labourers to opt for secrecy. The last decades of the eighteenth-century were troublesome and hard for the workers who could not secure adequate amendments in favour of their working conditions. They could neither secure the right to collective bargaining nor found powerful combinations to look after their concerns. The industrialists, in their turn, voiced their fears in a number of ways. They demonized the labourers' rallies to mobilize public opinion; they often submitted petitions to parliament against such a rising drive to found combinations. In fact, legislation did more than the industrialists could have done. In the end, added to the miseries the workers were walking in, governors and employers, through many legal means, brought the conflict to its head.

Up to the mid nineteenth century, the working population was heavily abused both socially and politically. Labour laws were obsolete for they dated back to Tudors' and Stuarts' times, and in some instances, biased towards factory masters and owners. The Master and Servant Acts [2], for instance, were meant to organize labour and regulate relations between masters and their workers or servants, but in fact, they were one set of the first means to slow down unionism in Britain. These acts required total obedience, on the part of workers, to factory masters and employers. These regulations even listed punishments before courts of law in case of infringements of the contracts (Benesch, 2005). Thus, it was clear enough that these retributive acts were passed to repress workers trying to organize labour, control their activities if not crush their movement. In 1799, and

[2] Masters and Servants Acts were laws designed to regulate relations between employers and employees during the 18th and 19th centuries. An 1823 United Kingdom Act described its purpose as "the better regulations of servants, labourers and work people". These acts are generally regarded as heavily biased towards employers, designed to discipline employees and repress the "combination" of workers in trade unions (Benesch, 2005).

with the spread of reforming ideals after the French Revolution, it became necessary for the present day government, the Tories, to maintain order by any means, mainly political.

The coincidence between the workers' attempts to regulate labour and political upheavals in France was not in the workers' favour in the long run. In fact, the fear from foreign conspiracies did only increase legal intimidation against labour societies. Collective bargaining was generally met with great hostility from governors and factory masters. Furthermore, and under these circumstances, it became a priority for Pitt's government to uphold upon older practices used in regulating wages, the volume of working hours and other labour related concerns. For the Tories, more political measures or rather agreements between masters and governors could help prevent reforms, if not put down any attempt of revolts against authorities (Osmont, 2003). Thus, added to meagre wages, long working hours and miserable living conditions, the working population was subjected to severe legal repression. It seems that it was still hard to challenge the factory owners who might resort to legislation to protect the interests of their class. This additionally suggests that the organization of labour in early nineteenth-century Britain was not vested into the hands of labourers but industrialists. The latter were often quick to put down any kind of opposition using whatever means to repress labour societies. The first Combination Acts [3] were a fine example about legal repression. They were meant to control the activities of the working class radicals and leaders, and thus organize labour according to the factory masters' terms.

[3] The Combination Acts were laws passed in Britain in 1799 and 1800 making trade unionism illegal. They were introduced after the French Revolution for fear that the trade unions would become centres of political agitation. The unions continued to exist, but claimed to be friendly societies or went underground, until the acts were repealed in 1824, largely owing to the radical Francis Place (Hall, 1999).

1.1. The Combination Acts, 1800

As employers became more and more anxious about their industrial interests and under the fear of foreign conspiracies, parliament passed a group of acts, known as the Combinations Acts, to restrict the work of labour societies and their leaders. These acts made it illegal to assemble workmen inside factories or elsewhere, but more importantly, they were intended to crush any possible political agitation. At this point, in 1799, the industrial conflict took another direction totally different from the last decades of eighteenth century when labour troubles were mainly a form of local disputes between masters and their journeymen. These laws dashed the workers' hopes to end industrial strain, bargain collectively or negotiate for other labour concerns. Under these measures, activists and workers could receive severe punishments, imprisonment or months of hard labour, if not more. At first, the acts banned certain combinations in some trades, but soon they were turned into a general prohibition of all kinds of labour gatherings. This in fact, and as far as labour liberties are concerned, violated the labourers' individual rights and labour privileges.

The Combinations Acts were a political response the first of its kind against labour societies, which were increasingly becoming a source of trouble. It is true that Common law and many other statutes were still valid to address labour concerns and settle disputes, but the Combination Acts were more than an attempt to organize labour. They did expressly list a series of unlawful activities and the types of punishment offenders would receive as a threatening measure against the labourers' attempts to regulate wages or reform the factory system, in general. The following lines clearly demonstrate how severe and firm the Acts of 1799 and its revised version of 1800 were. They openly state that neither the factory masters nor the governors could accept the spread of combinations or any kind of workmen associations to more industrial areas. By the terms of the

Combinations Acts, the workers' attempts to regulate wages, identify prices, set the working hours, or other labour privileges became difficult to address.

> No journeyman, workman or other person shall at any time after the passing of this Act make or enter into, or be concerned in the making of or entering into any such contract, covenant or agreement, in writing or not in writing, and every workman who, after the passing of this Act, shall be guilty of any of the said offences, being thereof lawfully convicted, upon his own confession, or the oath or oaths of one or more credible witness or witnesses, before any two justices of the Peace, within three calendar months next after the offence, shall by order of such justices be committed to and confined in the common goal, within his or their jurisdiction, for any time not exceeding three calendar months, or at the discretion of such justices shall be committed to some House of Correction within the same jurisdiction (Smith, 1959, p. 749).

For the labourers, the beginning of the nineteenth century was obviously frustrating to the core as many of their combinations received a painful slap: thousands of convictions and jail sentences were passed to prevent any sort of labour union among labourers. Labour legislation could theoretically put down the labourers' emerging combinations and limit all kinds of workmen assemblies and meetings. Yet, in fact, the enactment of the Combination Acts did only mount the workers' determination to end industrial strain. In their turn, the labourers started thinking of how to get around these restrictions. They defied their masters and tried every means to echo their demands. A lot of workmen groups found secret groups to evade prosecutions and allegations while many others diverted their opponents' attention using new labels such as unions of mutual benefits, similar bodies and other forms to lessen pressure. In different trades, workers held on their activities in a variety of ways to safeguard what they had been up to. They resisted the intimidation of their masters and the oppressing policies of their

governors. It could be therefore said that the Combinations Acts, regulatory in nature, were an attempt, on the part of the employers and governors to daunt the workers, confiscate their rights and liberties, not only the right to bargain, but to form unions, to boycott unfair regulations as Archer (2000) argues in the following line: "*the main purpose of the acts,…, was to make workers accept the rule of their employers* (p.47)." Thus, it became evident that the labourers had to resort to different forms of expressing their resentment, and that what happened in the years to follow the Combination Acts, was only a response to the industrial impacts and legal restrictions on individuals' liberties. The workers would set upon other alternatives to defend their interests after petitioning and rallying proved ineffective. They would ask for collective bargaining, but this time by rioting.

1.2. Health and Morals of Apprentices Act, 1802

For the working population, the Combinations Acts were only one set of a chain of laws or rather repressive policies to control the labourers' syndicalist activity. At a time of public disorder abroad and the potential of local conspiracies, the governments of the day became determined about reinforcing law to terminate the labourers' movement but equally to protect the masters' interests. Theoretically, the concern of legislation was to maintain political order through organizing the general conduct in factories and workshops. The government, via legal measures, tended to absorb the labourers' discontent after it had become evident that the workers' combinations turned into an outlet of disruption and even physical force activities. In 1802, another amendment was added to the series of laws tending to restrain combinations and the labourers' attempts to regulate labour although the Act of 1802 brought some arrangements in favour of workers, mainly younger apprentices. Peel's Health and Morals of Apprentices Bill proposed certain procedures to limit all forms of constraints in

mills, in particular. It proposed changes in wages and the number of working hours. It could revise the age of apprentices, and more importantly, take into account additional precautions in mills in an effort to boost health standards at workplaces. Yet, the Bill proposed nothing in the workers' favour, particularly the right to assemble. It is true that provided some minor developments in factory system, mainly pauper apprentices in mills, but in fact, it was only was an extension to the Combination Acts in the sense it maintained the prohibition of assemblies of syndicalist nature.

Governments' interference into labour affairs was often inadequate if not biased towards the masters' interests. The labourers were not even allowed to vote or back up radicals' and reformists' proposals. They remained vulnerable to their governors' and masters' decisions for they lacked the mechanisms by which they could defend their interests. Robert Peel and many other mill owners with reformist views could not enforce proposals or changes in favour of workers. Acts, as the Act of 1802, and as far as effective amendments, remained less efficient if not inapplicable. Many factory owners, or rather powerful employers with strong holds in the political circles, opposed these attempts to organize labour for they believed that increase in wages or decreases in working hours could only threaten the future of their mills and workshops. Thus, they often flouted those changes or developments in factory laws or systems. Again, the government's response to labour needs was in most of the times frustrating and inefficient ("Early Factory Legislation", 2014). The Act of 1802 was another proof of the factory masters' utter ignorance of lower classes' interests. Eventually, this was an additional pressure on workers meaning that the struggle for social and political change would not be easy. The workers had to think of new alternatives to extract their rights or embark on other forms of rallies against their masters' legal and social abuses.

Overall, it could be said that early nineteenth century legislation was a further incentive behind the outbreak of industrial protests. It deeply influenced the future of industrial relations between the masters and governors on the one part, and lower classes on the other one. In fact, legislation did only widen the gap between the parties of the industrial conflict. For better and for worse, the labourers sought ways and means to defend their cause and thus resist all sorts of pressure put upon them. In fact, these struggles made nineteenth-century Britain on the verge of a political agitation. Accordingly, the labourers' next actions should be seen as responses to the first Factory Acts, as new canals to voice their needs and not as potential threats to the political stability. Protest against the atrocities of the industrial age became evident more than ever. It became the next step, especially after the failure of both governors and employers to address the labourers' grievances. The labourers aspired to increase their wages, decrease their working hours, and more exactly, develop their working conditions. They were becoming more and more outrageous yet very concerned with new mechanisms to defend labour privileges, especially the evils of industrialization continued to drain their energies, and now, their crafts and trades. Their assemblies and "go slow" work seemed ineffective for collective bargaining, and there should be another way to bargain effectively. Social campaigning, strikes, public disturbance and other forms of physical force activities came into being when governments proved biased against the labourers. At this time, more exactly a decade following the Combination Acts, the industrial conflict took another form different from late eighteenth century yet, in some respects, expected from the workers' side after abusive legislation.

2- The First Forms of Industrial Protest up to 1825

Before exploring what aftermaths the Combinations Acts and other factory policies brought to the industrial arena of the nineteenth century, it is noteworthy to mention that combining grew in number following the restrictions of labour legislation. Combinations became almost common in many trades and in many industrial towns despite the political pressure on the working population. The workers did vehemently protest against legislation as well as the employers' hostility; they continued to submit petitions to the local authorities and sometimes lead strikes to get their voice heard. This does not mean that labour associations finally became able to claim rights, as a sign of social and political liberties, but to demonstrate that the government's responses to the social problems failed, to some extent, to prevent combining. Legislation could not even deter the labourers' will to get over the economic and social vicissitudes of the day. Of course, these early struggles were not easy, especially in trades where there was enough reserve of workmen to replace those dismissed, or in trades where there were schemes to introduce machines (Pelling, 1987). More accurately, the labourers remained helpless and unable to negotiate for their labour rights until the second decade of the nineteenth century. In 1811, the labourers reacted collectively, and at this time, violently. The industrial conflict eventually took another direction, especially following the introduction of machines in some trades. A group of desperate craftsmen resorted to direct actions against their masters, particularly against the introduction of a new factory system. The latter means "*the adoption of machinery and artificial power, the use of a vastly greater amount of capital, and the collection of scattered labourers into great strictly regulated establishments* (Cheyney, 2018, p. 180)." Such a new development was truly a turning point in the history of industrial relations between craftsmen and their masters. In fact, it was the starting point of the industrial protest.

A lot of craftsmen became violent against the introduction of machines to their trades; the fact that would seriously destabilize their crafts and livelihood, in general. At this point, combinations degenerated into violence and riots to protect the labourers' crafts, but more importantly, to fight all sorts of industrial strain. The craftsmen's reaction was equally against the economic developments that typified the growth of industrialization in the early nineteenth century, and which were not in their favour. At first, groups of rioters, in Nottinghamshire, began smashing industrial machines designed for use in textile workshops, but later these groups, or rather these deeds, spread like wildfire to the adjoining industrial areas. The rioters would cause heavy losses; they would use different strategies to perturb several trades. In the long run, they would overwhelm masters and authorities alike and make a start of another phase of the industrial conflict. It was indeed the beginning of physical force deeds as a means to protect privileges and maintain a decent position in the realm of industrialization.

2.1. The Luddites Leading Industrial Sabotage, in 1819

In the course of the second decade of the nineteenth century, tensions ran high between the masters and craftsmen in textile trades, in particular, and later in many factories and workshops. The distress was caused by a number of factors, but the introduction of machines into some declining handicraft trades was the most impelling incentive. Violent deeds were manifested in different forms, which erupted only when government together with factory master failed to offer favourable working conditions. Machine breaking, later known as the Luddites' riots, was only one form of the industrial protest and another phase of the labourers' striving against the evils of industrialization. The gradual mechanization of knitting workshops transformed labour patterns and replaced skilled labourers by unskilled low paid workers. This eventually aroused the craftsmen's resentment almost in all industrial cities as Nottinghamshire,

Manchester, Lancashire and many other areas. Under the pressure of losing their jobs and the disappearance of their crafts, the Luddites opted to smashing their masters' properties. They could no longer bear that sudden decline in their trades, or rather undermining their skills. They rapidly responded to "break and destroy" announcements making a start of a chain of machine-wrecking activities between 1811 and 1816. Actually, all machine-based workshops presented a standing target for these groups, the Luddites, and almost without any exception, from spinning to loom and shearing frames. These acts, which were meant to protect crafts and restore, soon turned into a movement to reform factory system (Bloy, 2005).

The Luddites' response to mechanization was the first of its kind, as far as rallies to protect labour interests are concerned. Very often, the Luddites blackened their faces and disguised themselves to portray their utter discontent with the displacement of craftsmen. They performed all acts of vandalism against those who had brought machines to textile industry: they often burned workshops, damaged frames, but their actions went further with violence when they intimidated their masters in person. The following lines list some forms the Luddites resorted to in an effort to protect their crafts. Yet, it should be said that they reacted violently only when their livelihood became at stake the fact that means that their movement was also social in nature.

> Industrial protest encompassed many different kinds of activities. Popular actions ranged from legal petitioning of local authorities, mayors and Parliament, to strikes and the more obvious forms of rowdy behaviours of mass meetings such as rioting, effigy burnings, to outright terrorism in the form of assassination, the sending of threatening letters, machine breaking and other forms of property damage (Archer, 2000, p. 43).

In relevance to the realization of social and legal privileges in favour of the working population, the Luddites' riots could be seen as a desperate effort to stop mechanizing in some crafts, but they were not insignificant. It is true that the Luddites could not mobilize the workers, as a class, to achieve labour privileges, but they could at least perturb the functioning of various textile workshops. Though unorganized and frequent, these riots could, to some respects, slow down the introduction of technical advance to cotton industry causing a state of chaos. The Luddites could alert local authorities if not shake the country's stability as they kept destroying all that they saw as a factor behind displacing them for many years. In the midst of these chaotic events, it is worth mentioning that the government of the day could not initially stop these riots. In fact, nothing like coordination or previous planning punctuated these riots for they erupted in different parts at different times. Thus, no political motivation was behind these uprisings, but surprisingly their echo spread far and wide to the remaining trades, towns and even agricultural districts. Their activities brought workers together and thus harnessed their cause to limit the introduction of machine, at preliminary stage. According to Brain (2015), the Luddites' riots instigated the workers' movement to change some of the working conditions; they came together from different trades against the first Factory Acts, the displacement of their crafts, the infringements of labour privileges, and of course, against the economic fluctuations that did seriously worsen the workers' lives.

> In attempt to halt or at least make the transition smoother, the Luddites sought to renegotiate terms of working conditions based on the changing circumstance in the workplace. Some of the requests included the introduction of a minimum wage, the adherence of companies to abide by minimum labour standards, and taxes which would enable funds to be created for workers' pensions. Whilst these terms do not seem reasonable in the modern day workplace, for the factory owners, these attempts at bargaining proved futile. The luddites movement therefore emerged when attempts at negotiation failed and their valid concerns were not listen to. The Luddites activity emerged against a backdrop of economic struggles from the Napoleonic Wars which impacted negatively on the working conditions already experienced in the new factories. With the advent of new technology and more low-skilled workers, this issue was exacerbated (Brain, 2015, p.).

Bringing the industrial protest to its head, the Luddites thought of more than machine breaking. They went further with their riots when they clashed with soldiers on several occasions revealing to what extent they were determined about the protection of their rights. At first, local authorities could not prevent the spread of machine-wrecking as no one could expect the labourers' sudden yet violent activities. In fact, the government of the day remained reluctant to react for a while, mainly during the first months of the uprisings, but soon tensions reached its peak when riots escalated into armed fighting. At these moments, and for the sake of public order, local authorities sought ways to break the movement, especially riots developed into other activities as threatening letters, calls to arms and assassinations demonstrating a growing political agitation. Controlling such a rising working class agitation meant another phase of resistance the first labour gatherings had gone through.

Initially, the government sought means to limit Luddism and protect the factory owners' properties. At first, they increased the penalties for smashing the factory equipments via the Protection of Stocking Frames Act, which in fact, did little to deter these violent craftsmen (Brain, 2015). Attacks swept the country easily as other groups joined Luddite movement. These groups used sledgehammers, but often their attack escalated to gunfire. While the protesters counted upon their government to pass a ban on the introduction of weaving machines, another legal response declared machine wrecking punishable. Passing the Frame Breaking Bill was another indication that the governors were very responsive to the factory owners' concerns instead of the workers. The Bill proposed different forms of punishment protesters would receive. Machine breaking became a capital crime subjecting the Luddites to proceedings, harsh sentences, mass trials, deportations and death penalties. In addition to legal restriction, soldiers were deployed to put an end to chaos. Attempts to infiltrate rioters and protesters with spies were made, but again there seemed no end to the uprising (Brain, 2015). It could be said that legal measures could lessen machine breaking, but it did not suppress the workers' movement. Craftsmen, and their fellows in other trades, continued to address labour concerns, social difficulties, inflation, food shortage and other evils, which remained abandoned by local officials and factory owners. Thus, the uprising against labour saving devices was only one form of the industrial protest to which both governors and employers had no plans to address the workers' needs and interests.

The struggle for better living and working conditions was often met with great hostility on the part of governors and masters. The Tories were more concerned with factory owners' matters rather than the workers. They turned to political oppression which was obviously meant to deter the working population, in general, from joining the reform movement. The government's response was more than an attempt to ensure order and maintain the stability in the country. As far as labour rights are concerned, governors were often biased towards what would favour factory owners and not workers. Acts made the settlement of labour disputes in the hands of those with political and social powers. This states that the industrial protest was more than disputes about the introduction of machines and the displacement of craftsmen. In fact, some classes did not bear the changes among the workers. The latter became somehow aware of their interests, if not more strident about social change, especially radical thoughts began to fall on listening ears. Calls for marches, strikes, mass manifestations became pertinent over the decades to follow the Luddites' riots. In the following lines, Hernon (2006) advocates that Luddism could help develop new forms of industrial protest; it could change the mindset of the working population, but more importantly, it could arouse the workers' awareness about gradual social and political reforms.

> The working man, thanks to Sunday schools, was becoming increasingly literate, and with books and pamphlets came radical ideas which were harder to contain with cudgels and shackles. The Luddites had been fighting a simple, visible enemy – the machines which stole their livelihoods, but now the clamour was for Parliamentary reform, voting rights and no taxation without representation. The inequalities were clear to the eye at every level (Hernon, 2006, p. 12).

The Luddites were the first forms of labour gatherings to instigate social and labour reforms. The significance of their response should be therefore viewed in the context of living hardships, inflation, unfair legislation and other acute effects brought by industrialization rather than a fear to encroach the realm of innovations (Binfield, 2004). The outbreak of riots was in response to the employers' intimidation. The Luddites were more than rioters afraid of machinery; they were activists who instigated an incisive struggle for favourable working and living conditions as Mackenzie asserts in the following line: "*Luddism was neither mindless, nor completely irrational, nor even completely unsuccessful* (Mackenzie, 1985, p. 473)." This means that these bands of rioters managed to push forward their movement and carry on what guilds and labour clubs had instigated although they could only slow down the introduction of machines to their crafts. Their industrial protest could point out that the power of legislation did indeed fail to deter the rise of labour movement. In other words, legal restrictions and other forms of intimidation did only mount the workers' industrial protest; it actually encouraged the workers in other trades to hold upon what would help claim their rights and privileges.

As far labour movement is concerned, Luddism became an inspiration for many labour societies, which were still walking into poverty and strain. Thousands of workers embarked on other forms of protest ignoring the power of legislation, which did only incite violence and increase master worker tensions. Penalties, imprisonment and other forms of legal punishments became the vehicle of the future rallies to protect labour privileges, social and political liberties. It could be said that the power of legislation could reduce attacks on factory properties, but it remained unable to suppress the workers' collective action. Eventually, the riots leapt to another distinct form of industrial protest. Now, the workers, radicals and many other activists came together and extended the

workers' resentment to mass manifestations. This marked the onset of another phase in the workers' struggle for decent life and better working conditions. In the years to come, they would plan a series of rallies to carry on their pressure on both governors and factory owners to claim their right to organize labour.

2.2. Public Disturbance and Mass Protests between 1815 and 1819

The first years of industrial sabotage were undoubtedly overwhelming for both workers and factory masters. It was truly hard to amend factory regulations, increase the falling wages, regulate the working hours and thus regulate labour. In fact, the craftsmen were vulnerable to the wills of their masters and governors for they lacked political representation. In other words, they achieved nothing except insecurity and growing hostility. Yet, these responses were necessary for the next phase of industrial conflict towards the amelioration of both living and working conditions if not the recognition of more social and political privileges. For a couple of years after the Luddites' riots, the workers, from different trades, persisted on change; they did not cease resisting the power of legislation setting on mass strikes to redress different grievances and denounce the measures decided by their governors. In addition to mass manifestations, which punctuated many industrial areas, some labour societies embarked on political rallies and public meetings in an effort to voice their needs. They intended to express their utter dissatisfaction with the increasing legal and industrial abuses. Accordingly, they demonstrated a great awareness of their interests, a capacity of organization and discipline despite the fact that their activities were generally met with repression. Thus, though it had been somehow overwhelming, the workers' movement did not fade away because their machine wrecking did not achieve the desired effects. On the contrary, their industrial sabotage began to be manifested in other forms; it would go on, and this time, in an orchestrated way.

Starting from 1815 onwards, the workers opted for other forms of industrial sabotage after their machine wrecking had proved less effective. Concerned with the necessity to change societies, a number of radicals and social activists joined the movement. They took part in rallies and street marches trying to sensitize the working population and thus help eliminate the social harshness nineteenth-century urban life brought to their communities. Henry Hunt, Robert Owen, and many other radicals could agitate the public opinion in many industrial districts calling for social, economic and even political reforms. They openly added their voice to support lower classes achieve labour privileges, social welfare and why not political liberties. Yet, the ideals of utopian societies and the power of legislation remained the chief challenge to put down reform plans. Via parliament, governors and factory owners, would again resist or find both means and ways to repress the movement and any collective action intended to shake the stability of the country.

When machine breaking ceased, the labourers together with some labour radicals staged to new alternatives to defend their cause. They opted for strikes, mass protests and other forms of public disturbance, which they thought it might help prompt parliamentary reforms and claim favourable factory regulations. The workers could no longer bear the economic fluctuations of the time nor the social hardships that punctuated their lives. Taxes and prices went up, especially after passing the Corn Laws[4]. Above all, their labour quarrels remained unsolved and so were many other industrial disputes. The growing repression of the regime did not only curtail labour rights, but it went further when it limited the freedom of the press too. Postal services were surveyed if not reported to the Home Office,

[4] Corn Laws were a series of statutes enacted between 1815 and 1846 which kept corn prices at a high level. This measure was intended to protect English farmers from cheap foreign imports of grain following the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The beneficiaries of the Corn Laws were large landholders who owned the majority of profitable farmland. High corn prices meant that the working class had no chance to purchase other manufactured goods, but only corn to survive (Hall, 1999).

and secret agents could infiltrate many radical meetings; the thing that shows the loss of civil liberties (Hernon, 2006). Yet, the regime's constant attempts to refrain the workers' movement could not deter the working population from pursuing their striving for their liberties. The outcome was the eruption of a second wave of riots, almost everywhere in the country. They were against labour legislation, food prices, taxes and other defects. The workers joined radicals in their campaigns and mass marches in Birmingham, Nottingham, Lancashire, and Manchester for they realized that radical thoughts would be in the favour of their cause. Thinking of more than labour privileges was indeed unprecedented if not a sign of change in the workers' schemes.

Joining radical campaigns was an additional attempt to support the workers' cause. Apart from settling their labour quarrels, the workers began to ask for fair representation and additional political liberties transforming the industrial conflict into a new cause. In fact, they had not had the right to take part in any political activity. In many industrial districts, though very populated, the workers had no representatives or MPs to stand for their interests and needs; hence, it was reasonable for many labour societies to respond to the radicals' calls, which were purely labour. Fair representation, new voting systems, annual elections and the creation of new constituencies were what the workers were also looking for. These demands actually transformed the character of labour movement for they changed the list of reforms workers were trying to realize. Thus, it could be said that the working population, following the rise of radical thoughts, did not only feel the necessity to step up their social circumstances, but the recognition of their political liberties as well. Public disturbance might be ideal for enforcing this kind of reforms; especially the period between 1815 and 1819 was indeed ripe for change. Labour societies made of their districts and streets the stages for many riots and mass manifestations bringing their cause

forth. Though it disrupted the country's instability, this wave of change was a step forward towards better living and working conditions.

The march of the blanketeers and the mass meeting of St. Peter's fields were fine examples about the workers' physical force activities to claim rights and liberties. They helped point out the industrial miseries the workers were living in, and mainly, the rights and liberties they wanted to be entitled with. The warnings of local authorities did only incite the workers and radicals alike to further their preparations for future rallies. St. Peter's assembly became the starting point of political and parliamentary change. The radicals' campaigns could appeal to many labour societies, particularly those who had been struggling with the abuses of the ruling class. On the day of the march, they distributed posters, leaflets and thousands of fliers emblazoned with inscriptions such as "Universal Suffrage", "Elections by Ballot", "No Combination Acts", "Representation or Death" and many other words making St. Peter's fields meeting the watershed in the workers' striving against the abuses of both governors and employers. 1819 was indeed a crisis year since large meetings such as St. Peter's assembly did fully alert local authorities in Manchester and elsewhere, especially secret preparations to ensure order had already been in hand. Theoretically, these developments state that the industrial conflict reached its height as many industrial areas, as Manchester, became on the verge of a political agitation. However, and as usual, the workers' attempts to defend their cause and wrest their rights by riot would not go unanswered: the government's response to St. Peter's assembly would be repressive, if not brutal.

St. Peter's meeting, as the largest gathering ever seen in England, was the outcome of a series of rallies and riots in large industrial towns. It was meant to voice the unhappy situation lower classes had been placed in. The contingents defied local authorities and ignored their warnings; they intended to lead a peaceful protest to secure more labour rights and support parliamentary reforms pinpointed by some contemporary radicals. They even planned to hold an election as a challenge to the legal system of representation in parliament (Ruth, 2014). On 16 August, bands of workers coming from different districts around Manchester began to fill St. Peter's fields and prepare for their march. In fact, there were fears about the proceedings of this assembly; the fact that required the presence of both regular soldiers and yeomanry. The gathering was noticeably peaceful, and the contingents managed to conduct their assembly with discipline demonstrating no signs of violence. They unfurled their banners displaying their grievances about the growth of poverty, the deterioration of workplace conditions, the decaying urban services, and more specifically, the injustices of the voting system. St. Peter's gathering would be a true turning point in the history of the workers' struggled for better living and working conditions.

The scene was so influential that it required intervention on the part of local authorities. Manchester was declared in danger and the city magistrates, after few hours, decided to break up the meeting, arrest the leaders and the principal speakers. In fact, in a nearby house, the city magistrates were surveying the scene and the troopers were waiting for orders to ride through the crowd. However, neither the participants nor the organizers did expect that professional troopers had been there to disperse the mob violently and that their peaceful gathering would in few minutes turn into a tragedy. The principal speakers were arrested, eleven people were killed and hundreds were injured when untrained yeomanry rode through the crowd crushing the contingents (Milner, 2009). The response to St. Peter's assembly was so brutal that it received an immense wave of

anger throughout the country: no one could imagine the soldiers' cruelty and the magistrates' unwise decision to crush the rally. A lot did blame the magistrates for their inability to manage the incident ending in massive bloodshed. The scene was somehow difficult to believe according to Bamford's account:

> The yeomanry had dismounted, some were easing their horses' girths, others adjusting their accoutrements, and some were wiping their sabers. Several mounds of human beings remained where they had fallen, crushed down and smothered. Some of these still groaning, others with staring eyes were gasping for breath, and others would never breathe more (Bamford, 2014, p.120).

The tragedy of St. Peter's fields became another bright example about the absence of a true political will to address the workers' grievances. It did clearly show that local authorities had been in no mood for reforms as most of the labourers' attempts to transform their living and working conditions were theoretically doomed to failure. True that the working population could lead a fierce yet peaceful striving willing to combine freely, bargain for decent wages, and claim additional labour rights, but none of these aspirations could be achieved. The ruling class often found legal means to break up any kind of rallies attempting to realize social or political reforms. Such a firm action against the protestors was meant to crush the movement. The violent action of the regime was indeed another desperate attempt to manage the industrial conflict according to their terms. In fact, the working class did not realize any kind of parliamentary reform from St. Peter's assembly; the fact that illustrates that their road to better conditions was still in its early phases. Yet, the incident of St. Peter's gathering did strongly strengthen the working population to carry on their cause of reform. It gave them martyrs and heroes the workers would set as examples to hold on their striving for social and political liberties (Hernon, 2006). Briefly, this incident

became more than a symbol of the working class struggles for reform but rather a solid platform to stand on to restore their colleagues' rights and hold to account all of those who had been involved in the tragedy of St. Peter's meeting.

True that the aftermath of St. Peter's assembly was somehow heavy on the workers, but it pointed out the weakness of local authorities to manage conflicts. It deeply humiliated both the magistrates and the national government. Thousands of workers reacted violently after the massacre in different parts of the country while radicals held upon public meetings to increase sympathizers with this wave of change. This was indeed in favour of the workers, as a class, for it helped them win the support of those who were against the political conduct. A while after the massacre, and in addition to the bloody response, the government of the day sought means to penalize rioters instead of addressing their grievances. A series of acts, known as the Six Acts[5], were passed to restore order, but more importantly, to put an end to seditious meetings. In fact, these acts marked the peak of the regime's repression, especially when these acts empowered magistrates and courts alike to proceed with whatever they saw worth for the maintenance of public order. The acts plainly prohibited the seizure of arms, the circulation of radical newspapers and even the meeting of more than 50 persons. "*Taken together with the pre-Peterloo legislation, the Six Acts gave the government legal powers of repression on a scale never seen before* (Hernon, 2006, p. 43)." All in all, no one could expect the tragic end of St. Peter's meeting, but the incident was certainly another strong incentive for the workers to come together against their rivals' arduous efforts to put the movement down.

[5] Six Acts, in British history, acts of Parliament passed in 1819 by Lord Liverpool's Tory administration to curtail political radicalism in the aftermath of the Peterloo massacre and during a period of agitation for reform when habeas corpus was suspended and the powers of magistrates extended (Hall, 1999).

Legislation was often used against the workers' attempt to transform their conditions. Local authorities could not tolerate class awareness among labour societies, mainly labour radicals who were ceaselessly trying via different forms of industrial protest to protect crafts and claim rights. The acts could create a sense of failure among the working population, but it was natural to go through some downs. A few months later, some militant radicals went further with their revenge when they planned to murder some ministers, but their scheme was uncovered, and the conspirators were immediately executed. In brief, the ruling class did never succeed to put down the workers' feelings of distress nor their efforts to bargain by rioting. In fact, the regime's repressive responses did only incite violence on the part of workers adding another burden to the miseries lower classes in general were living in.

As far as the future of labour privileges is concerned, events like St. Peter's assembly, though violent in nature, were intended to be in a constitutional form. It was demonstrably different from the series of insurgent rallies and campaigns that preceded the radical wave of 1819. It was revolutionary as it marked a notable change of the workers' strategies in bargaining. The meeting, though ended in a massacre, reflected an image about what heavy sacrifice the workers could offer to pursue their labour cause. They had set on various forms of protest defying the violation of their liberties and rights. They openly challenged legislation, regular military forces and other legal means, which were meant to deter the workers from meeting their goals. Additionally, St. Peter's gathering meant that the role of labour radicals was indeed of a great value for the workers' cause. They could sustain labour movement with their thoughts and views on labour privileges and political reforms. The outcome of constant radical meetings could be viewed in the workers' changing mindset when the whole movement eventually turned to political rights rather than social questions. Thus, public disturbance and mass manifestations brought some minor achievements to the

workers. Both could help the working class hold pressure on government, especially hundreds of workers, from different trades, succeeded to come together and many associations, though still illegal, could attract thousands of supporters to sustain their striving for their welfare.

The industrial protest continued to increase more than ever following 1819. The labourers did never abandon their cause towards more social and political rights setting sometimes upon physical force activities to claim their rights. They tried to consolidate the work of the first guilds and labour clubs and thus stir up a feeling of change. The result was that the years of rioting could unexpectedly unleash a series of reformist theories and radical schemes. As far as the progress of the workers' movement, this development demonstrates that the Luddites were not the unique defenders of labour privileges, decent livelihood and other rights. Accordingly, there existed others, namely middle-class craftsmen, prominent mill owners, social activists and even some in the political circles who advocated better living and working conditions. Altogether, they embarked on different forms of protests to transform the character of nineteenth-century societies. They tried to effect radical changes to arrange educational systems, health standards and many other social, economic and even political issues very needed for a better life. Constant meetings, campaigning and even collaboration with parliamentarians and those in power went hand in hand with riots adding another voice in the workers' favour. It could be assumed that social campaigning became an additional alternative, to combining and bargaining by rioting, which might help achieve what the workers' early labour gathering had aspired to, or what the Luddites and other rioters could not have realized from machine wrecking and mass manifestations.

2.3. Social and Parliamentary Campaigning on the Workers' Side

Labour movement continued to evolve throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. It could drive the attention of other participants, whose contributions would be in favour of both labour and political rights. These campaigners offered new alternatives for younger workers, prompted labour-related changes and provided new schemes to soothe the miseries of the day. Besides the labourers' attempts to bargain by rioting, social campaigning and parliamentary rallying became additional activities to support the labourers' cause. Campaigns and public meetings were usually held to mobilize the working population against repressive policies, the hostility of employers, and above all, against the deterioration of the workers' livelihood. Many socialists, philanthropists, and even politicians decided to join the movement to end inflation, unemployment, harsh conditions and other difficulties. Parliamentary sessions became the voice of the workers if not another platform to advocate the rights those rioters had been trying to claim. Many parliamentarians, in sympathy with the workers' cause, could transform some schemes and proposals from bills into Acts of Parliament in favour of the workers. Thereby, they brought the working class concerns to the political arena creating another canal to legalize the workers' right to favourable working and living circumstances. Parliamentary intervention could really help bridge the gap between the ruling class and lower classes in the sense it sustained the movement setting a precedent for some developments in working conditions and later the future of social welfare.

Men like Robert Owen, Sir Robert Peel, Henry Hunt and Edwin Chadwick stepped into a radical wave of change to annihilate the evils of industrialization. They promoted ideas and projects very seminal for amendments in favour of younger workers, women, and the working class, in general. Though they did not belong to the labouring class, these activists instigated a new vision to alleviate the workers' plight, reform factory system, and for the first time, advocate political liberties. They became involved into day-to-day meetings in mills, workshops, and factories trying to amend what they had viewed as the evils of industrialization, at least locally. Robert Owen, for instance, tried hard to develop the principle that lower classes are not mere "working hands", and that they are entitled to labour privileges as like as the remaining classes. The dreadful conditions resulting from the growth of mechanization impelled him, as a social activist, to be more concerned with the safety of younger apprentices, wages, working hours, and many other labour privileges. Though it is too early to speak about the achievement of the social welfare state, he set the stage for a crucial phase of political and social reform in nineteenth-century Britain making a giant step towards better living and working conditions. In the end, the role of these socialists was so influential that it consolidated the fight against industrial distress. They could denounce, in a number of ways, the immoral and irrational way industrialization was conducted.

Apart from rioting and other direct actions, Owen's radical schemes were meant to transform the living and working conditions. His projects aimed at reorganizing communities bringing into being a number of changes he had seen ideal for younger workers, particularly, and the working class, in general. He could lay down the cornerstones of favourable conditions though locally, at Lanark. His concern about children working in the cotton industry, his proposals about increases in wages, the adaptation of working hours, his constant

campaigns and public talks, were all meant to transform labour conditions, living circumstances, schooling, health services and many other welfare issues. Developments like these did not only make of him a renowned philanthropist, but also a social reformer defending the rights of lower classes. Though very seminal for labour movement, Owen's efforts to give birth to a utopian society were often described as overambitious by contemporaries.

Social campaigning became an alternative to physical force activities if not an efficient canal to defend the workers' rights. Few years after 1815, a lot of supporters joined Owen's social schemes he had planned to apply in different communities: Owen was determined to fight poverty, amend factory regulations, reduce social divisions, and more importantly, develop individuals' skills. He was the first among his contemporaries to advocate social change and the development of human character. At Lanark, he could establish a favourable environment for his younger apprentices; he could manage local affairs and business alike. These minor achievements helped him circulate the methods he had seen ideal for developing utopian societies. His belief in developing the human character was really unprecedented yet needed to sustain his radical wave of change. In other words, Owen turned upside down the view of society when he put into practice certain reforms he believed they were necessary for a productive community. Accordingly, it could be said that his schemes paved the way for the workers' labour privileges although his success was limited to his village, and there was still a lot to do for the realization of welfare. In what follows, Williams (2011) advocates the fact that Owen's changes were part of the contributing factors to develop labour privileges though his triumph was limited to his model village: Lanark.

> Organization was a key factor in Owen's strategy. He had an agenda to improve the standard of living and the quality of life for his millworkers; he was strongly opposed to child labour, believing that everyone had a right to education. According to him, the management of the business at the point when he took over was very lax, with pilfering and other sharp practices going on. Owen introduced a much stricter regime in the cotton mills, with timekeeping, stock-counting, production costs and so on carefully recorded and scrutinized. Sanctions were in the form of fines, which were paid into the Community Fund (Williams, 2011, p. 58).

Owen's initiative was indeed important for the workers' striving to organize labour. He could apply new measures in his mill to develop the character of his workers, at first, and then the whole society. In the years between 1815 and 1820, Owen grew more popular following the arrangements he had made in favour of his apprentices in his model village. His social project went further about labour organization and the character of individuals when he stressed education as the basis of social change. His plans for teaching, schooling, and teachers themselves marked a revolutionary change in thinking compared to the present day mindset of many contemporary socialists. Owen thought of more social and economic measures to be altered the view that inspired other thinkers, socialists and even parliamentarians to join his project. For education, for instance, Owen could promote a reform vision to nurture the minds and senses through new teaching methods. At Lanark, he did enthusiastically implement a varied curriculum, which ranged from literature, music, numeracy, natural sciences to religious instruction making children's schedule noticeably diverse. He intended to refine all that would ensure proper schooling and educational achievements. Convivial classrooms were essential to achieving the educational outcomes Owen had optimistically stated, and for that ending, he thought of those who would put into practice his reforms (Williams, 2011).

Owen's project did not only target labour organization, but it was a thorough scheme meant to develop individuals' lives based upon a number of ideals, mainly educational attainment. This in fact was a giant leap towards labour reforms in the sense that his schemes tended to make education accessible to the working class. On a whole, he provided alternatives to remedy the current economic ills a well as the political defects of nineteenth century Britain. For these objectives, he needed knowledgeable teachers committed to his educational plans. He, for instance, stressed the abolition of any physical or mental punishment. Instead, the focus on recreational activities and amusement was highly recommended if not a major feature of classroom tasks. This reflects an insightful educational strategy to develop the character of mankind during the industrial age. Overall, Owen's reform attempts sought to assemble social, economic, cultural and even professional aspirations into one scheme. For factory system, Owen could relatively reduce the working hours and increase wages for his younger workers following a series of campaigns against factory owners and governors. In brief, he set the stage for a revolutionary doctrine about the social, economic and even political future of nineteenth-century communities.

Owen was more than a mill owner concerned with ways to alleviate the miseries of lower classes. He declared himself as one of the early forerunners of free thinking to promote his utopian ideals about labour, urban services, politics, education, religion and other related issues (Claeys, 1986). In this vein, Owen did strongly oppose a lot of policies that failed to handle the challenges of lower classes; he did openly criticize religious beliefs as the chief source of divisions among classes and communities causing him a mounting opposition led mainly by industrialists and religious radicals. These viewed Owen's reforms revolutionary yet calling for instability. In fact, his plans in favour of workers, his ideals about the conduct of communities, particularly, the role of churches, his

new work arrangements and recreation, were all seen unrealistic (Finger, 2007). However, the rise of opposing voices, mainly religious mentors and political rivals did only incite additional waves of radical reform. His anti-Christian propaganda, manifested in public speeches and even in some pieces of writing, marked the peak of the reform movement in favour of the workers' conditions and welfare state. Owen continued valiantly to advocate the rights of the poor and lower classes; he spent much of his time touring around different parts of Britain trying to enlighten the working population, individuals and groups, about their right to enjoy labour organization if not more social and political privileges.

Without any doubt, social campaigning was increasingly becoming another voice, in lower classes' favour, against the acute effects of industrialization. As far as labour organization is concerned, it played a decisive role in pointing out the right to combine for better working conditions, the right to amend factory system and more importantly the right to enjoy additional social and political privileges. Yet, these attempts of change, which had in fact stemmed from many forms of industrial protest, would remain less effective if Owen and other reformers did not resort to parliament, places of power, and more exactly, the political circles in Britain. Political activities could be an additional canal to advocate the rights and liberties of less privileged classes. Almost for two decades, Owen got involved in public affairs: he attended parliamentary meetings, sent petitions and gathered sufficient facts to state how worse the living and working conditions had been. He promoted campaigns for alternatives tested in his model village. Together with radicals, parliamentarians and even politicians, Owen could prompt a number of legal amendments. With Sir Robert Peel, for instance, he drafted a bill that would in few years become an Act of Parliament[6] regulating children's working

[6] The 1819 Cotton Mills and Factories Act was the first United Kingdom Act of Parliament to attempt to regulate the hours and conditions of work of children in the cotton industry. It was introduced by Sir Robert Peel, who had first introduced a Bill on the matter in 1815. The 1815 Bill had been instigated by Robert Owen, but the Act as passed was much weaker than the 1815 Bill, The Act forbade the employment of children under 9; children aged 9–16 years were limited to 12 hours' work per day and could not work at night (Early Factory Legislation, 2014).

conditions in the cotton industry (Donnachie, 2000). His arduous efforts and convincing thoughts, relevant to child labour and factory reforms, were a solid proof that demonstrates his concern about the workers' well-being. In brief, it could be said that Owen was a devout social and political reformer with a thorough scheme to transform the lives of lower classes not only their working conditions. In other words, it is in his legacy that one can see the value of campaigning in reforming nineteenth century communities.

2.4. Labour Organization and Political Campaigns in 1830's

In addition to social privileges, Owen could pinpoint political rights in favour of the workers. He led public meetings, promoted changes and enforced some factory regulations, if not meaningful practices, very vital for factory reforms via political campaigns. He rallied valiantly against the immoral world of industrialization; he was deeply concerned with the abolition of poverty, unemployment, crime and all that had ruined the lives of individuals. In fact, these would be the evils that Labour Party would in the beginning of the twentieth century work on to alleviate. With eminent parliamentarians, he could promote factory legislation, and sometimes influence decisions, with his thoughts and facts that he had gathered from workplaces. He could chair select committees and manage associations, namely the Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing Poor, for nothing but to voice the rights and liberties of the labouring classes. More than that, Owen stood tall and strong against his opponents and even against the Tories who regarded his efforts to moralize lower classes unrealistic and unachievable. Thus, his activities were another form of industrial protest. He was indeed the driving force behind the rise of reform movement not only for better living and working conditions, but also for more political privileges that the labouring classes were not entitled with.

For the workers' cause, the years between 1812 and 1834 were truly troublesome and mainly painful. A lot of skilled and unskilled workers embarked on a series of activities that ranged from rioting to campaigning in order to end social distress. Through these forms of protest, labour societies, though still less organized, would bring in a number of accomplishments, mainly legal. They would help lift the ban on labour societies, reduce penalties against workmen. Labour societies, and in several ways, would continue advocate the fact that repressive legislation would remain useless to deter men from coming. In other words, mass protests, strikes, campaigning and other forms of industrial protest could set the stage for a number of statutes and some labour privileges in favour of some labour societies making the working conditions less dreadful, if not favourable compared to earlier encounters, at least for children and women. After decades of industrial protest, the working population could end the old punitive laws, amend some factory regulations, and more importantly, make a step forward in the management of industrial conflict though there would be a lot to work on. It could be said that industrial protest was a necessary evil for the working class to realize social and political privileges.

3- The Initial Outcomes of the Industrial Protest

For a number of years, the working population did wholly shake the stability of factories and workshops, if not the country's stability. Rioters from all trades could slow down the pace of mechanization while many others could set out strikes and mass demonstrations denouncing the power of legislation used against them. Added to these collective actions, industrial protest came to a head when radical reformers managed to agitate lower classes, in general, for social and political changes. In fact, Robert Owen, John Doherty and many others advocated the fact that the working class striving was more than looking for means and ways to develop working and living conditions but also to enjoy other

privileges. Almost after years of protests, legal restriction on lower classes finally diminished despite the fact that several labour rights, mainly the functioning of legal unions, remained unresolved. By the end of 1824, a sense of achievement prevailed among the working population following the repeal of the Combination Acts, which had subjected labour societies to legal repression and proceedings. In fact, employers resisted legislation in many ways and continued to ignore legal measures meant to organize labour. Ten years later, and after the repeal of the Combinations Act, another development in favour of the workers' conditions at workplaces occurred. This was when royal commissions and inspections were set up to examine the workers' health conditions in industrial districts. It seems that the effects of public disturbance and social campaigning dictated some arrangements to organize labour. The working class was still aspiring to more improvements as there were doubts about what changes these new regulations would bring to the working population and to what extent they would be adequate or satisfactory.

3.1. The Repeal of the Combination Acts

Despite the legal restrictions on labour societies, several combinations continued to operate in different trades for they were viewed as the unique safeguard, which might help the workers bargain collectively and thus protect their interests. For many decades, the workers had been struggling to end the ban on their combinations via a series of activities. Radicals and many liberally minded politicians continued to prompt amendments in favour of the working class forming a solid support for the whole movement. The outcomes of industrial protest finally came into being when a select committee was appointed to investigate labour matters, mainly the implementation of the Combination Laws. Evident facts, provided by both employers and workmen, could help the committee recommend that the Combinations Acts did only sour industrial

relations between masters and their journeymen and thus bred violent deeds (Pelling, 1976). The committee added that these statutes had to be repealed allowing more privileges for workmen to form peaceful combinations. For labour societies, the 1824 Act was a milestone in the history of their striving for better living and working conditions as it abolished the ban on combinations, and more importantly, made all acts of violence or intimidation a capital crime that would subject either masters or workmen to legal proceedings.

The repeal of the Combinations Acts was truly a step towards enjoying labour rights, but the workers' rivals would again resist these attempts to organize labour. In its early days, the 1824 Act seemed effective to manage labour matters, but few months later, pressure on labour societies revived again. The result was a wave of strikes in different industries demanding equal rights to non-society workmen. A lot of workmen, non-affiliated in any labour gathering, resented the government's failure to enforce the 1824 Act. These responses suggested that there was still a long way to enforce labour laws. In some declining trades, employers fought against any increase of wages; they did resist the workers' attempts to bargain collectively. They could evade all legal measures intended to organize labour. However, the effects of strikes and the fears of violence helped prompt another change: a new select committee to examine the implementation of 1824 Act if not reassert order. The committee could uncover unpleasant practices as moral violence, intimidation and murder attempts against masters and workmen alike. Under these fears, local authorities intervened and the outcome was a compromise bill. The latter introduced amendments against acts of violence and intimidation. The 1825 Act finally brought some developments in favour of labour unions: it reduced the powers of combinations to the regulation of wages and working hours, yet it reinforced penalties against all kinds of harassment at work. Robert Peel himself declared that masters and

workmen would have the right to combine, bargain for reasonable labour demands without obstructing men at workshops and factories:

> Men who have no property except their manual skills and strength, ought to be allowed to confer together … for the purpose of determining at what rate they will sell their property. But the possession of such a privilege justifies, while it renders more necessary, the severe punishment of any attempt to control the free will of others (Evans, 2006, p. 18).

Though it brought additional restrictions, the amendments of 1825 finally lifted prosecution on combinations the achievement workmen were trying to claim. They brought labour unions to public view after they had been formally banned from defending labour matters. In fact, there existed some accounts of tolerance and compromise with clandestine unions in some trades. Some employers were reluctant to apply procedures against workmen or labour societies for they feared the effects of industrial protests or simply because they preferred to maintain good relations with their workers (Musson, 1972). Despite these conflicting facts about proceeding with the Combination Laws, the 1825 Act did not only sweep away punitive regulations but empowered workers and formally allowed them to form unions. The year 1825 was thus a starting point for legal unions if not a step ahead towards the realization of more social and political privileges. Accordingly, it could be said that the legality of labour unions was not offered but extracted out of the hands of governors following a chain of strikes, campaigns, acts of violence, petitions and other forms of industrial protest. Yet, unionists and radicals would not cease their cause after the abolition of the Combination Acts. They were still in need for additional efforts to develop powerful unions able to manage the next phase of the industrial conflict. In fact, workers' rallies have just started as they still had to address housing, health services and many other labour rights.

3.2. Labour Privileges and Factory Conditions after 1831

Great strides in favour of the workers' cause, though short-lived, continued to occur in the course of 1830's. After they had realized the legality of labour unions, a band of unionists and middle-class radicals began another struggle against the exploitation of younger workers in mills and textile workshops. In fact, they aimed at decreasing the working hours and improving conditions at workplaces. The Ten Hour Agitation could gather a considerable momentum between the years 1830 and 1833. After constant campaigns both inside and outside parliament, it culminated in passing a new Factory Act, which was an additional achievement for the working class movement. The act tended to organize the working day for children making it only 12 hours for all of those less than 18 years. Two years later, a royal commission reported a lot of abuses against children and women in different trades; the fact that prompted passing another amendment, in 1833. The latter strictly forbade children less than nine years from working and limited the working day only to eight hours. More than that, this amendment stressed schooling for children less than thirteen years, which was entirely unprecedented. Compared to late eighteenth-century working conditions, developments as child employment regulations, the working day amendments, access to education and the legality of labour unions were all signs of relief or rather measures to organize labour. Again, and in reference to the facts above, industrial protest was, to some respects, needed to gain some labour privileges, settle disputes and ask for further labour changes only radicals and reformers could point out at that time. Yet, as usual, enforcing these legal measures was too slow and often late for the lack of powerful administrative framework on the one hand and the employers' resistance on the other hand.

Over the first decades of the nineteenth century, enforcing labour regulations needed time and energy on the part of both unions and workers. Most of the Factory Acts were widely evaded if not ignored making the reorganization of labour matters somehow challenging to assess. In fact, the industrialists were trying to pull down the workers' movement by any means. There were many incidents against combinations despite their legality. Yet, the 1833 Factory Act did bring a significant mechanism to ensure the implementation of legal measures. Without any doubt, this would protect the workers' initial achievements, especially those related to factory conditions. The act authorized industrial inspectors and royal commissioners to impose fines and dues for violating labour regulations and amendments. This literally guaranteed the power of legislation, and more importantly, protected the workers' privileges. Unexpectedly, the establishment of these inspectorates meant new efforts on the part of governments to limit law infringements in factories and workshops. For the working population, legal intervention was not only a means to reinforce law, but also a new accord allowing constitutional protection of what industrial protests or rather the working class movement had so far realized. The workers might see this development in the industrial conflict as a beginning of a new phase of industrial relations between lower and upper classes. At the same time, and as far as their cause is concerned, they might additionally think of other privileges, mainly political liberties, to secure.

Better working conditions, adequate wages, reasonable working hours were not the unique labour matters radicals and workers could somehow change up to the mid of 1830's. Long before the Factory Act of 1833, radical rallies succeeded in extracting some statutes in favour of the workers' political rights, namely the Franchise of 1832. They were trying to transform the system of parliamentary elections, and thus, entitle the working population with the voting right. In fact, this franchise became the core achievement that radical activity and

early trade unionism could arrive at in spite the fact that it was partial in the sense that it enfranchised some workers and excluded certain others. In brief, it was in these days that the working class movement shifted to more than solving social and industrial problem; it began to address political needs, particularly, after they had despaired of the government's contribution to labour matters. It became evident, for radicals and workers, that securing political powers would be the first if not an important step towards social and economic reforms (Flinn, 1975).

The shift from industrial protests to political reforms was not sudden but gradual. It was an outcome of radical thoughts manifested in different forms of industrial protest. A lot of radicals realized that increasing representation in parliament means more privileges and liberties. Over the last decades, the working population remained unable to enforce factory amendments since several boroughs were entirely without members of parliament to defend their social and political interests. In fact, the workers did not even possess the right to vote in parliamentary elections though they constituted a large portion of the population in nineteenth-century Britain. This reflects an outdated pattern of representation, if not unfair distribution of constituents, which had to be changed according to the workers' leaders. Eventually, a Reform Act [7] was introduced to remedy the defects above, yet its clauses dashed the workers' hopes and made no difference in their lives. The act raised representation in larger counties and industrial towns enfranchising new voters, yet failed to bring changes to rural areas. In other words, the exclusion of the workers was meant to empower

[7] In 1832, Parliament passed a law changing the British electoral system. It was known as the Great Reform Act. This was a response to many years of people criticizing the electoral system as unfair. In 1831, the House of Commons passed a Reform Bill, but the House of Lords, dominated by Tories, defeated it. There followed riots and serious disturbances in London, Birmingham, Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, Exeter and Bristol. There was a fear in government that unless there was some reform there might be a revolution instead. In Britain, King William IV lost popularity for standing in the way of reform. Eventually he agreed to create new Whig peers, and when the House of Lords heard this, they agreed to pass the Reform Act. Rotten boroughs were removed and the new towns given the right to elect MPs, although constituencies were still of uneven size. However, only men who owned property worth at least £10 could vote, which cut out most of the working classes, and only men who could afford to pay to stand for election could be MPs. This reform did not go far enough to silence all protest (The Great Reform Act, n.d.)

landowners, industrialists and many others. Actually, these groups formed a class that was becoming both socially and economically different from the working class. Paradoxically, the act offered a seedbed for another wave of rallies, riots and manifestations for political reforms rather than social or economic changes.

3.3. Poor Laws Amendments and Health Improvements

After the frustration that followed the Reform Act, it became necessary for the working population to carry out what they had initiated decades ago to bring sufficient changes into being. The inadequacy of some amendments revived the fight for legal status and brought labour matters to questions again, but this time from parliament itself. Some of the significant developments related to health and sanitary concerns came into being when royal commissions began its work to amend the old Poor Laws. These commissions were concerned with new mechanisms to end industrial distress, and thus support lower classes socially and economically. Actually, this was another step towards major changes associated with factory conditions, safety at work and other labour privileges; especially those commissions were monitored by devoted social reformers and professional civil servants as Edwin Chadwick.[8] The latter had already built up an outstanding reputation in writing enquiries, advocating utilitarian attitudes and new schemes to handle health standards making of him a new advocate against the dreadful living and working conditions. Chadwick instigated the early notions of social relief to help the less privileged classes. He redefined the bases upon which poor workers would benefit from social aids. He even prompted amendments in parliament to develop the working conditions and health standards at workplaces.

[8] A lawyer and social reformer who devoted his life to sanitary reform in Britain. As secretary of the royal commission on reform of the poor laws (1834–46), Chadwick was largely responsible for devising the system under which the country was divided into groups of parishes administered by elected boards of guardians, each board with its own medical officer ("Edwin Chadwick", 2010).

Starting from 1833, and in a very short period, Chadwick could bring about major developments in favour of the workers' well-being. He proved the ineffectiveness of the existing system of social relief and the necessity to remedy its evils. As a civil servant, his efforts were part of the rallies to end poverty, reform labour regulations, particularly those related to children and women. He recommended the appointment of factory inspectors to ensure compliance with the laws and the halftime system of education. In his report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain, he denounced harsh discipline, disastrous working conditions and meagre wages, but he additionally argued that the chief reason behind misery was filth (Hamlin, 1998). In 1834, Chadwick carried out a nationwide investigation in order to amend Poor Laws. On the basis of the data he could so far collect, a new social reform was initiated to alleviate pressure on poor people, but more importantly, to step up the living conditions of the labouring population and thus entitle workers with more labour rights. The establishment of parishes and workhouses was not only a mechanism to fight unemployment but also an alternative to end vagrancy and crime or rather the decline of morals in the industrial towns. Thus, his amendments discouraged immoral acts such as scrounging, and instead they redefined the measures to handle the worries and pains of less privileged classes.

Chadwick's full-scale investigation was meant to provide better living conditions through developing public health. It is true that his survey revealed the degree of misery the workers were walking in, but it demanded actions to be done, on the part of government, to fix the degradation of urban life in the workers' districts. The findings of the report validated the necessity to combat water queue, the dung heap and cesspool, which were the real factors behind death and fever according to Chadwick (Hamlin, 1998). As for the working class striving for better conditions, Chadwick's arguments were a counterpoint to many radicals, but in favour of the workers' cause for it listed the chief reasons

behind the deterioration of public health. As a fearless bureaucrat, he addressed corruption in local authorities and thus the failure of governments to save the souls of the industrial proletariat. In fact, his activities caused him a mounting hatred, but his legacy made of him the architect of the most significant change in the early Victorian period. Hamlin (1998) added that Chadwick's achievements, at least for sanitary conditions, prompted amendments and invited local authorities to think of public services, human health and conduct the response that had not been adopted in the former times.

> The reason behind the prevalence of Chadwick's technical fix to the problems of poverty and inequality was the fact that he was able to manufacture the requisite authority by appealing to miasmatic science. It prevailed because he was able to pioneer a new role for government in improving health- to investigate and define the real problems, to recruit problem-solving science to develop pragmatic regulation, to evaluate effectiveness and to place these activities at the centre of State responsibility (Hamlin, 1982, p. 382).

As far as the interests of the labouring population, the work of civil servants and bureaucrats could point out the terrible evils of industrialization and its crippling effect on the labourers' daily lives. These efforts instigated the first steps towards the enactment of laws in favour of the working class as the Ten Hour Act, the Public Health Act and a lot of others in spite the fact that the path to the worker' welfare was still long if not too challenging. Chadwick himself met savage criticism for adopting utilitarian attitudes to reform public health and sanitation. The Poor Law of 1834, the New Factory Act and other amendments relative to public health, though brought some changes to the working class demands, should be seen as concessions the ruling class did provide following campaigns led by utilitarian reformers and civil servants. The latter could

establish new canals between the workers and local authorities bringing labour concerns to parliament. They strongly supported the labourers in their cause to extract labour privileges, improve their living conditions and most of all authorize their combinations as legal means to bargain for the labourers' benefits (Plowright, 2006). Yet, these attempts were still inadequate compared to the demands the workers were trying to realize. Soon, the amendments above frustrated labour societies in the sense the New Factory Acts brought few or no changes to the adult workers while the New Poor Laws forced less privileged workers to accept a dehumanizing regime set by their masters.

Despite the arduous attempts of both labour radicals and civil servants, labour privileges were still away from the desired goals. 1830's amendments proved to be unfit to alleviate distress and social pains the workers were suffering from. On the contrary, the ruling class showed no tolerance with union leaders and workers on strike. A lot of workers were convicted if not deported outside the country as in the case of the Tolpuddle Martyrs [9] and Glasgow spinners. The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 was a fine example about the regime's repressive policies against the workers' cause, in general. The establishment of new borough police forces was a further attempt to put the workers and their leaders through a rigid control. Actually, this was another attempt to survey all that would happen in the workers' districts and circles in reference to labour matters. The new draconian reforms, mainly the New Poor Law brought nothing significant to the workers' living or health conditions. This amendment made it hard to benefit from social relief; it enticed the masters to maintain unpleasant working conditions in workhouses that only desperate workers would seek indoor relief. This attitude engendered feelings of hatred and revenge among the

[9] Seven Methodists led by George and James Loveless formed a trade union called the Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers at Tolpuddle in Dorset in Oct. 1833 and began to agitate for a strike against the low wages then prevailing. Arrested for administering illegal oaths, they were sentenced in Mar. 1834 to seven years' transportation. Public demonstrations in favour of clemency resulted in Melbourne securing a remission of their sentences in Mar. 1836 (Baker, 2001. p. 1222).

workers. Even those who were on indoor relief could not fully enjoy adequate support (August, 2007). The weaknesses of the ruling class to refine public policies according to the workers' needs did only mount campaigns and rallies to realize legal status. After these developments, the working population had no choice except holding on their movement. To this end, they would set on other ways to consolidate their combinations and labour societies, which would undoubtedly bear the responsibility to defend their interests, settle down disputes and realize all that might contribute to their upkeep.

As a conclusion to this chapter, the workers' established notions of the right to legal combinations and more privileges were the product of painful experiences up to 1834. In several industrial districts, protests grew significantly in response to repressive legislation. The latter did only mount the workers' violent activities and incite radicals' campaigns and rallies to amend regulations. Labour societies did respond in a variety of ways. These ranged from machine breaking and public disturbance to strikes and lockouts, and from social campaigning to parliamentary rallying. These forms of industrial sabotage were generally against the failure of the ruling class and the masters alike in the management of industrial conflict. Added to these forms of protest, labour movement was strongly backed up by men like Jeremy Bentham, Robert Owen, John Doherty, Sir Robert Peel and many other reformers whose visions could strengthen the workers' cause. They did not only try to remedy the factory system, pinpoint the evils of industrialization, but also they attempted to transform the communities of the day in a number of ways. Despite these attempts to come together, the first waves of change were often met with repression the fact that demonstrates that there was a huge gap between those in power and the workers. Some confrontations were so violent that it showed the degree of intimidation lower classes, in general, were put through.

The struggle for better conditions took the workers' energies and often their lives to defend their interests. Demonstrations and strikes were canals or means the working population did initiate to get their voice heard. The workers in different trades could not bear their employers' offences, the gravity of the working conditions and the unseen hazards, which punctuated their workplaces. In fact, the industrial conflict achieved its peak when legal repression was used to deter the workers from rallying. The Seditious Assemblies Act, the Treasonable Seditious Practices Act, the Combination Acts and other punitive laws did only widen the gap between the ruling class and the working population. They bred violence and paved the way for physical force activities taking the industrial conflict to uncertainty. The growth of mechanization, mainly in cotton industry, did displace a great number of workers the thing enforced bands of craftsmen, known as the Luddites, to smash all that was meant to threaten their livelihood. To these groups of craftsmen, the destruction of machines was a means to restore privileges and protect crafts, but local authorities showed no tolerance to what they viewed as an offense against stability and the country's economic interests. Mass trials, deportation orders, imprisonments, public hangings and a chain of laws were released in an effort to deter the rioters if not all kinds of industrial protest. This in fact was a total failure on the part of political institutions to handle their responsibility towards the workers' needs.

It is true that the Luddites' efforts to prevent mechanization were doomed to failure, but it is unwise to undermine their contribution to the workers' movement. They were mindful insurgents who could advocate their right to protect their crafts, their interests and their livelihood. They were part of the movement, which would initially realize some developments in the workers' favour as a class, at least slow down mechanization. As far as labour matters are concerned, the repeal of the Combination Acts can be seen as an outcome of physical force activities, which were a form of expression against the defects of

industrialization, the harshness of urban life. When the Luddites' riots ceased, many working-class leaders embarked upon new forms of industrial protest to organize labour effectively. Yet, again legal measures were violent. St. Peter's Field incident, for instance, was met with an iron hand on the part of local magistrates. This suggests that the future of the working class movement was still decided by masters and governors who often used whatever the means to lessen the workers' voice.

Industrial sabotage was more than an attempt to captivate public attention towards the heavy losses the workers, in general, and the Luddites, in particular, could bring to the masters' interests. It instigated the workers' struggle against the industrial strain, rigid discipline, unlawful measures and other disputes after they had despaired legal changes from their governments. Though violent and often disorganized, industrial sabotage was an influential form of protest in the sense it first reflected class awareness about the workers' interests and privileges. It did help carry on what the first guilds had previously started in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The Luddites' legacy could be seen in the ensuing years of industrial conflict when the workers managed to wrest some amendments, namely the right to bargain collectively. Though it was varied in character and methods, industrial sabotage could additionally generate a national feeling once workers from different trades and regions came together to join the cause against legal repression and the masters' atrocities. In brief, it could be said that Luddism turned labour movement into a means of pressure; it made the working class and forged the first mechanisms to protect labour interests and rights.

Labour movement evolved in different ways. Public disturbance and strikes were one kind of the various forms of industrial protest. A lot of social reformers joined the workers' cause; they opted for campaigning as an additional if not an effective means to end industrial strain and thus transform the lives of nineteenth-century communities. Robert Owen, for instance, stepped to this phase of change. He brought brilliant thoughts to end child labour and offer reasonable wages. Owen campaigned fiercely to introduce education facilities. So did Edwin Chadwick in defending the working class concerns in parliament when he prompted changes related to public health and social justice. In other words, parliamentary and social campaigning was so influential that it could realize certain initial achievements needed for the workers' cause. Bringing labour concerns to the political arena would be important in the ensuing years. At least, campaigns, reports and even pamphlets validated the necessity to handle the citizens' urban needs. The results were somehow satisfactory compared to the early decades of industrialization when all factory concerns had been decided by masters and their supporters. In the end, industrial sabotage and campaigning could help transform a number of rules around if not bring some minor achievements in the workers' favour.

This phase of the industrial protest was progressive, revolutionary yet still less effective. In different trades, the workers could wrest some factory amendments, effect some changes in favour of the labouring families and younger workers, and important of all, prompt the repeal of the Combinations Acts, but labour rights were still in need for additional efforts. In this context, another wave of change was instigated to realize more privileges and rights. The workers, groups and individuals, grew determined to change not only social and economic status, but the political order as well. By 1840's, the working class became aware enough of founding permanent and more organized unions to handle labour

concerns. Eventually, disputes related to factory issues were becoming less frequent in contrary to radical campaigns, which were increasingly getting underway. When reforms had not gone further with labour aspirations, the workers redefined their strategies and objectives. The coming of the Chartists to the scene, for instance, consolidated the labourers' cause and instituted a new wave of radicalism. Labour movement would take another path, mainly political, to realize social and political ambitions

Chapter Three

The Workers' Movement from Industrial to Political Protest, 1834-1880

Indubitably, the early decades of the nineteenth-century were painful for all classes, mainly the working class. The disruptions of industrialization strongly impelled the workers to set on several forms of protest instigating a crucial phase in the history of the conflict between local authorities and industrialists on the one hand, and the labourers on the other hand. Mass demonstrations, strikes and intensive campaigns were meant to protect labour rights and extend liberties. The workers' striving or rather the road to welfare mounted hostility and repression from both governors and employers. Up to 1834, the first phase of industrial protests culminated into some initial achievements relative to the working hours, child labour and outdoor relief. Yet, the milestone of the labourers' responses against the atrocities of the period was the repeal of the Combinations Acts.

However, this does not mean that unionism has become fully authorized. The workers were still looking for new mechanisms to form permanent and more effective unions to manage the conflict. They were still needed to work towards the legal recognition of their unions. The unionists' mission would be hard in the sense that labourers would undoubtedly experience turbulent years before their acceptance. The current chapter highlights the progress of labour movement via political campaigns. It tries to examine the developments labour unions could realize after they had adopted new ideals and strategies to secure legal status, lead the industrial conflict as well as claim additional liberties and enfranchisements via political pressure. Late nineteenth-century labour organizations were increasingly becoming larger and more determined about organizing labour; they finally emerged as pressure groups trying to reshape not only the social order, but also the political future of the working class, in particular, and the communities of the day, in general. These features made the second wave of industrial protest different in character, progressive in nature, and more effective in terms of outcomes.

1- Labour Unions and their Small Beginnings

For the labouring population, lifting the ban on combinations was a true achievement if not a notable step ahead in the recognition of the labourers' right to bargain collectively. Several labour societies, especially those in large industrial areas, continued to thrive while many others came into being across a range of crafts and in different regions. Yet, the powers of these organizations were still disputed. Even after the release of the right to combine, combinations were bound to legal proceedings and restrictions, not only this, but 1825 Act extended limitations to additional penalties magistrates would use against the members of these combinations (Curthoys, 2004). In any case, labour combinations might be prohibited again if acts of violence, intimidation or illegal oaths were performed.

Their members might be subject to a lawsuit if they tried to recruit labourers, raise funds or just mobilize crowds for protests or strikes. Given these facts, it seems that labour rights were still threatened if not unauthorized. As far as labour movement is concerned, the unionists would encounter a number of challenges in the ensuing years. In fact, what they had viewed as an achievement turned into an uneasy compromise, which might make it more demanding for the leaders, in particular, and the working population, in general, to pursue their schemes.

The path to effective labour unions with unrestricted powers was still far-reaching. Despite the gains of 1825 Act, mid-nineteenth century labour unions were generally less effective and not yet fully developed, that is to say, unable to provide adequate benefits for their members and stand against anti-unionism campaigns. Most of the unions were local, small, in terms of members, and mainly illegal. Only in large towns, where manufacturing industries existed, that some unionists could found some elaborate organizations with committees and councils. In some respects, they could grant membership facilities, raise funds, lead strikes and assemble other groups in the same region to defend the interests of their groups or trade societies. Apart from these very few cases, unionism in its formative years was no more than scattered groups up and down the country sharing limited benefits and wholly under the control of the factory masters. These groups were loosely tied lacking structural machinery and unable to coordinate with other clubs outside of their areas for they were generally impeded by bureaucratic burdens (Tewson, 1947). In other words, union organization was still hard to achieve.

Apart from structural organization, unions were known enough to receive support. Appeals of assistance, strikes or calls for contributions were usually unresponsive. Yet, these early challenges did never frustrate unionists to move forward. Unionism continued to develop, though at a slow pace, realizing some small beginnings. In areas, where cotton industry was already well developed, cotton and mule spinners could in some respects protect their interests. They could negotiate over wages and working hours while in rural districts handloom weavers were still trying to maintain the existence of their groups. This is an indication that the working population was often desperate and lacking organization. It was still hard for workers in all trades to come together. These difficulties made unionism helpless or rather inept to meet the objectives the workers had expected long before the repeal of the Combination Acts. Yet, this had never deterred the workers from pursuing their endeavours. In fact, the struggle for labour rights had never abated even with the deficiencies of many labour societies in the sense that unions grew in numbers after 1825. Thus, it was needed for unionists to adopt change as far as the ideals and strategies unions would follow to realize their objectives. This in fact marked the beginning of another phase of the industrial conflict demonstrably different in character (Hamish, 1999).

It became evident for the unionists and labour radicals that only general or rather powerful unions would resist the atrocities of both governors and masters. This would even prove the unions' ability to manage the industrial conflict according to the working class' needs. Accordingly, efforts to strengthen combinations and meet the workers' schemes continued in the decades that followed 1834. It became necessary to think of ways and means to keep the combinations functioning; the fact that placed an added pressure on their existence as elaborate bodies. In their early days, unions lacked adequate sources of funding. In fact, without these financial sources, it would be difficult to

determine the privileges or benefits these combinations could offer to its members. On the flip side, there existed some very few unions, which had enough funds for they could receive regular contributions from their adherents. This means that some labour societies were somehow powerful when it comes to negotiating labour concerns with their employers because they were able to lead strikes. Other difficulties related to the structure of clubs and their management could not be sorted out before the Friendly Societies Act for much of the unions' funds was subject to defrauding. In the long run, these start-up deficiencies could only weaken early unionism and thus delay addressing the working class grievances. A lot of unionists became aware enough of changing the character of their labour associations from small, local and less effective organizations with limited benefits to national and more elaborate unions able to support its members.

Founding a union of trades, regardless the differences in skills, seemed the right way to stand together against strain and repression. To this end, unionists were incessantly trying to create larger labour groupings, which should include societies of the same craft to empower their cause and emphasise their right to combine. The first of these attempts came from Manchester and Glasgow, in steam engine and textile industries. A lot of skilled workers as smiths, filers and turners together with many others, who were forming the craft of engineering, all constituted a number of friendly societies after 1824. The establishment of these mutual-aid associations was part of the workers' convictions that only mass associations would help manage the industrial conflict (Pelling, 1976). Unionists, in Manchester, Glasgow and elsewhere, were getting more determined about the necessity of forming nationwide societies able to conduct the cause effectively. It was really a crucial change in unionism when they realized that their power lies in the fact of coming together regardless regional and professional differences.

1.1. Towards Unions of all Trades

In the years after the repeal of the Combination Acts, unionists turned to extending their labour gatherings, but in fact, it was not easy. Though a burning conviction for many unionists, attempts to found larger associations with both structural and financial abilities went through a number of stages. John Doherty [10], as one the forerunners of larger labour societies, realized that the power of unions did only lie in a national gathering or a union of all trades. He aspired to link not only crafts but also regions. After a marathon of meetings in both Lancashire and Manchester, his campaigns eventually culminated into the creation of a General Union of Cotton Spinners, the union that assembled spinners from England, Scotland and Ireland. As a matter of fact, this was a brilliant attempt to bring workers together; the fact that might help them stand against rigid discipline, fining, dismissals and intimidation. Actually, this development incited more efforts to secure the existence of this union at all costs. John Doherty set on all that might protect this initiative: he pressed in the United Trades' Co-operative Journal as a means of communicating information to fellow trade unionists (Simkin, 2014). He tried to market, in parts of Great Britain, the importance of mass associations and the considerable benefits the labouring population would get (Burns, 2003). As a result, the idea of nationwide unions did quickly spread among labour societies as far afield as Birmingham and Montgomeryshire in the northern area, but it could not last more than one year for some factors. The power of these unions was once again put to test when masters, particularly in cotton industry, defied their employees, particularly unionists. They made new cuts in their workers' wages instigating another wave of riots and strikes.

[10] John Doherty (1798–1854) was an Irish trade unionist, radical and factory reformer who devoted his life to political and social reform. Doherty began his career as a cotton spinner as a child worker just ten years old in his home town of Buncrana. He later moved to Larne where he again worked in the booming cotton industry. Following Doherty's relocation to Manchester, it was not long before he was involved with the factory workers' growing movement for higher wages and better conditions. In 1818 he was a leading figure in the spinners' strike and was imprisoned for two years. Rather than deterring Doherty this merely enhanced his desire to obtain better conditions for himself and his fellow workers (Rule, 1988, p. 205).

Few years after Doherty's initiative, the fight over wages, working hours and other labour concerns was again revived making the idea of mass unions at stake. The imposition of further restrictions and the lockout of mills in Lancashire region forced the workers and their union leaders to stand against the masters' recent encroachments. The Lancashire unionists called for a long general strike in an effort to keep up their wages. They expected both support and collaboration from their fellow workers in Ireland and Scotland, but in vain. Whatever the factors behind the workers' reluctance to join this cause, the effects were statically insignificant. This in fact demonstrates the fragility of these associations as well as the lack of coordination between labour societies. The failure of the general strike proved the inefficiency of mass associations and the idea of "union of all trades" as not only the Scots and the Irish, but spinners in the neighbouring regions of England did also refuse to join the general strike. The result was another round for the masters. Eventually, this led to the collapse of the General Union of Spinners, and unexpectedly, the dissolution of efforts to place a nationwide pressure on the factory masters.

The idea of larger unions did not work out at the very beginning. Under the same circumstances, the National Association for the Protection of Labour lost its reputation due to financial deficiencies forcing John Doherty to give up his second project to establish a mass labour organization. In fact, the General Union of Spinners and the National Association for the Protection of Labour were not the unique examples that did not generate national support since the same fate was tied to other unions in London, Glasgow and Yorkshire. More than that, some unionists were subjected to legal proceedings under the statutes of Common Law such as the Federal Metropolitan Trades' Union, whose members were accused of preparing for parliamentary reform (Tewson, 1947). Thereby, early unions were still fragile, inefficient and unable to meet the expectations of the

working class despite the considerable efforts to find alternatives. These attempts were often met with serious impediments making responses to mass organizations somehow partial. Yet, it is worth noting that neither the masters' fierce resistance nor the differences in factory circumstances could force the unionists, in particular, to abandon their struggle against legal restrictions. They hung on their cause to form organized unions hoping to settle down industrial disputes, maintain favourable working and living conditions, and above all, realize welfare.

Social welfare, labour rights and other liberties remained the chief concerns of unionism even following many desperate attempts. A lot of radicals carried on their cause to strengthen their unions and hold pressure on both governors and masters. While many labour societies had failed to get united, certain others succeeded to form local mass organizations. Again in Glasgow, female weavers, tenters and dressers managed to come together founding a general union to protect their craft, secure new privileges and, more importantly, resist the masters' encroachments. Another successful female union was formed in Aberdeen despite the voices of opposition. In Midlands, builders, carpenters and glaziers were all striving to form a common union to limit fining, prevent cuts in wages and other violations. Thus, it could be said that the period between 1825 and 1840 witnessed a rising number of unions of all trades and crafts, and at the same time, the collapse of certain others. Some gave up their causes only few months after they had gone through some difficulties, mainly financial, while many others could last longer and realize certain developments. Some unionists placed their hopes of reform on parliamentary campaigning and political agitation using unions as platforms to defend their interests and thus prevent the masters' infringements. They intended to restore their labour rights unlike certain others, mainly socialists, who instigated a new reform movement or another form of unionism emphasising social and economic defects.

1.2. Alternative Routes to Mass Associations

The collapse of general unions and the failure of many labour societies to form mass organizations is for sure an additional experience for labour movement leaders. Differences in factory conditions, funding and other legal problems set the workmen and radicals to revise their ideals and strategies. They were in need to think of alternatives to reorganize their labour societies. One of these alternatives to mass organizations was the foundation of cooperative societies. This form of unions was meant to lessen inflation and ease social pressure on its members, but more precisely, to protect class interests. Actually, some craftsmen and skilled workers opted for cooperative bodies sharing both risks and benefits. They tried to implement some socialist ideals and new arrangements to develop communities making a major focus on favourable working conditions and living conditions, decent wages, reasonable working hours and other privileges. Thus, joining these communities became an alternative to strikes, riots and all efforts of collective bargaining. By employing themselves, cooperative societies might overcome what many labour groups were unable to avoid, namely industrial strain.

Based on his utopian thoughts, Owen instigated this form of labour gatherings. He initiated an overall scheme to transform communities both socially and economically. In his model mill community, he provided the necessary conditions skilled and unskilled workers were desperately looking for. His ongoing support for favourable factory conditions and labour privileges gained him extra credits among both individuals and groups. In other words, the effects were so appealing that many wealthy co-operators and even unions could not hesitate to join cooperative societies (Hamish, 1999). This marked a shift to new labour organization different in character and structure. Setting on a series of campaigning activities after 1834, Owen began to promote the social ideals and economic benefits cooperative societies would bring to the workers' lives.

Hopefully, he could maintain a hold among the working population between 1834 and 1840 due to the modest changes he could bring to unionism, in general, and the workers' cause, in particular. As for the progress of unionism and the fight against the violation of labour rights, Owen's initiative to amend regulations, factory conditions coupled with his revolutionary ideals about political change redefined the character of unions. These eventually became no longer a means to resist the offenses of both employers and governors, but also a route to transform morals.

The foundation of the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union was an evident example of Owen's constant efforts to support the working class' cause against the deterioration of their social and economic status. Tailors, shoe-makers or rather workers of several trades came together to join the union or at least sympathise with the campaign for common benefits. These could be financial support or organizational arrangements during strikes. In few years, the union's reputation grew among the working population in different parts of England and even Scotland; the thing that increased members and supporters. At least in their early days, cooperative societies could raise funds, set up branches and rally to support victimized workers. This was a clear sign of larger organization Owenite co-operators could achieve, compared to the first combinations, which were local and unorganized. Yet, Owen's idea for a general strike led to the outbreak of riots in many places, particularly in rural areas, in Tolpuddle**.** As usual, government retaliated with harsh sentences (Tewson, 1947). Some agricultural labourers were convicted for forming a local union as part of the "Grand National Union". This in fact put the existence of Owen's union through a hard challenge.

The arrest of six agricultural labourers and the harsh sentences they had received were obviously another attempt to stifle the progress of cooperative societies. On March 1834, local authorities declared the organization of Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers as politically threatening despite the fact that there had been no evident facts to prove the labourers' conspiratorial deeds. This response called the workers' liberties and the existence of GNU to questions again after years of striving for social and labour rights. It seems that the government attitude would not easily change when it comes to workers' unions, rights and liberties. The attempt of mass organization was again subjected to savage legal resistance, yet this time, it depended upon the power of cooperative societies to determine their future.

Considering the challenges mid-nineteenth century labour societies had gone through, the Tolpuddle experience incited additional efforts, on the part of Owenite societies, to find efficient ways to manage the industrial conflict. As news of harsh sentences spread, the Grand National Consolidated Trades called the working classes for a collective action against the deportation of unionists. Few days later, individuals and groups, skilled and unskilled workers all stood to release their fellows, support their cause, and more importantly, remind local authorities of the sense of solidarity and unity cooperative societies had managed to build up. It could be said that the workers' collective response to Tolpuddle incident was more than mutual aid. It was an incident to celebrate the success of coming together against unlawful trials and the violation of the labourers' rights. The day of the march, Owen could lead the members of the **GNU** setting a new model for peaceful demonstrations. More than that, Owen' belief in creating self-sufficient communities captured public attention and found its path to prominence. In fact, the incident was a turning point for the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, in particular, and trade unionism, in general.

Despite the novelties, cooperative societies as the remaining labour societies were met with resistance or rather repression. Added to these, a broad array of contemporary reformers claimed that Owen's ideals were so unrealistic that his cooperative villages would be no more than additional dreadful workhouses. Some scornfully described them as prisons and a community of vassals (Thompson, 1963). For many others, cooperative workshops were mere groupings to offer work and relief at times of unemployment rather than sustainable gatherings to provide favourable conditions. True that these claims could hardly influence the aspirations of cooperative societies, yet they generated pressure on Owenite unionists. On their part, many employers took the advantage of public restrictions on unionism setting new rules for their employees, especially union members. In several areas, workers were generally locked out and forced to sign a pledge not to join a trade union or any other labour group claiming to defend the rights of workers. Indubitably, such an increasing pressure on workers and public restrictions on unions coalesced together to put down cooperative societies, in particular, and all attempts of coming together, in general. Thus, it was never easy for the working class to reform factory system, organize labour and defend their liberties due to the fierce resistance on the part of governors and factory masters.

Broadly speaking, repression, in many forms, was a recurrent issue in addressing the workers' demands. However, it never made an end to rallying for rights. In fact, it only mounted protests and physical force activities. The tailors and weavers, as a section of the Grand National Union, decided to go on long strikes, but again in vain. In London, Yorkshire, Oldham and several other areas, the union encountered successive defeats. Apparently, this was a prelude to the collapse of the "Grand National Consolidated Union" after arduous efforts to unite workers from different trades. Owen, now the leader of the union, could neither maintain its unity nor provide enough support to the workers or rather

the sections on strike. In the end, in 1836 exactly, the union could not escape the same fate mass organisations had previously met, and it finally collapsed being seriously influenced by intimidation and repression. Overall, the break-up of some Owenite societies meant the failure of cooperative associations to achieve the desired plans. In fact, legal oppression and intimidation were against all kinds of unions and labour groupings, which were trying hard to come together. Actually, there was a common agreement on the fact that the unionists' efforts to develop effective unionism during 1830's were often doomed to failure. According to Mathias, the failure was rendered to the fact that these unions were

> … utopian system-building rather than effective working-class organization at this epoch. The great schemes were effective mainly on papers, in the enthusiasm of their authors and traveling orators or in the uncritical fears of employers and the Home Secretary. All proved ephemeral. They collapsed at the touch of a trade depression, or with the arrest of some leaders, with other leaders defaulting with the fund or even by strike, which made the fund run out (Mathias, 2001, p. 337).

After all their attempts of survival, co-operators failed to consolidate the working class' position. Their alternatives could not get over legal restrictions and the resilience of employers, who had faced strikes, demonstrations and all sorts of campaigns with a rod of iron. For general unionism and labour movement as a whole, it was another slap to receive following several claims arising out of the inefficient schemes and unrealistic ideals of cooperative societies. Yet, it is a hyperbole to deny the achievements cooperative groups brought to the reform movement, in general. It is unwise to undermine Owen's initiative to develop an alternative to mass organizations and his pivotal role in creating self-sufficient communities based on maximising human potential, self-help rather than

hedonistic benefits. He could point out several deficiencies of the factory system trying to consolidate the working class' cause against the violation of labour liberties. Yet, due to some factors, Owen's activities and schemes began to show signs of cracking after 1836. This was in favour of factory owners. The failure of cooperative societies made it easy for employers to gain an upper hand over unionism crushing most of the rising groups, which might threaten the profitability of workshops and factories. Offenses and legal restrictions added to social depressions were enough to put down these societies, and thus, put down unionism for a while.

Following the dissolution of many cooperative societies, the working class' chance to come together remained slim: almost all labour groups could neither secure a legal status nor realize considerable achievements. As for their operation, they were local, less effective and mainly unable to develop the right methods to operate in a capitalist atmosphere. Yet, these setbacks did paradoxically shape early trade unionism. Workers of all trades realized that only powerful unions would help get over the savage violation of their liberties. They grew conscious enough about the interests of their class, the need to change social and economic standards both at home and work. In fact, they learned that direct actions could only cause serious defeats and bring their nascent unions under pressure. The accumulation of attitudes as these would transform the whole reform movement in the years to come. Actually, the workers did not give up on their movement despite the challenges. The working class, individuals and groups, remained determined to carry on their struggle for effective nationwide organizations able to protect interests and privileges. In this vein, the early years of 1840's would be crucial in the sense that further developments would affect the course of labour movement; they would bring about new visions or rather alternatives pinning new hopes on political campaigns.

Attempts to settle down industrial disputes, prepare the unions for the next developments, defend labour issues and other privileges were still the chief demands workers in all trades were trying to achieve. Late 1830's were extremely harsh yet incredibly formative for both workers and unions. The labouring population realized the necessity to change their ideals and methods considering the social and economic transformations of the day. Added to these, they needed a government of a different type: a government that would be aware of their daily hardships, labour concerns and then handle their grievances. They wanted partners to take an active hand against the abuses of the factory system. For these schemes, radicals and unionists opted for political means to voice their needs and interests making "the right to vote" the most important concern of the next phase of the industrial protest. The great majority believed that only under this enfranchisement that a labouring man would possibly participate in the management of the industrial conflict. Becoming a Member of Parliament, a labouring man would be able to defend all that can be in favour of his class. Thus, after a series of disappointments, more exactly, after the failure of many unions and labour groups to meet the workers' expectations, labour movement shifted to another agitation, sharply different in nature, especially economic protests had not gone further with the desired goals.

1.3. Chartists Joining the Working Class Movement up to 1842

The frustration that followed the workers' economic protest was in fact an impelling factor behind the emergence of a new radical movement different in character. Apart from different forms of rallies, some radicals turned to political campaigns to advocate the workers' liberties and wrest additional privileges, mainly after the modest parliamentary reforms. Of course, the workers' earlier accounts were of a great value in the sense that they helped the labouring population realize that their industrial protests would not achieve adequate

developments away from political campaigns. In other words, labour societies would not get their voice heard without rallies of political nature. Accordingly, many reformers, middle-class radicals and even physical force militants decided to join the cause and get involved in the current agitation, later known as the Chartist Movement, to claim more liberties and rights. In fact, mid-nineteenth century mechanisms allowed industrialists and landowners to hold power leaving the remaining classes politically and socially less privileged if not excluded. As far as political rights are concerned, the working people were entirely unrepresented if not excluded from voting and participating in the governorship of their affairs. In fact, everything, political or economic, was wholly vested into the hands of both governors and employers (August, 2007). Thus, being part of governments, at least the political circles, became the chief focus of the working people, mainly the Chartists, who pinned new hopes on political reform rather than physical force activities to organize labour.

Starting from 1838, activities seeking labour and political reforms were advanced by middle and working-class activists. Petitions, appeals and public meetings were held to support the "People's Charter", which asked for manhood suffrage, annual parliaments, the secret ballot, payment of MPs and equal electoral districts. These demands assert that the Chartists' wave of change revolutionized the working class' demands and that political protest might be the right means to achieve social welfare. Yet, and as usual, the Chartists' first attempts would not be different from the early days of the workers' campaigns and rallies. Though still nascent, Chartism witnessed divisions among its radicals: some, known as the "moral force" Chartists, believed in peaceful agitations and pressing in legal means to claim their rights while the "physical force" ones recommended mass demonstrations and rioting when necessary. Undoubtedly, these differences did only weaken labour movement. In fact, the Chartists' plans went awry after they had failed to win support in the House of Commons. Their

political agitation did not work out despite the huge number of workmen on their side. This was due to the lack of support inside parliament: the great majority voted against the charter; the thing that put down their schemes and once more dashed the Chartists' hopes (Thorne, 1966). More than that, a lot of the Chartists' fellows were arrested and sentenced to different punishments the same way the Luddites and unionists, who had once received savage convictions. In the end, the radicals' political agitation did somehow fail to bring about the right momentum in favour of the workers' political rights, but it is worth noting that neither these false beginnings nor legal repression could wane this wave of change.

Though for a while, the Chartists held on their campaign to defend the charter. Some did instigate mass demonstrations whereas many others resorted to confrontations. This in fact took the industrial conflict to an alarming situation. There had been attempts to test bombs and make bullets. The Plug riots of 1842 were a fine example that denotes the degree of pressure the Chartists, and the workers in many trades, had felt following the denial of their charter. Additional activities as petitioning and pressing, in the Northern Star, continued for a number of months making the whole nation on the verge of a political agitation. Actually, pressing became new strategy to appeal for better conditions and political rights. They amassed workers from different trades to portray Chartism as a pure working-class movement fully concerned with political and social reform. They even tried to cooperate with middle-class radicals and reformers to consolidate their contact with the remaining classes, but more importantly, to promote the principles of their charter (Hewitt, 1996). In less than two years, the Chartists did indeed become the voice of the working people to champion labour concerns. Yet, most of these efforts to heighten a sense of unity among workers, in particular, and lower classes, in general, did not help win parliamentary support for their political question. Again, the government attitude was the same. The mid-Victorian State used whatever the means to break up the movement.

The protection of labour privileges was still in need for further rallies. Despite their consecutive defeats, the Chartists did not abandon their appeals to engage additional supporters for their cause. Instead, their activities grew notably after 1842. Some leaders toured the country attempting to convey that nothing would offer more social and political liberties except the "People's Charter" while certain others continued to press emphasising that social developments would remain inadequate without political changes. They blamed the governors of the nation's social defects. Other Chartists pointed out the right to be represented for they believed that the chief cause of their dreadful conditions was the fact of being unrepresented in parliament. Thus, the Chartist agitation was another form of industrial protest, political in nature, which aspired to entitle workmen with some privileges and rights (Kirk, 1987). However, they could not attain what they had been rallying for except some minor reforms. These were the Mines Act of 1842, the Factory Act of 1844 and the repeal of Corn Laws. It seems that the government of the day provided some concessions, but these amendments were more to weaken Chartism than to absorb public anger in industrial cities. Again, local authorities, manipulated by factory masters and landowners, could put down the growing labour movement through legal coercion (Kirk, 1987, p. 46). Additionally, the Chartist leaders were subject to legal proceedings, trials and imprisonments. In other words, most if not all the Chartists' efforts, to win support in parliament, were met with a firm response. It could be said that after arduous efforts, on the part of radicals and activists, the workers political agitation did not go further with labour grievances as it finally received the same slap the first labour combinations had encountered.

The collapse of Chartism became another record asserting that the struggle for social privileges and political liberties encountered serious impediments. Though revolutionary, the Chartists' wave of change did not culminate into notable effects. Divisions and local quarrels among the Chartists themselves wasted their energies. They were generally disorganized, helpless sometimes and most of all, lacking national support, which might have helped realize what lower classes were looking for. More importantly, the growth of Chartist ideals and attitudes was bitterly opposed by powerful associations, namely the Anti-Corn Laws League, which vigorously defended the manufacturers' interests. The Anti-Corn Laws League leaders could place a great pressure on Peel's government, which did indeed hasten the collapse of Chartism. In addition to legislation, surveying the Chartists was often used to prevent public meetings, attempts to agitate workers and all sorts of demonstrations, mainly those that were liable to turn into uncontrollable riots. Thus, it was hard to overcome the attitude of government (Flinn, 1975). This in fact made political reform somehow broad if not far-reaching since the settings of the day were not ripe enough to rally for political schemes. There might have been different effects if the Chartists had held on social and industrial questions rather than political ones.

2- The Working Class Holding on Protest, 1842- 1867

Despite all forms of oppression, the working class stood determined in the face of their governors and employers. It is true that the fellows of the working class, radicals and unionists, could neither secure legal positions for their associations nor win parliamentary support for their social and political causes. Yet, in a significant paradox, these difficulties could only compel these groups to stand strong for common interests. Following 1842, many Chartist activists furthered their campaigns seeking political reform but in a different way. They embraced new tactics to evade repression and thus carry on their rally for the

recognition of their unions. Apparently, the Chartists were turning to a new phase of radicalism. They managed to forge alliances with middle-class radicals, especially those who had supported some of the reforms involved in the Charter; they joined town councils and many middle-class dominated associations in an effort to use their machinery to meet their desired ends. This reflects the new ways of resistance or rather their strenuous efforts to hold on change. Their compromise to collaborate with middle-class reformers was part of their strategy and thus their belief in gradual change and effective means, namely political canals to voice the workers' grievances. Opposition to the Crimean War [11], for instance, brought a lot of Chartists and middle-class radicals together. Thus, the workers, through the Chartists' circles, opted for new methods to resume their striving. Coalitions, for instance, became necessary to rescue Chartism, and at the same time pursue the cause for better conditions.

Labour movement went through some ups and downs; it encountered serious divisions its radicals and leaders. After some disappointments, political means to serve the "People's Charter" proved ineffective for many Chartists. Consequently, many active leaders departed political campaigns giving priority to the workers' social problems. This group of Chartists stressed social reforms and labour amendments that the working men had long aspired to. They continued their striving for the recognition of labour unions, labour rights, favourable working conditions, fair wages and other privileges. Actually, this brought them in harmony with some socialist reformers. More than that, they joined the remaining cooperative societies considering that they were still on the same wavelength. This was another attempt to generate support for the workers'

[11] A war fought mainly on the Crimean Peninsula between the Russians and the British, French, and Ottoman Turkish, with support, from January 1855, by the army of Sardinia-Piedmont. The war arose from the conflict of great powers in the Middle East and was more directly caused by Russian demands to exercise protection over the Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman sultan. Another major factor was the dispute between Russia and France over the privileges of the Russian Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches in the holy places in Palestine ("Crimean War", 2010).

cause; the thing that might help revive unionism, in the long run, after a series of defeats. In Manchester, where the origins of cooperative movement ran deep, the Chartists established some stores adopting the Owenite model. These gatherings were not only labour combinations to provide social relief, but also a means to raise fund, sustain workers economically and thus empower unionism. This includes the privilege to obtain the necessary things in life at a low cost. It was a further step in working-class development. In her *Social and Economic History of Britain*, Gregg (1969) states: "*Chartism was markedly more mature than the spasmodic outbreaks at the beginning of the century. It left no direct heir but it has bequeathed a very real inspiration to subsequent generations*". In the end, the contributions of the Chartists after the denial of the charter, though minor in some respects, might be the right response to strengthen unionism so as to handle labour concerns in the long run.

Reverting to social rallies meant a new attempt, on the part of labour societies, to hold on pressure after the failures of the political agitation. Of course, this does not mean that the Chartists gave up rallying for political reform. On the contrary, some Chartist groups could consolidate their links with union delegates in different regions in an effort to correct their false start. They collaborated with many working-class radicals in meetings and strikes calling for pure labour and political reforms. For these groups, the reorganization of labour became a number one concern rather than political change. This was a change in the attitudes and methods the Chartists began to use as alternatives to political campaigns. Actually, they started to play a new role in developing a new type of labour societies after 1842. Soon, responses to combining, particularly among skilled workers, increased in many industrial cities. The miners, cotton spinners and others in the engineering trades managed to forge new unions despite the challenges of the day (Pelling, 1976). Again, this was another step towards coming

together regardless regional and professional differences. For the workers, whether unionists or Chartists, it became necessary to survive legal repression and the masters' intimidation, but more importantly, to put aside their quarrels. In fact, they realized that political change had only distracted them and thus delayed their union. They learned that only nationwide and organized labour unions could help settle down their industrial disputes, protect their privileges and why not claim further political rights.

2.1. The Revival of Trade Unionism in 1850's

Almost for a half of a century, the working population, radicals and groups, continued their struggle against the atrocities of the indusrial system. The workers, in different trades, had gone through several ups and downs, changes in ideals and strategies, but their unions remained less powerful and effective when it comes to the number of their labour privileges and rights. Yet, the second half of nineteenth century witnessed significant changes, which would transform everything, including the industrial conflict. By 1850, Britain became the greatest industrial and commercial power in the world: changes in banking system, joint stock organization, an increase in the national savings and other developments, which were reflected in high wages and better conditions in some trades (Tewson, 1947). For the working class, the unionists mainly, it was necessary to increase their share from such a national prosperity. They felt the need for new unionism for more rights if not profits. Indeed after 1842, signs of new models of unions came into being in different areas in Britain, particularly in coal industry regions. Actually, these changes marked the revival of unionism from 1850 onwards. In Manchester and elsewhere, many unionists evoked the campaign for better wages and short working hours. They did vigorously hold men together during strikes and stand in the face of all efforts to crush their unions. Additional attempts to revive unionism reached Lancashire, Yorkshire and Durham, where county

unions were established. In the years following 1842, delegates were regularly sent to regional and national conferences to collaborate with others. The Miners Association of Great Britain and Ireland was an evident proof of the arduous efforts to revive unionism and strengthen the position of the labour force. Yet, these efforts had never gone unanswered.

In mining, the workers' attempts to organize labour, develop the workers' conditions and realize the broad objectives of labour movement had never abated. Though it was still illegal to bargain by rioting, the miners set again on strikes and physical force activities to protect their rights. Yet, a sudden depression in the coal industry and the introduction of non-union labourers dashed the miners' hopes and broke their strike. Dismissals followed the failure of their strike, but they held on their demands and continued to look for other canals to voice their grievances. Considering the revival of unionism, the Miners Association evoked the idea of nationwide union, which might help place pressure on employers and legislators. They constantly petitioned parliament and government for better working conditions in mines; they could spread their actions to many counties and survive a lot of hindrances; the thing that demonstrates their unity, and at the same time, the painful struggle they had led to consolidate their cause. Finally, in 1858, the miners' efforts resulted in founding their National Miners Association, which set the improvement of working conditions in mines a number one priority. In two years later, an act, the Coal Mines Regulation Act, was passed to organize labour in mines, namely the working hours (Pelling, 1976). This triumph was in fact another leap towards the protection of labour privileges and the consolidation of trade unionism as it instigated another wave of rallies remarkably different from those of early nineteenth century.

As in mining, the cotton industry did also witness the revival of trade unionism. Though locally, cotton industry workers managed to get over the difficulties that stood against effective unionism. In fact, in an industry highly dominated by women and the existence of varied functions provided slim chances for organized and powerful unions. Yet, the initiative was again taken by the spinners, who had been striving to found district societies to organize labour, at least in their counties. Accordingly, they could raise funds and generate support for their strikes. More than that, in 1853, these district societies came together in what would be known as the Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners. This union would handle the workers' industrial disputes not only locally but also in the neighbouring industrial areas. This was really a step forward for the progress of trade unionism in the second half of the nineteenth century. The year 1853 was a turning point in the development of new trade unions in the cotton industry, particularly in Lancashire and Cheshire. Prices went up and cotton industry did unexpectedly flourish again the fact that revived the workers' demands for higher wages.

Certain economic changes were in favour of district societies as far as pressure on employers and factory masters. They could demonstrate how effective, and mainly, how supportive they would be during strikes or lockouts. Indeed, these district societies proved successful enough as it provided adequate financial aid to those workers who had set on a long strike. They could even maintain the upkeep of those strikers who had been thrown into idleness by their masters showing full commitment these new unions could afford. It is true that the strike collapsed in the end but after seven months of resistance. It ended due to the power of law, and not the failure of district societies to assist their members and workers during the strike. Nevertheless, the experience again depicts an image about the degree of solidarity and unity among the workers, in this trade, to manage their dispute with their masters. In other words, their seven months

strike was a fine example of the degree of labour organization the unionists could in some respects achieve as well as the power of the association they could generate. Pelling (1976) *added that by the end of that decade, it was clear that the cotton workers had acquired the discipline and training in trade union principles to enable them to bring consistent and effective pressure upon their employers* (Pelling, 1976, p. 41).

The modest achievements the miners and cotton industry workers could realize in the 1850's brought back the idea of national unionism. For some time, district societies could raise enough funds to support their members, join other groups and campaign for additional reforms in favour of their trades. In less than a decade, the Miners' Amalgamated Association acquired sufficient strength allowing them to mobilize workers for their causes, but their influence was relative in some parts. Their hold was more notable in northern industrial regions unlike the remaining ones, mainly London: the heart of older labour clubs and combinations. So, they were still looking for recruits from other industrial regions. In fact, this was the aspiration of the workers to create nationwide unions. Soon, the initiative came from craftsmen in the engineering industry. They could get a strong hold in the north of England, and more importantly, they were mutually connected to other trades in southern and central areas. Workers in this industry, engineering trades, could set an example of extensive unions with headquarters in some industrial areas, mainly after 1851 when they received recruits from a variety of labour societies. Millwrights, engine makers, mechanics and other skilled craftsmen were all trying hard to organize labour locally and nationally. These efforts did not only assert the need for effective unions in particular trades, but they instigated a new model of unions with branches and recruits in different regions. Indubitably, this incited the working class to set out a fresh attempt towards the consolidation of nationwide unions based on affiliations from different industrial regions and trades.

2.2. The Onset of Amalgamations in Other Parts of Britain

After a series of developments in the course of the industrial conflict, the establishment of national unions remained the broadest objective all workers in all trades had been valiantly rallying for. Successful accounts in both mining and cotton industries were of a great value for unionism, but not as influential as the model provided by workers in the engineering industry. In addition to discipline and organization, steam engine makers could develop one of the strongest unions ever since the repeal of the Combination Acts. A union with connected branches and headquarters in London was a milestone for mid-nineteenth century unionism. This group of mechanics set a dozen of principles and practices very crucial for effective unionism. Their wise administration of financial contributions or funds helped them better serve the members and sustain their needs in case of any dispute with employers. Indubitably, this was innovative considering the struggles old combinations and unions had led to found mass labour societies. Yet, the initiative was still limited to skilled workers in the engineering industry, unlike semi-skilled or unskilled labourers. This development among the skilled workers, exactly the steam engine makers, denotes that the path to larger unions with varied skills was evolving. In the end, and up to 1851, the working class, radicals and unionists, were still struggling with ways and means to prompt reforms and amendments in reference to factory system, labour rights and welfare privileges.

In 1851, another account, on the part of unionists and radicals to revive unionism in other trades, came into being. This union would not only stand against legal and labour imperfections, but it would prove its achievement as a new model of labour unions. Out of small regional societies, machinists, millwrights and smiths came together forming a federation of trades. This large

union, later known as the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, became the new model to follow if not the influential power upon the character and structure of unionism. This was rendered to the broad objectives, new principles and most of all the discipline the union had strictly stressed among its members. From their early days, the leaders of the union set up district committees to manage local branches and elected members for the executive council to run national concerns. They even recruited a full-time general secretary to manage their headquarters in London. By the end of 1851, the union could attract a large number of members, and the result was considerable reserve funds. Accordingly, the union set a generous scale of benefits, which ranged from support during strikes, to sickness to funeral services (Flinn, 1975). Briefly, the ASE earned what older combinations had not realized for many decades. Indeed, the craftsmen in this industry revolutionized unionism bringing the industrial conflict to further changes. They could involve workers from different trades and regions. This strategy would transform unionism in the ensuing years. They aspired to empower unions, lessen differences and put aside their divisions. In other words, they could set a new national model for later generations to imitate.

For the next decade after 1851, the creation of unions became common almost in all trades, especially after the echoes left by the **ASE**. A lot of labour societies became inspired by the great financial strength and the high degree of organization the union of engineers built up in a short period. This labour society soon gained a growing recognition among workers from different trades as it apparently became more than a model to follow but a turning point in the history of trade unionism. Starting from 1855, iron moulders, carpenters, tailors and many other ratsmen adopted the same character the engineers had set for effective unionism. In other words, they held on the fact that national unions would not find their way to legal status unless workers in all trades sink their differences. In fact, the leaders of these unions continued to work ways to lessen

differences among workers and trades, but they often encountered some harsh moments making the existence of their unions at stake. For instance, the inclusion of unskilled workers into the **ASE** generated a lot of criticism. Some strikes brought nothing except defeat. Of course, these were some downs, but they could influence enrolments and often cause serious slumps in financial contributions. Hopefully, the union could overcome these odds, which did only consolidate the union's ability to manage problems. These difficulties did only last for a while having limited effects on regional loyalties. Overall, almost in all branches, the **ASE** did in some respects conduct the workers' interests efficiently, afford support and settle some disputes on a national basis. More than that, the union brought about some profound effects even on older labour societies.

Organizational changes the society of engineers effected on the machinery of their union did not only innovate the way to lead labour societies but helped get rid of older practices. A lot of radical leaders learned that small groups or rather labour minorities would not be able to survive unless being professionally diverse and financially powerful. This change could be felt among many labour groupings, which rallied to support the builders in their strike in 1859. This in fact was a challenge for unionism, in general, and the existence of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, in particular, but the support was so remarkable that in addition to the engineers, workers from other trades and regions stood together with the London builders. The result was a compromise with employers and a drop in the working hours: an achievement the building trade societies had been striving for. Again, this triumph revealed that national organization might be the right route to power and stability. It was another indication for labour societies to think of new strategies to extend their unions' activities to other trades.

The success of the builders incited other attempts to get united. A lot of skilled workers as the carpenters, joiners, bricklayers and many others got amalgamated with certain others. In fact, workers in different trades empowered themselves with this strategy starting from 1860 onwards. Soon, regional delegates began to participate in congresses, general meetings and conferences. The latter were held to consider matters of national rather than local interests. Thus, amalgamations became ideal for the workers' position if not a strong means to advocate labour organization and reform. Nevertheless, effects or rather achievements were always varied. Amalgamations were not always successful and able to safeguard their existence in the sense these unions were only limited to a section of the working class: craftsmen or more exactly skilled workers (Pelling, 1976). More than that, these amalgamations were lacking legal means, which might fully protect the workers' accomplishments and thus make them less vulnerable to legal proceedings or repression.

As far as the project of welfare state is concerned, the developments, described above, are somehow adequate to indicate that the workers' struggle was both intermittent yet progressive. The workers set on several forms of protest to wrest their right to bargain collectively. It is true that their pressure on local authorities could realize some modest changes, but it was still insufficient to conclude the struggle according to the workers' terms. A lot of labour groupings were active yet illegal. Labour theories and radical attitudes willing to end all forms of distress were often vague if not impracticable (Pelling, 1976). Certain working-class activists, like the Chartists, embarked on political schemes, but the support was not enough to claim labour and political privileges. Yet, it was necessary to keep going for more benefits and achievements. Both unionists and Chartists realized that only large labour societies could survive. Almost in all industries, unionism increased due to a number of changes, particularly economic prosperity that typified the second half of nineteenth century. Without any doubt,

these changes dictated new settings on the workers too in the sense that local combinations became no longer efficient to manage the next phase of the industrial conflict. With the pattern developed by the society of engineers, national organization became a scheme to older clubs, combinations, cooperative communities and many other types of labour groupings to work for. It is true that the **ASE** could achieve a degree of organization, discipline, and an ability to manage its funds, but the significance of their triumph lies in the fact that workers of all trades managed to come together. It could be said that the 1850's were really formative for labour unions. These were becoming larger, homogeneous and more effective though not yet legal. Towards the recognition of labour unions, trades councils would start where amalgamations had left off; they would advance the rally of the recognition of unions and parliamentary reform.

2.3. Mutuality and Solidarity with Trades Councils

In addition to national amalgamations, trades councils were seminal for the organization of labour on a national basis. Confined to the larger industrial towns, trades councils emerged as additional means of pressure holding on campaigns for labour privileges if not more. "*They spread rapidly over the whole reflecting a growing identification among the working class activists with a national movement, broader and more political than mere sectional unionism* (Hinton, 1983, p. 24)." The leaders of these councils devoted themselves to the workers' cause setting on several forms of campaigning, mainly parliamentary. They were much acclaimed for their successful attempts to widen the franchise for the workers. In Scotland, where several unions failed to evolve due to the small contributions, trades councils could carry on the rally for better working conditions; they succeeded to unite small clubs, limit blacklegging, and more importantly, lead demonstrations to regulate the existing laws against employees. Trades councils were another type of labour gatherings willing to bring about significant changes in the workers' favour.

Glasgow Trades Council was one of these effective councils, which was open to all trades in Scotland. This council set the regulation of laws and the protection of the unions' funds as the chief objective. This labour gathering could lead a successful campaign for a change in the Master and Servant Law, which was wholly in favour of employers. Under the measures of the Master and Servant Law, workers were treated as criminals and easily sent to prison. This indicates the degree of legal pressure placed upon workers unlike their employers, who often flouted laws. In 1864, in a national conference of unions' delegates, the leaders of Glasgow council discussed with their counterparts ways to amend this law; they even arranged the introduction of a bill into the House of Commons. As far as the progress of unionism is concerned, this was a distinctive landmark in the workers' striving against the defects of some labour laws. Yet, it was again hard to pass the bill. Despite their lobbying attempts, the delegates could not prompt a change, but their agitation could place pressure on select committees to report on the bill. In 1867, a reform was made in the Master and Servant Law stating that the council's campaign for a change in the existing laws had been successful (Pelling, 1976). Undoubtedly, the council's triumph exemplified an additional model of labour organization to follow. A lot of industrial cities like Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen and other regions in the North followed Glasgow's council.

As in Scotland, trades councils were also common labour groups elsewhere in Britain, particularly in London. They played a monumental role in leading campaigns, advocating the workers' interests and assisting smaller clubs in their disputes with employers. In fact, trades councils were trying hard to make themselves the spokesmen of the working class both inside and outside their regions. Almost in all industrial areas, they were becoming the hub of labour concerns, and a meeting point of delegates, unionists, former Chartists and many other prominent leaders, who through these councils, aspired to appeal for other

groups, win support for their societies' causes if not approach the centre of political activity (Royle, 2012). The character of London, as the harbour of organized trades and the headquarters of the larger national unions, did considerably shape the future of the London Trades Council. The latter got involved in several campaigns that were meant to advocate the franchise. This group of figures, later known as "the Junta", worked unceasingly for more legal benefits in favour of their labour societies. They successfully led the council developing a moderate attitude towards all forms of protests for they were prudent enough when it concerns union financial reserves or existence. In other words, they did not want go through the experiences their predecessors had encountered. To this end, and from their earlier days, they adopted a conciliation policy, as a long-term strategy, to serve the workers' needs, empower unionism and prompt changes in favour of the workers' political rights: the legal recognition of their unions (Hamish, 1999). These efforts on the part of the trades councils did not only help protect labour privileges, but also help forge a pressure group willing to legalize the unions and extend the franchise.

The significance of the trades councils lies in the fact that they drew new routes for the working class' struggle for full recognition of the workers' rights. The leaders of these councils addressed labour questions on different fronts, but they collectively aspired to ameliorate the workers' conditions at all levels. In the course of 1860's, the leaders of the London Trades Council decided to lead a political agitation to extend the voting rights to disenfranchised citizens. They alienated themselves from industrial rallies and became involved in the question of the day. They engaged in public debates trying to reveal the number of allies and sympathisers they had already generated for the franchise. They intended to point out the right to vote as the chief outcome of their agitation. In 1865, this group of leaders formed the Reform League, and soon their campaigns to influence the general election started both inside and outside London. The next

months were notably turbulent according to the number of public meetings held to demand manhood suffrage. At the same time, in the House of Commons, radicals and unionism supporters led non-stop debates bringing the question of the franchise to its peak. These efforts, mainly parliamentary campaigns, coupled with the role of many unionists were of a great value in claiming the voting rights in 1867 (Pelling, 1976). Indubitably, the workers' right to vote was another leap towards political liberties. Yet, this achievement does not mean the end of the workers' struggle. Their fight for the recognition of unions, changes in factory system, labour organization, access to education and other privileges became the next concerns the trades councils, unions and the working population, in general, need to handle after they had successfully won the voting rights.

3- Labour Unions on the Route to Legal Recognition

Despite all changes the working class could effect in the last three quarters of the nineteenth century, the significance of the industrial protest was only reflected upon one section of the working class: the skilled workers or craftsmen. Semi-skilled and unskilled labourers were still far away from the achievements amalgamations, councils and some unions had claimed. The voting right was finally extended to almost one million including many workingmen, but still, a great number of workers had no access to education, public health services and other social privileges. Additionally, unions were in need for more protective measures to secure their benefits despite the progress they had made. In this vein, labour movement began to advance in another front to win legislative protection and thus amend some labour laws, which placed pressure on unionists, radicals and other leaders of the workers' movement. Thus, the fight for reform lingered on into the years after 1867. While many leaders set on campaigns to extend the franchise, a lot of others favoured industrial agitations in an effort to claim legal status for their unions and gatherings. In fact, late 1860's and early 1870's were

determinative in the sense that the influence of the new pattern of unions on the workers' cause was so phenomenal that it brought more supporters and militants together and helped instigate a fresh wave of change to legalize unions.

3.1. The Unions Setting Plans in National Congresses

Generally, late 1860's were fairly ideal for the workers' struggle for better living and working conditions. Up to 1867, they managed to develop larger unions with national loyalties and sectional organization. As pressure groups, trades councils could achieve increases in wages and decreases in working hours while many radicals and unionists were vigorously campaigning for favourable labour legislation if not broader goals as parliamentary reform. The working population could finally claim the voting rights, which were of a great significance for the workers' benefits, both political and social. Yet, these activities and practices were still seen unauthorized in law courts. Under the Common Law of Conspiracy, agitators were easily charged with severe punishments. These responses did often entice the workers to hold on pressure. In other words, there was a mounting tendency towards another action against those legal restraints, especially after the appointment of a Royal Commission of Inquiry to investigate trade unions' activities. Added to these, depriving trade unions of what they had thought as legal privileges brought the conflict to its zenith causing another wave of campaigns. It was among those labour societies and under these circumstances that national meetings or rather congresses were held to discuss what possible measures if not actions to be taken against the accusations of the employers.

The unions became again face to face with their governors and employers about their legal rights. In response to the Royal Commission's reservations and the commissioners' hostile report, trade unionists set on a series of activities for their own defence. In 1868, delegates from different trades met to protect the workers' endeavours, particularly their responses to legal restraints. Yet, these meetings proved unsuccessful at the beginning due to the bitter disagreements among the delegates themselves. This was enough to whittle away the first efforts to secure legal status for the unions, but the failure of this campaign could not deter other unionists to hold on parliamentary rallies. Surprisingly, the 1868 conference became a starting point for the legalization of unions in the sense that it ended with agreements and recommendations, like the organization of congresses. This is where delegates would not only discuss trade unions legislation and labour related matters but also broader political and social concerns as factory laws, voting and access to education (Musson, 1972). In the second congress, in 1869, the rift among delegates lingered on, but this time the meeting ended with an agreement to appoint a parliamentary committee to observe the proceedings of labour legislation and provide evidence if necessary. This committee was meant to lobby the interests of labour unions and councils at Westminster. Thus, it was truly significant step as far as effective means to advocate the workers' cause are concerned. Through this committee, the workers, unionists and radicals, might prompt significant transformations in favour of their societies.

3.2. Lobbies inside Parliament for Labour Matters

After setting on a variety of campaigns, the working class leaders finally moved their cause to parliament; the fact that would change the destiny of the workers. Soon, the committee became a representative body if not the workers' unique voice that might win legal amendments in favour of trade unions. Indeed, this committee, in the person of Frederic Harrison, Thomas Hughes and Thomas

Anson, refused to approve the Majority Report of the Royal Commission. Instead, they produced a Minority Report where they argued that trade unions would receive their legal status and full protection of their funds. They additionally proposed changes to the current regulations that unionists and radicals would not be liable to indictments and accusations unless their actions were criminal. In fact, they worked hard to repeal all forms of restraint on the activities of either employers or workmen. The committee could have their report accepted by the government of the day, and finally secure their legal recognition. In this vein, and by the terms of the 1871 Trade Union Act [12], no trade union would be regarded as illegal. Yet, this legal achievement was still contested by trade unionists. The latter were still unhappy with the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which made picketing illegal (Simkin, 2014). Eventually, the Criminal Amendment Act enticed further campaigns if not further lobbying inside parliament to allow picketing being one of the forms of pressure generally associated with industrial disputes. In other words, the pressure unionists could place through their committee was so influential that it would pave the way for considerable changes.

In 1875, pressure on Disraeli's government brought another legal reform in favour of the unions. Based on what was legal for individuals, a new legislation ended prosecution against labour groups organizing strikes and other forms of protest. "*This reform established the principle that a trade union could not be prosecuted for an act which would be legal if performed by an individual. Since it was not illegal for an individual to cease work, it followed that a union could not be prosecuted for conspiracy if it organised a strike (*Gardiner, 2000, p. 173*)"*. This principle allowed peaceful picketing to take place in industrial disputes and lessened pressure on unionists and labour groups, in general. This amendment asserted the workers' right to strike when necessary against the misconduct of labour interests. It

[12] Trade Union Act, passed by Gladstone's administration following the recommendations of the Royal Commission of Trades Societies, in 1867, the Act clarified the legality of trade unions and provided for their funds to be protected under the Friendly Society Act 1855 (Cannon, 2009).

eventually instigated a new phase of industrial relations between employers and the working population, radicals and unionists, who were trying hard to amend if not repeal the measures expressed in the doctrine of Common Employment or Common Law. In fact, the right to picket was not all that the workers were looking for, but they still needed protection of another kind, mainly in their workplaces. Many labour unions wished to hold employers responsible for injuries, accidents and even deaths caused by their foremen or another worker's negligence (Ruegg, 1982). These efforts were all part of the parliamentary campaigns and lobbies inside parliament that workers, unionists and radicals, could hold on to serve labour needs.

For the workers' compensation in case of injuries, the workers furthered their activity to win amendments in favour of safety and protection at workplaces. After the reform of the Conspiracy Laws, the committee's interest turned to the question of the employers' liability to compensate for work accidents and injuries. Undoubtedly, privileges like these were part of the struggle to provide better conditions at work. Yet, and by the Common Law, employees could only receive compensation in the case of negligence on the part of the servant. In this case, damages could be sued for and obtained by a workman. The latter would receive no compensation if the accident was the result of the negligence of a fellow-employee. This practice heightened demands to amend the compensation system and make employers liable to provide adequate measures. These would certainly assert the workers' right in insurance, and at the same time, help reduce risks at workplaces. In fact, a committee was formed to report on this matter, and soon evidence revealed the necessity to abolish the doctrine of the Common Employment. Accordingly, and in 1877, it prompted the passing of the Employers' Liability Act, which made it possible for working men in all trades to receive compensation for work accidents in the majority of cases (Giles, 2011). In brief, this act becomes an additional privilege in favour of the

workers' safety at workplaces. It provided insurance schemes to handle the workers' health situation in case of a work accident. It is no longer damages for negligence but a form of compulsory insurance against what is likely to occur while in service.

Of all the privileges mentioned above, the right to conduct syndicalist activities became the most significant achievement of labour movement. Radicals and trade unionists fought ceaselessly to claim this right in spite of all kinds of restrictions, which often cost them their liberties and not only the termination of their work contracts. From scattered clubs, unorganized societies, less effective and less loyal to each other, the working population, radicals and unionists, instigated various campaigns, both social and political, to build up nationwide unions, committed to the principles and objectives of their unions, but more importantly, able to lead whatever the activity to meet labour aspirations. True that 1871 Trade Union Act was an outcome of constant industrial rallies, but also an indication of governors' failure to address grievances. This act, and of course the privileges that ensued, were not granted but extracted out of the hands of both governors and employers. These developments were initial signs that late nineteenth-century trade unions were becoming quite able to manage the conflict. They were increasingly becoming more organized, nationally established and financially powerful. These developments helped the working class emerge triumphant yet resolved to settle further industrial disputes. In addition to the extension of the franchise, the working class leaders could realize the chief goals of their early 1870's agitation: the end of anti-unionism legislation. However, the impact of these reforms might vary from one trade to another and from one skill to another since trade unionism was still less common among unskilled workers, who, despite the developments above, remained outside the scope.

As surveyed earlier, the working class movement evolved differently throughout the last three quarters of the nineteenth century. Lifting the ban upon collective bargaining in 1825 was a mere amendment in labour laws compared to the future legal reforms in favour of labour societies. It was meant to absorb the working class anger rather than address the legitimate demands the workers had long tried to point out. Almost up to 1871, trade union activities remained liable to legal pressure, which aimed at nothing but crushing the movement. Yet, by setting on a variety of campaigning activities, both political and social, the working class leaders could claim the right to vote, the right to combine and other social privileges, which indicated their triumph over their employers and governors. It's true that the workers' legal achievements were an outcome of parliamentary campaigns, lobbies and alliances inside parliament, but these acts were only an extension to industrial protests. In other words, the triumphs of the workers' parliamentary committee in amending Conspiracy Laws, the Employers' Liability Act and other acts should not viewed away from social rallies and physical force activities as strikes and demonstrations.

For a half of a century, the working population, groups and individuals, embarked on a variety of acts to express their unhappy situation. It was really hard for labour societies to come together, but they could forge some labour gatherings despite the rising legal pressure. However, these small beginnings were still inadequate to meet the expectations of labour societies. They struggled against numerous problems related mainly to organization, funding and membership. The unions of the mid-nineteenth century remained local, less effective and more importantly less committed to each other. Yet, without these accounts effective unionism would not prosper, and thus, the workers would not be able to protect their labour privileges and rights in 1870's. These unions often failed to support the workers' cause, but they indeed helped foster the idea that better bargaining position lies in mass associations, of which Owen's Grand

National Trade Union was the finest example marking a leap towards extended unions. This of course consolidated the idea of mass unions if not strengthened the workers' position in their fight for better living and working conditions.

Frustrated by the 1830's amendments, the working class realized the need for political rallies, which were in fact seminal to get the voice of workers heard. In several trades, the workers favoured general actions, but many others, radicals mainly, pinned their hopes on political activities. This advocates the fact that political campaigns became another alternative to industrial protests. They set on parliamentary campaigns, petitioning and pressing when necessary. The Chartists sought more than social reforms: they tried to promote the fact that social objectives would be attained only through political reform. Yet, and as usual, following few experiences, they could not meet what they had listed in the People's Charter. Despite all their efforts, the Chartists failed to win support for their political schemes. The lack of national organization and disagreements among the Chartists themselves could only hasten the collapse of the workers' political plans. This false start widened the gap between the two wings of Chartism in the sense that it impelled a lot of radicals to alienate themselves from politics as a new strategy. Again, this reflects the significance of social protests compared to the political activity. Undoubtedly, legal pressure was an additional factor, which brought about the collapse of Chartism, but it is worth mentioning that these attempts were only a prelude to the revival of unionism. In other words, of all the modest developments and achievements the working class had realized, small labour gatherings would survive and hold on public disturbance; they would continue to function though still local and less effective.

The second half of the nineteenth century brought significant changes, mainly economic, the fact that transformed the outcomes of the industrial conflict. Labour theories began to change in 1850's and so did the principles of unions. A lot of radicals departed political campaigns after they had realized that politics would only weaken unionism. Again, this is another indication that political thought proved divisive at a time the working class was in need of unions to save their cause. At these points, physical force activities remained an effective means to win privileges. Coal Mines Regulation Act, for instance, was the outcome of the miners' strikes. In fact, the latter had never abated despite the reverses. Attempts of collective combining advanced throughout late 1850's and early 1860's in different fronts, trades and even industrial regions. Workers in several trades sought whatever the ways to empower their position and thus organize labour. The initiative came from those in the engineering industry. They enlarged their unions via alliances and amalgamations. Practices like the centralization of funds, the establishment of branches and the recruitment of secretaries came to be the basis of this new model of unions. The result was the emergence of extended unions very organized, and more importantly, loyal to the workers' concerns. Again, legal resistance to the workers efforts was something recurrent in the industrial conflict. Yet, legal restraints on unionism did only mount pressure if not breed violent responses on the part of workers.

The outcomes of the workers' varied rallies were considerable in the 1860's. It was in these years that the fight for labour privileges achieved its climax. In different trades and regions, labour societies grew larger with national loyalties; they seemed more concerned with organization and stability. Councils and unions were becoming determined not only about factory matters, but voting rights, access to education and even political representation. In fact, the rise of these thoughts and ideals typified labour movement in these years. Labour societies could generate additional support for their cause via public national

meetings, congresses and even parliamentary campaigning. They could prevent cuts in their wages and lessen their working day hours in several trades, mainly in mining and cotton industries. The extension of voting rights was a significant achievement for it made it possible for the working class leaders to lead pressure even at Westminster. This reflects to what extent the bargaining position have changed as well as the powers the working population could claim after a series of rallies. Following the Franchise of 1867, the workers turned their interest to additional changes since there still existed a lot of grievances to address, namely the legal recognition of the labour societies, conditions at work and other rights. In brief, what the workers claimed, in terms of rights and powers, was extracted by both physical force activities and political campaigns. They impelled their governors and employers to release regulations that would transform industrial relations between factory masters and their journeymen.

Despite all the ups and downs the workers' reform movement had gone through, labour societies became closer to legal protection and better conditions more than ever. Surveying the workers' accounts up 1871 has shown that legal proceedings, fining and harsh sentences had been used to deter unionism and lower the workers' voice, but unexpectedly, they did only entice the workers to hold on reform movement. Paradoxically, the government's attitude had invited more sympathizers to the working class cause. This was a sign of the government's weakness or rather the absence of the political will in addressing the grievances of lower classes. With the extension of the voting right, the workers became able to form lobbies and lead campaigns inside parliament in favour of their privileges. It took them few years to claim their legal recognition out of the hands of their governors starting another phase of the industrial struggle against one opponent: factory masters. Of all the minor achievements labour movement could realize, Trade Union Act became the most significant accomplishment of the working class rallies. The right to bargain meant a lot to the contemporaries in

the sense that it would provide a solid platform for additional labour changes if not determine the future position of the working class in the political scene. Indeed, trade unions extended in number and changed in character following 1871 setting on a new era of unionism. This calls for more inquiries about the characteristics of the period after the legal acceptance, the new schemes the workers would advocate, the organizational features they would generate forge as well as the outcomes they would achieve.

Chapter Four

The Legacy of Trade Unionism, 1880-1924

It is true that the workers' campaigns in the course of the 1870's and 1880's were so significant that they lessened legal restraints and granted certain liberties, but eventually, these privileges became no longer the final aspirations of the workers' movement in the wake of the nineteenth century. After many reverses, the working people began to share the same interest in organization and mainly the possession of political power. In fact, the workers' experiences and the newly developed ideals turned their concerns to more than the mere right to vote. Up to 1880's, much of the workers' efforts were devoted to effective unionism, for which the workers had fought to gain a share in profits or work out skilful lobbies to promote legal amendments or social improvements. Yet, with the revival of

socialist thoughts in the 1880's, the working class embarked on a new front to initiate their own political wing. The nature of the cause became no longer a striving for social reforms. Labour rallies became more concerned with the questions of the day, such as the workers' position in the country's political scene.

The shift of interests to political and social concerns did appeal to many labour societies, mainly unskilled and semi-skilled workers, who were profoundly dissatisfied with the existing remedies. It is in the wake of the nineteenth century unionism witnessed a notable change. Labour unions extended in numbers; they were becoming able to conduct extensive agitations and prompt revolutionary changes if not more after they had gathered the support of a mixture of social forces. This meant that late nineteenth century labour societies became more than a pressure group to support other parties. This chapter highlights the legacy of the unions or rather the structural organization of the workers' movement achieved after the parliamentary triumphs of the 1870's. This leads to exploring the role of socialist thoughts in orienting the working class as well as redefining the final goals of the next campaign. Changes in ideals and mechanisms were so enormous that they brought the working class to the political arena and places of power. In less than three decades, and after a series of political rallies, the working class claimed a powerful political position that did not only transform the country's political scene but allowed the workers, through their party, to capitalize on their obvious opportunities to improve their living and working standards. These were the first signs of the workers' triumphs, which would later set the stage for massive changes, particularly the realization of welfare state.

1- Revolutionary Developments in Unionism after 1871

Despite the formal privileges the workers could attain by the end of 1870, the struggle for better standards and additional liberties showed no signs of abating. It was still hard to view the working people as one class for the notable differences between labour bourgeoisie and the vast majority of the working people. Even the privileges of the previous labour rallies were exclusively limited to skilled workers. After they had come into existence, many labour societies became part of some political circles developing new horizons for their labour concerns, but in fact, these coalitions did not always work out for they did again favour craftsmen unlike the rest of workers. These facts indicate that the working people were still less homogeneous, dissatisfied yet willing to respond to the calls of labour organization. A lot of workers were ready to approve the rising socialist ideals, which stressed both social and political schemes as the basis of change. Yet, before turning to the workers' social and political accomplishments, and as far as the establishment of the welfare state in Britain is concerned, it is preferable to explore what typified the working class mindset in the late nineteenth century, in particular, what was missing that old unions felt the need for a further wave of change, and what arrangements new unionism did embrace in response to the ideologies of the day. This is important in the sense that these developments provided a background to the growth of new unionism, the adoption of new strategies on the part of the working class, and above all, setting the ground for the most important accomplishment of the labour movement: merging the industrial rally with the political one to realize the workers' professional, social and later political aspirations.

1.1. Late Nineteenth Century Industrial Challenges:

The last two decades of the nineteenth-century witnessed considerable changes, which would not only disrupt Britain's social and economic prosperity, but also influence the future of the working class organization, and then the outcomes of the industrial conflict. These changes were due in part to the years of the periodic depressions, which markedly slowed down the rate of production and brought social questions back to the scene, and in another part to the revival of socialism, which in its turn did considerably shape the workers' mindset and transform political calculations in late Victorian Britain. First, it is in these days that Britain's economic supremacy was challenged by a fierce competition from her international rivals causing serious effects on finance, trade and mainly home affairs (Carter & Mears, 2011). Such industrial stagnation, fall in prices, fluctuations in the market forces dictated a new order for all, not only the workers. These changes compelled governors and employers, more exactly the Liberals and Imperialists, to save their interests by limiting further implications on Britain's declining economy. This entails counter attacks on unions and syndicalist liberties. In other words, the challenges were so enormous that they disrupted both the country and its people, particularly industrial relations.

For the workers, economic pressure meant further threats for their livelihood and thus instability in factories and workshops. They meant cuts in wages, severe slumps and even dismissals, mainly in the declining trades. Thereby, and for less skilled labourers particularly, the possibilities of a varied life seemed bleak. A rising cost of living, a higher rate of unemployment, poverty, the exclusiveness of the aristocrats and above all the inadequacy of the 1870's legal adjustments, all necessitated change. In fact, and for the workers, these challenges required a new wave of reform. Further, these social and economic developments were not without marks on the political forces of the day. *Under these circumstances, Imperialists' reactions against Liberals' capitalism on the right were*

*matched by socialists' responses on the left (*Hinton, 1983, p. 25*)*. The socialists were trying in a number of ways to combat the capitalists' policies, which failed to get over the industrial challenges and handle the current grievances. They were looking for alternatives to limit the domination of the middle class men and then shift the ownership of private property to the communities. These ideals would influence the outcome of industrial disputes, in particular, and unionism, in general, in the sense that labour societies, via the socialists' campaigns, started to turn their interests to independent political actions. In brief, late Victorian Britain generated the preconditions of a new political order, which would lead to new settings among labour societies and then their rights and liberties.

It is true that the effects of industrial changes left nothing unchanged, but they were so serious on unskilled workers, who had neither the organization to protect their crafts nor the finances to safeguard their livelihood. This fact calls to inquiries about what section of workers did benefit from the earlier legal and professional privileges. In this context, both unskilled and semi skilled workers had very low wages, several grievances, and above all, unchanging living conditions. On the flip side, craftsmen had enjoyed better living standards, a degree of labour organization and some privileges by the terms of 1870's amendments. They had in some respects achieved an appreciable mode of living, which obviously created a labour bourgeoisie. This class was distinct from the unskilled workers in terms of habits, manners, orientation and even aspirations. "*They were better fed, better clothed, better shod, and even after the building boom of 1890's, a little better housed (***Hinton, 1983, p. 27***)*." Additionally, craftsmen alienated themselves from the unskilled workers causing a serious rift within the working class. This rift made it unclear to address the workers as a class or classes; the fact that means that the reforming waves leading to effective unionism, to further achievements and more developments, was obviously incomplete.

Effective unionism, legal and professional amendments would remain less valuable without healing the rift between the workers themselves. It was a necessary step for the syndicalist power of the workers, and then the project of social welfare, because none of the less paid labourers could recognize such an inferior position in their society. Surprisingly, relations within the workgroup were often friendly, but in many trades such as in shipyards, in engineering industry, in cotton mills, in printing and building, craftsmen denied the encroachments of their helpers (Davis, 2009). This was a strong incentive behind attempts of labour organization among unskilled workers, and it is in socialist groups that these societies found new routes to come together, strengthen their position and revive campaigning of all its forms for better conditions. By and large, industrial challenges, social pressure, and most of all, radical thoughts gave another impulse to many groups and individuals, who were still seeking adequate remedies for economic hardships and social ills. The socialists might help achieve these hopes for they were becoming more than a force to heal the cleavage in the working class. They would revive unionism, bring about further developments, and more importantly, prompt political reforms in favour of the workers' welfare.

The coming of the new socialist societies to existence in 1880's was no more than a further attempt to strengthen the position of the workers. Through a number of activities, these groups aspired to achieve a more settled and respectable way of living. Poverty was still confined to lower classes districts, among seasonal, casual workers and even regular wage earners. Workers together with their families could not maintain a subsistence income during ill-health incidents or work accidents the thing that means a total absence of social support. This left the working population, mainly the unskilled labourers, liable to a rash of problems. In sweated workshops, workers could not even pay their utility bills; they often depended upon friends or employers to get help, credit and very rare

jobs if known locally (Hinton, 1983). True that these social challenges and limits on different liberties, mainly representation in parliament, widened the gap between skilled and unskilled workers, but they also stressed the need for combination. These workers might retain their self respect only if they came together with those in the same situation as themselves. In other words, nothing could tide them over, for the moment, except embracing the socialist appeals, which provided alternatives to construct an arena of comfort and support of all its forms. These communities would forge a revolutionary alliance with the poor giving birth to a new wing of socialism in England willing to claim labour rights via politics.

1.2. Socialism and the Working Class Movement after 1880:

The emergence of the socialist mindset was neither unprecedented nor foreign in the sense that it was mutually associated with the challenges of mid Victorian Britain, particularly the miseries of the working class. True that the English socialist groups shared certain visions with continental movements, but they were much concerned with England's current questions. These communities sought ways to lessen unemployment and abolish poverty rather than oppose Capitalism. In fact, these ideals developed out of the accounts of cooperative societies of Robert Owen and the political schemes of the Chartists. They all denounced political repression and industrial strain. Thereby, the coalition between the workers and the socialists was never meant to indoctrinate the working class movement, but a further campaign to regenerate unionism or initiate a new wave of reform. These groups were less malleable, determined and above all outstanding in the sense that they managed to drive the interest of the ablest leaders of the working class. Thus, the coalition between socialism and unionism, mainly unskilled workers, had to some extent the same schemes and objectives: fighting the social and industrial evils of the day.

Tired of the social and industrial differences within the working class, some workers, in unskilled trades, pinned new hopes of reform in socialism. Soon, a lot of workers in these trades approved the arguments of Marxism [13] for they were seeking what would consolidate their cause and thus claim their labour privileges and rights as their fellow workers in skilled trades. They continued to resent the inadequacy of legal arrangements and the injustices of capitalist mechanisms via campaigning up and down the country. This alliance between the socialists and the workers aspired to develop special practices and means to remedy what had gone wrong against the workers' industrial and social aspirations, and even religious values (Stewart, 1955). They sought broad social changes, as far as economic means were concerned, to determine their position in the country's political structure. In fact, and in few years, this new way of thinking, which was again English in both conception and origin, could find its route to hundreds of labour societies, especially after the approval of religious circles. In brief, with the coming of the socialists to the scene, labour movement would re-emerge yet in a different and more organized way. This time socialist circles might transform the whole society rather than the living conditions of the workers.

Though they emerged from earlier failures, the socialist circles did effect deep changes in favour of the workers' rights and liberties. They could lead pressure of another type against the evils of capitalism. They did so for they were able to develop in their own way; they were independent and notably different from continental ties in terms of doctrines and practices. It is true that a lot of these groups, the socialists, used Marx's arguments part of their propaganda, but this did never mean that English Socialism accepted Marxist terms as they were.

[13] The political and economic theories of the German political philosopher and economists Karl Marx (1818–83) and Friedrich Engels (1820–95), later developed by their followers to form the basis for the theory and practice of communism. Central to Marxist theory is an explanation of social change in terms of economic factors, according to which the means of production provide the economic base which influences or determines the political and ideological superstructure ("Marxism", n.d.).

More exactly, the opponents of "class struggle"[14] and the "theory of value" were neither the Conservatives nor the Liberals, but the Socialists. These gatherings managed to tailor their ideas and schemes according to the circumstances they were living. They had plans to reform housing, education, working conditions and all that had gone wrong in the 1860's and 1870's. They were of a unique type for they came up with new strategies in appealing for additional adherents; they did not exclude workers from other trades for they began to address workers as one social commonwealth. Unlike older unions and associations, these societies were committed to industrial and political activities. In this way, "*English socialism was evolutionary in its character, reformist in its intentions and parliamentarian in its tactics* (Stewart, 1955, p. 48)." This movement could revive unionism for it successfully developed a state of mind among the workers, in particular. "*Its ranks were never limited to an elite group, but open to churchmen as well as agnostic, to the bourgeois intellectual as well as the worker, to the professional man as well as the trade unionist* (Stewart, 1955, p.48). All in all, this appeal, ushered in fresh attempts, new schemes and different strategies, would not only assemble workers from all trades and skills, but also help extend their movement to political protests to claim what had been missing in 1870's.

1.3. Labour Organization under the Socialist Umbrella

Despite their differences in thoughts and strategies, the socialist societies had an incredible impact on labour societies. They did collectively mount a strong response from labour societies, especially less skilled groups. These were more willing to respond to new unionism for they were still anxious about their social position and labour rights. Particularly in export trades, workers were in need for organization to complain of the current systems, which might throw them onto

[14] In Marxist ideology, class struggle or class warfare refers to the conflict of interests between the workers and the ruling class in a capitalist society, regarded as inevitably violent. (Abercrombie, 2006, p. 63).

the streets. In 1886, and under the assistance of a Fabian socialist, a national federation of labour came to existence in Tyneside. This attempt was the first of its kind in the sense that this federation allowed workers from all trades to be part of it making no difference between skills or trades. This fact was unprecedented in unionism. In Tyneside too, again under the socialists' support, another union among seamen was founded in order to address the workers' grievances in shipping industry regardless their skills. The Fabians' arguments were so appealing that more workers from different trades decided to come together. Some unions could claim a membership of more than 60.000 workers in few years. This accurately reflects the power of socialists and the revival of new unionism in less skilled societies. (**See table 2**)

Table 2:

Trade Union Membership in Britain, 1888 and 1892.

	1888		1892	
	Union membership	Union density (%)	Union membership	Union density (%)
Metals, engineering and shipbuilding	190,000	19·5	310,200	31·9
Mining and quarrying	150,000	24·2	326,700	52·6
Textiles	120,000	10·5	203,100	17·7
Great Britain	750,000	6·2	1,576,000	13·0

Price, R. (1980). *Profiles of Union Growth.* Basil Blackwell

The socialists' circles continued to appeal to more workers from other trades apart from those in shipyards. They could both orient and organize them to place pressure on their employers for better conditions. In London, for instance, the bad working conditions in Bryant and May match company forced women to lead a small but a successful strike in 1888. Again, the support of the socialists, namely Mrs Besant [15], was so vital that women could found their route to labour organization: the foundation of their own union. The socialists could direct campaigns and mobilize crowds for broad adjectives in association with the workers' concerns in different trades. It is true that this revival of unionism during this period was rendered to the workers' industrial disputes and social grievances, which remained unresolved, but it was mostly due to the determination or rather the broad aspirations socialists, groups and radicals, wanted to realize in favour of their societies. A lot of these socialists were campaigning for new mechanisms to develop communities, new roles for the unions and policies to achieve additional rights other than decent wages and acceptable working hours. All in all, the socialists' appeal was so broad that it in few years gained more and more recruits from all trades and skills.

Outside the metropolitan area, many labour societies found their way to unionism after the socialist appeal. A lot of workers set their hearts and minds on socialist ideals hoping to organize themselves properly. In Birmingham, this time, and as a member of the Social Democratic Federation, Will Thorne, a gas-worker, received a great assistance from Eleanor Marx, daughter of Karl Marx. He could form a union among his fellow workers, and in four months, the union claimed 20,000 members. This number was sufficient enough to lead pressure on gas

[15] Besant Annie (1847-1933), married and left a clergyman; joined the Secular Society in 1873; and the Fabians in 1874. In 1888, she organized the matchmaker's strike and formed their union. She then became interested in Theosophy and from 1895 tried to reconcile it with Hinduism, founding a Hindu College in 1899 besides other Hindu institutions. She launched the Indian Home Rule League in 1916 and was even President of the Congress in 1918. By this time, Congress was launched on its campaigns; she protested against the violence and, as an Englishwoman, lost her influence. She remained actively concerned with Theosophy until she died (Baker,2001, p.137).

companies in an effort to change the shift system in the gasworks industry. Actually, the workers, through this union, made a cut in the working hours from twelve to eight hours per day (Pelling, 1976). The success of the gas-workers fuelled the need for unionism among other workers in less skilled trades. It again brought the miserable working conditions to the fore. The dock workers shared a lot with gas-workers in terms of tasks and workplaces. Both workers were daily involved in dangerous activities such as unloading cargoes, carrying coal and other related tasks in warehousing. They were less paid, and even for this wage, it was only very few who could maintain a permanent position. These circumstances coupled with the support of socialists instigated a sense of unity among workers in other trades where wages and working hours were still demonstrably unfavourable.

The success of gas workers whetted the workers' appetite for labour organization. Eventually, dock workers evoked their demands and organized themselves again to ask for favourable wages and reasonable working hours. They decided to go on strike together with the other workers in the same trade hoping to meet their objectives as their fellows in other trades. The stevedores, lightermen, coal porters and many others in the trade, all joined the strike willing to claim amendments. Few days later, a combined committee was established to conduct the strike from the headquarters and gather support for the dock labourers' cause. Yet these rallies were not always successful. The importation of blackleg labour and the shortage of funds made the situation look bleak until the unexpected flow of contributions from Australia.[16] This grant was so crucial for the strikers that it renewed confidence in leading pressure to achieve the desired goals. In fact, and after five weeks, the dock directors made concessions and offered a reasonable increase in wages. Again, these concessions reveal how

[16] In Australia, labour was already better organized than in England, and where fraternal feeling for their fellows in Britain was extremely strong.

effective the new unions have become in term of labour organization. The workers became in some respects able to determine the outcomes of their industrial protests. It was therefore a new phase of labour organization among less skilled labour societies. Luckily, a dock labourers' union was formed after the end of the strike, and in two years, it could claim a total of 30.000 members (The Great Dock Strike).

The foundation of the new unions could not be limited to the metropolitan area, but it extended to other parts apart from England, exactly to Wales and Scotland. The victory of gas workers and dock labourers induced other labour communities to organize themselves, sometimes in the same trade. In this vein, it is true that the dock labourers claimed support in many ports, but they had to compete with other rival bodies, which developed in Glasgow and in the Thames basin, namely the National Union of the Dock Labourers and the Labour Protection League respectively. Other interests in unionism found its path in trades such as transport and agriculture. Arch's Union and the Eastern Counties Labour Federation were formed to cater for agricultural labourers. What is important for the workers' movement, in general, is that new unionism grew significantly between 1880 and 1890, almost in all trades and regions the workers could claim a number of concessions, at least, the readiness of both governors and employers to tolerate picketing. This is enough to note the remarkable developments the working class was going through in terms of both machinery organization and power after the prevalence of socialism. By and large, the need for unionism and further reforms, the new values and the special assistance of socialist societies, all coalesced together to initiate a new phase of labour organization, totally different from that of the mid nineteenth century.

1.4. The Explosion of Unions up to 1891

Socialism, through several circles, could not only point out the value of social and political campaigns, but it also went deeper with transformations. It evoked the necessity to unite workers, redefine the role of unions, and important of all, restructure powerful labour groups able to address social and political concerns. These changes in approaches and strategies made late nineteenth century unions appealing and somehow revolutionary compared to older unions. In fact, they had a number of features in common marking them off from older unions. Particularly among less skilled societies, the new unions adopted low entrance fees and made no distinction between the workers' functions or skills. *The "new" unions were much less exclusive than the old ones. Typically, they charged low contributions. They could not offer benefits but sought to attract members by aggressive tactics designed to win gains from employers* (Carter & Mears, 2011, p. 22). This novel feature was in favour of unionism, more exactly affiliation. A lot of unions could recruit a large number of workers the fact that did considerably determine the fate of strikes or stoppages in the ensuing years. In the long run, the large number of recruits could distinguish older unions from the new unions, but differences were not only in membership. In fact, the assistance of socialists helped the workers, groups and individuals, set on new actions to claim new privileges.

Additional differences between old and new unions were the tactics used by labour societies to protect their interests and thus crafts. Actually, they depended upon aggressive strikes to win concessions from their employers, especially in periods of good trade. In their early days, both gas workers and dock labourers benefited from increases in wages and decreases in the working hours after mass strikes. Again, thanks to the Fabian Society, the Socialist League and the Social Democratic Federation that several industrial disputes ended successful. The socialists were becoming the voice of the workers' cause against the violation of their rights, the employers' hostility and the resort to blacklegs in

strike days. Under their direction, new unions could claim certain privileges; they could lead marches and deputations to boards of guardians, overseers and commissions to increase pressure on employers. Strategies like these did not only strengthen labour societies but redefine what best means can help achieve rights and liberties.

Another prime feature of the new unions was the type of men leading pressure to claim further amendments or restore older rights. The leaders of the new unions were often young but experienced enough. Their previous accounts made of them professional organizers, public orators and aggressive agitators able to orient mobs. They devoted their energies to campaigns, meetings and all that would help place pressure. They were determined to reduce unemployment, abolish poverty, and more importantly, position themselves politically at least via finding reliable alliances or lobbies. In brief, the characteristics above marked off old unions from new labour groups. More than that, these features helped the new unions, through their charismatic leaders, generate some sort of syndicalist strength, which would not only revolutionize unionism, but also bring the workers to places of power, as it is stated in the following lines.

> By the early 1890's, therefore, the 'new unionism' was already developing in the direction of the type of unionism that already existed. Its 'general' aims, if retained, seemed remote and impracticable. Yet its leaders were still very different men from the leaders of the old unions. For one thing, they were often a whole generation younger, and their youth as well as their success in their early struggles made them militant and aggressive. Furthermore, they had been strongly influenced by the Socialists, who had assisted their organizing work in its early stages and given them help with publicity and other matters. (Pelling, 1976, p. 99)

Apart from these major developments in unionism, the importance of socialism lies in the revival of the political protest if not in all that might increase political privileges like representation in parliament. It became more than a desire to get over industrial challenges for it additionally pinpointed political reform rather than mere solutions for social and industrial restraints. After they had won a large number of converts to their circles and sympathisers for their proposals, the socialist groups turned into an organized movement willing to empower the workers politically. In streets and public places, which remained the chief arena for socialist activities for many years, the socialists could not only address the inadequacy of social reforms but heighten the workers' discontent, boost their sense of solidarity, and most of all, lessen their trust in the current policies in order to win their support for a new political organization (Stewart, 1955). In the end, they instigated the first campaigns to claim the workers' rights to manage their own concerns; they set the stage for the foundation of the workers' political force without which the workers might not achieve what they had aspired for.

Despite the considerable accomplishments the workers could so far achieve, the success of some unions was still partial. It was still hard to maintain the stability of these new unions. In other words, and for a while, they could savour the new opportunities of employment, legal reforms in some trades and most of all the tolerance of both governors and employers to strikes and picketing. Actually, these were developments in unions' favour. Surprisingly, these privileges were to dissipate in 1892 when employers succeeded in turning sympathy for new unions into hostility. More exactly, employers were getting tired of the methods and terms of the "closed shop"[17], which forced them to recruit or hire union members only. This did unexpectedly shake the stability of unions. Shortly thereafter, most of the new unions began to lose their affiliates

[17] An arrangement whereby an employer agrees to hire, and retain in employment, only persons who are members in good standing of the trade union. Such an agreement is arranged according to the terms of a labour contract (Adam, A & Patricia, B, 2016).

due to the mounting hostility of employers. After they had claimed 320.000 members, the largest unions could maintain 130.000 members in 1892 and only 80.000 by the end of 1896 (Hinton, 1983). These descending figures meant that the existence of the unions or rather their bargaining power was again at stake. Added to the falling figures, major defeats in strikes, particularly in the waterfront trades, were enough to turn against new unionism. Local authorities on their part, particularly riot police, could no longer remain neutral. According to Carter (2011), the successes before 1891 proved a false dawn. Under these circumstances, few unions could survive. They could not bear the introduction of blacklegs, the victimization of the unionists, and above all, the sudden increase of unemployment again. All signs indicated that new unionism began to ebb away despite the privileges unionists and socialists had previously won. It could be said that the employers' counter-attack was so strong that it deeply disrupt unionism in some trades. It again unleashed acts of violence, rioting and intimidation after a relative period of stability. Yet, these sudden changes were only another ground to persist on rallying but this time via political means to protect the achievements of trade unionism (Carter & Mears, 2011).

2- Towards Effective and Powerful Labour Organization

Though it abated in early 1890's, the outburst of unionism between 1880 and 1890 was necessary for the future of the working population cause. It was an additional impulse for socialists to sharpen their skills in strike leadership and unionism activity instead of conducting propagandist work, and of course, another chance for the workers to consolidate their unity. Yet, not all socialist organizations had opted for this change in ideals and practices in the sense that some of the existing associations, namely the Social Democratic Federation, were still unable to assimilate these transformations. These associations adopted inflexible views, which did again widen the rift within the working population,

and thus delayed the workers' unity. For Marxist socialists "*Strikes could do nothing to develop the working class standards above the subsistence basis*" (Hinton, 2011, p. 52). Basically, this was against trade unionists' struggle or the outcomes of the industrial conflict, which the SDF had once declared as a waste of energy. In fact, this was somehow extreme that it did again debilitate socialism in Britain. On the flip side, independent socialists held on trade unionism activity as an important means to achieve social and political privileges in favour of the working class population. This divorce between the socialists themselves left a profound effect on trade unionism after 1891, but it eventually led to revolutionary changes not only in terms of labour privileges but schemes to gain a political foothold.

To a certain degree, the explosion of trade unions between 1889 and 1891 resulted mainly from strikes and public agitations, but it equally came out of the independent socialists' campaigns, which pinpointed political actions as the basis of settling the workers' quarrels. The independent socialists could challenge their rivals or rather their comrades with their ability to lead pressure, appeal to many labour groups, forge alliances and get involved in more organizing activities instead of propagandist work. Eventually, this could sort out the old-style radicals from the new socialists. Responses to the calls of the founding Congress, to demonstrations and to campaigns for the statutory of Eight Hours Day were all further efforts on the part of independent socialists to strengthen the position of the working class, unite labour societies and then work for broad endings, particularly labour representation in parliament. Against all forms of divisions or sectarianism, some independent socialists did actively campaign for the promotion of labour politics the fact that indicates the revolutionary changes labour movement was experiencing. It was time to declare the next step to end pressure on workers and set up their own band.

> It is now an immediate question of organizing an English labour party with an independent class programme. If it is successful, it will relegate to a back seat both the SDF and SL, and that would be the most satisfactory end to the present squabbles (Thompson, 1963, p. 528).

Indubitably, political organization as such was still in its early phases or rather an aspiration towards broad goals, but this change in the outlook of unionists' and socialists' rallies became the bedrock of labour improvements. This development would turn the working class cause around. It is true that the workers, via some political parties, could win certain privileges as election to school and Poor Laws boards, and some local government bodies, but these privileges were at municipal levels. They were in need for new ways and means to help voice their interests and introduce changes at national levels. In addition to this, changes in the structure of the current political parties was another incentive behind the beginning of the workers' political organization; it impelled them to think of new routes to gain footholds in parliament for they realized that they were politically and even socially still excluded. "*The Liberal Party was in the hands of professional men and non-conformist ministers, who would rarely adopt working men as candidates* (Pelling, 1978, p.3)." In brief, what both unionists and socialists were embarking on was a new bold action to fuse industrial protest with independent political campaigning as the basis of the workers' movement to win over additional rights. They needed their own independent association that would handle their concerns away from the current political bands.

2.1. The Beginning of Independent Labour Politics

So far, the workers' experiences in several trades and regions brought a number of industrial privileges and legal developments that old unions or labour societies had seen far-reaching. Yet, such a reforming wave seemed in need for a further action to correct the defects the working population had gone through before 1890's. More than that, union leaders were becoming anxious if not frustrated with the ideals and institutions of the Liberal Party, whose leaders had often placed their allies, namely the working class, on a secondary priority. It is true that reliance upon the Liberals had been a practical means to achieve what the workers had wanted, but with the changes in unionism and the growing disillusionment among the Liberals, it became apparent that setting on separate political activities, more exactly forming the workers' own political organization, would help forget earlier failures and prompt the desired changes. It is true that the presence of the Lib-Labs in the Commons was meant to sustain the Liberals' ideals and administration, but even so, they were aware enough of addressing their labour questions and promoting their right to alienate themselves from the Liberal Party on labour concerns (Gordon, 1992). In this vein, labour politics became the chief concern of many working class leaders; it became the next alternative to protect the workers' interests and work on achieving other privileges, namely increasing labour representation, realizing social justice, and claiming additional labour rights. In fact, political campaigning had already appealed to union leaders in regions where socialist propaganda had been active, but this time, the workers' political activity would come in other forms, mainly independent. [18]

[18] In Northumberland, for instance, hundreds of miners and socialists came together to support socialist candidates. Their federation, later known as **North of England Socialist Federation**, was formed to instigate political campaigns on the behalf of the miners. In Bolton too, another area in North England, there were arduous efforts to establish a movement for independent labour politics.

The first of these forms was the foundation of the Independent Labour Party (ILP): a new socialist party willing to win over trade unions, even where some trade unionists had already departed socialists' circles. This arrangement or rather this strategy of "labour alliance" was meant to back up candidates at parliamentary and local elections, more exactly, an attempt towards the working class own independent political party (Gordon, 1992). Via this new political framework, the leaders of the working men did not only aspire to defend the interests of their class but also set themselves away from Liberal and Conservative parties. Thus, these alliances marked the beginning of a different working class grouping, which might help consolidate the voice of the working men at parliament. In fact, and during its early days, the ILP could not win larger converts to its circles, but it is worth noting that this party was much better than the SDF, for instance. Its active leaders, and via several ways, could gather acceptable levels of electoral support. They were able to win 28 seats and average vote of 1.500 in the election of 1895, but their success was still insignificant (Gordon, 1992). In brief, it is true that the new party, ILP, could gain some hold among the workers' circles, but its efficiency was once more called to inquiries. Few years later, it became clear that the campaign for a labour alliance needed more than recruits among unions.

The progress of the ILP was basically associated with the support of unions from different trades, but it was equally connected to its leaders' ideals and objectives, which were unfortunately becoming a source of cleavage. Some trade unionists were against the idea of reforming societies and socialist aspirations; they were much more into labour questions as the eight hour day, social relief and the issue of taxation (Carter & Mears, 2011). More than that, trade unionists had their own reasons for departing socialist organizations, and the ILP particularly. As expressed earlier, the rising number of recruits and the new strategies adopted by the new unions in appealing to both skilled and unskilled workers empowered

the position of trade unionists. In other words, more unions were becoming so powerful that some unionists started to entertain parliamentary representation and political career away from socialism.[19] Another reason was the fact that the number of labour privileges and legal developments new unionism had secured were adequate to mind that the working class, radicals and individuals, seemed aware enough of their independent labour view.

Few years later, and apart from some minor achievements, the ILP did not seem successful enough. It could not form a coherent political force but a mere labour alliance in the sense that it committed itself to the collective ownership of all means of production, transforming the society and other pure socialist objectives rather than labour questions. In one of his editorials in the Labour Leader, Hardie said, "*the ILP is a socialist, and not, as its title might seem to apply, a purely working class organization. It aims at the creation of a Co-operative Commonwealth founded upon the socialization of land and capital.*"(Stewart, 1955, p. 68) This was dispiriting for non-socialist unionists who were genuinely concerned with increasing labour representation in local boards, town councils and other organs of government to protect their privileges, especially after courts began to prohibit certain forms of stoppages. This reverse against unionism was an indication that labour legislation was still in need for revision. These could only be obtained via additional MPs at Westminster (Gordon, 1992). All in all, the conflicting attitudes between the socialists and unionists as well as the exclusion of Liberals, in some instances, could only delay the political independence of the workers. Plagued with several difficulties, particularly the decline of its members, the ILP seemed unable to keep going, but this did never mean that the workers' political future looked bleak. Developments in unionism could again revive the necessity to found a political labour gathering that would defend the interests of the working class.

[19] Taken as a whole, the union movement organized about three quarters of a million workers in 1888, but doubled in size in 1892, and reached a strength of over two million by 1900 (Gordon, 1992, p.7).

The road to political independence was notably tough and too demanding for the unionists. Differences in ideals and practices could only debilitate the hope of forging a powerful labour alliance, yet the workers, together with their leaders, would push harder despite the challenges of the day. Old methods of co-operation with the Liberals became no longer effective, especially after the Liberals' defeat in the election of 1895. Most of the working class leaders were becoming less sympathetic towards the Liberals' cause. In another part, it became evident that increasing representation and serving union interests through the ILP would not yield marked results. Accordingly, and in 1899, the unionists set on another campaign for political independence. All socialist groups, namely the ILP, the SDF and the Fabian Society, finally agreed to summon a conference to find ways to increase the number of MPs in parliament. In February 1900, and after a debate, 129 delegates opted for the establishment of "*a distinct labour group, which shall have their own whips, and agree upon their policy, which must embrace a readiness to cooperate with any party which for the time being may be engaged in promoting legislation in the direct interests of labour*" (Kirk, 1998, p. 291). This small gathering of socialists, later known as the Labour Representation Committee, would eventually become more than an attempt towards political independence. In the next few years, this political node would become the leading party in Britain, and more importantly, the chief means for political and social reforms in the twentieth century.

Compared to the ILP, the creation of the LRC was a major milestone in the history of labour politics in Britain for it at least assembled socialists, unionists and cooperative societies in one distinct party. The LRC devoted its efforts to ignore all that might cause division, particularly sectarian trends, and focus on what would serve the workers' own interests. In addition to the fact that it had appealed to all unions, both new and old, this organization proved successful in its response to financial constraints and critical incidents, namely the Taff Vale

Railway decision. This dispute was a serious challenge that did practically ensure the progress of the LRC, as a united labour association, in terms of affiliations, at first, and then political power. Through its militant groups, the LRC campaigned both inside and outside parliament with unparalleled energy against the legal reaction of the Lords. The latter convicted the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants to pay £23,000 for the damages caused to the company's business (Carter & Mears, 2011). Actually, this challenge, more exactly going against this judgement, was what brought the LRC to prominence. In less than one year, the LRC became the pen and the voice in favour of the railway servants.

For the LRC, as well as for many unions, the Taff Vale Railway decision was an attempt to penalize workers, if not put unionism down again. They regarded the court's ruling as a potential threat to the rights and privileges they had already won. In other words, this legal decision meant that even a successful strike would not work out as employers might turn to courts to suppress any action. Thus, and as far as the workers' struggle for better conditions and privileges, it became clear that unions would not be able to counter the employers' forces unless they gave political voices to their struggle, and this time, via the LRC (Pickett, 2014). The latter, through its leaders and militants, took on the burden of defending the rights of the servants the fact that led to a marked increase in membership. In numbers, affiliations to the LRC rose to 450.000 in 1902, and to 850.000 in 1903 (Wright & Carter, 1997). Undoubtedly, this increase in members would determine the outcomes of the workers' movement in the next few years. In this vein, sufficient funding did considerably help the leaders of the LRC strengthen their position in negotiations, in supporting their MPs financially and more importantly in setting themselves free from the Liberals and the Conservatives. In what follows, Hinton stated that these changes were of a great value for the success of the LRC, which after few years emerged as an independent and strong labour gathering:

> Encouraged by increased trade unions affiliations, the LRC toughened up its claims to independence, establishing a Parliamentary Fund which would give the executive materials as well as moral power over the candidates it endorsed. Bye-elections victories during 1902- 03, which increased the labour group in Parliament from two to five, proved the LRC was a force to be reckoned with (Hinton, 1983, p. 73).

In brief, the political and financial records the LRC had had in less than three years did clearly speak for the future of this labour grouping in the changes it would bring to the working class, in general. The achievements of this gathering were not only limited to the political independence and the financial strength, but also to the fact that the LRC managed to grab public attention and some parties' interest, particularly the Liberals, who showed no reluctance in coming in some terms with this emerging labour gathering.

2.2. The Liberal Pact and the Workers' Political Future

With the success of the LRC, as a labour gathering, the future of labour interests would considerably change. The working men, through their political voices in the Commons, would not only prevent employers from violating their labour rights and privileges, but also set on political campaigns to amend laws, if not take part in the making and shaping of new ones. Up to 1903, labour societies, both socialists and unionists, could put aside their ideological differences, win over a number of challenges like the Taff Vale decision and more specifically achieve their political and financial independence. Yet, these developments were still inadequate to win more seats in the Commons due to the newness of the LRC itself to electoral campaigns. Accordingly, the leaders of the LRC, namely Ramsay

MacDonald,[20] began to boost their electoral prospects often through secret negotiations with other parties. This reflects that the working class, via their committee, became part of the political calculations of the day, and that the Liberals or Conservatives were in need for the workers' support for better results in the next election.

The LRC's earlier achievements added to its funding capacities convinced its political rivals of the importance of future co-operation. The latter meant coalitions, support and agreements on the number of candidates to put up in different constituencies in contest to the opposing parties. In 1903, the Liberals declared their readiness to work with the LRC but under some terms. They could conclude an agreement allowing few LRC MPs in areas where the Liberal candidates might win seats. Undoubtedly, this would not let the Tories in, and more importantly, avoid labour Liberal contests. In fact, this was a strategy that would help the Liberals win the next election by a landslide. Both sides had their own reasons for drawing up this pact. For the Liberals, this concession meant that they were confident enough that the LRC MPs would act in the Liberals' favour at the House of Commons (Hinton, 1983). More than that, the pact was indeed a means to regain labour votes if not overthrow the Tories. Another reason was the fact the LRC was financially able to support its candidates, and thus exempting the Liberals from the cost of running working class candidates would help them save their funds. Additionally, the Liberals felt complacent with the ideology of the LRC whose leaders and affiliates were mostly unionists and non-socialists

[20] Ramsay MacDonald was the first Labour Party prime minister of Great Britain, in the Labour governments of 1924 and 1929–31. MacDonald ended his elementary education at the age of 12 but continued at school for another six years, working as a pupil-teacher. In 1885 he went to work in Bristol, where the activities of the Social Democratic Federation acquainted him with left-wing ideas. Travelling to London the following year, he joined the Fabian Society, was employed in menial office jobs, and worked for a science degree in his spare time until his health broke down. In 1894 he joined the newly founded Independent Labour Party, and the next year he was defeated as a candidate of that party for the House of Commons. In 1900 he became the first secretary of the Labour Representation Committee (LRC), the true predecessor of the Labour Party. In 1906 he was one of 29 LRC members to win election to the Commons (Augustyn, 2018).

adopting almost the same ideals as the Liberals. In other words, the Liberals had no doubt about a pact that would let powerful allies in for common benefits (Carter & Mears, 2011). At the same time, the pact was valuable for the LRC in the sense it brought significant results for the political future of the working population.

Just as the Liberals had their reasons for the electoral pact, the LRC leaders pinned new hopes after they had asserted both political and financial independence, and that any electoral agreement would help guarantee the presence of labour candidates in the House of Commons. They regarded this electoral pact as a forward step to help prompt changes or claim new privileges, mainly trade unions rights. Indeed, the results of the election were remarkably promising for both although it meant a lot for the LRC. The latter won 29 seats of 50 candidates including MacDonald himself and Philip Snowden. In several constituencies, mainly where trade unionism was strong, the LRC won three in five of the votes unlike the Liberals who received one in three (Gordon, 1992). The LRC proved successful as it could drive support away from the parties of the day. In fact, this was an achievement speaking for the efficiency of the pact, which was really a turning point in the workers' struggle for better representation in parliament. From 1906 onwards, the new labour grouping would not only support the Liberals, but elect their chair, officers and even whips who would organize their contribution to parliamentary activities. The LRC MPs would go further with their schemes when they decided to transform the committee into a party, which would exert some influence in favour of labour concerns.

3- *From a Committee to a Pressure Group*

Of all the workers' responses for industrial strain and political oppression, and after decades of protest, the LRC's campaign seemed effective, orchestrated, and mainly revolutionary. The pact this labour gathering could conclude, the number of affiliates it could attract, the political strength the leaders of this organization could forge and many other significant developments, all professed that this labour committee would soon develop into a coherent party. For the first time, the workers could have a reasonable number of MPs, who would assert their political equality and further their rallies for pure labour interests despite the fact that they were dependent to the Liberals. Following the election of 1906, and in a national conference, the name of the committee changed to the "**Labour Party**" transforming it into a political party. The workers could therefore instigate their political organization giving additional energies to political and union activities, but this did never mean that their grievances or rather demands were finally resolved, and that both political and industrial protest came to an ending. Labour MPs were still concerned with the Taff Vale decision, some trade unions disputes and other national issues, which matter their fellow MPs: the Liberals. In brief, what was seen as the success of the LRC was in fact the beginning of a new challenge to consolidate the party and mainly to maintain its existence.

Like any organization in its early days, the leaders had to draw the party's guidelines. They had to set its objectives, identify its means and adjust its schemes for better performance, but differences in ideals again caused a number of difficulties. As a party for the working class, it was necessary to prioritize the workers' concerns as the restoration of legal protection of the unions after the Taff Vale decision, increasing the bargaining power, the improvement of working conditions and the organization of labour market. It was of a great urgency for the unionists to advance any resolution in the workers' favour. These interests determined the ideological position of the party, but this non-socialist leadership

was sometimes contested since there were other calls for resolutions, which were purely socialist. In fact, most of the party's MPs would have called themselves socialists, who were willing to give more attention to radical endings (Gordon, 1992). In all instances, the beginnings of the Labour Party were punctuated with some vicissitudes, but it does not mean that these challenges would put down Labour schemes, or that its existence and unity were at stake. On the contrary, the party proved able to overcome these difficulties, mainly the leaders' differences in attitudes, and hold on pressure to achieve their broad objective: the workers' welfare.

3.1. The Labour Party in its Early Years, 1906-14

The work for welfare did not cease at the foundation of the Labour Party in 1906, but it continued throughout the next decades. In fact, it was necessary for the workers to show their political and administrative talents, and therefore explore the limits of their political independence. Actually, the workers' achievements were put through a hard test making their party's early years somehow tough. They soon realized that it is challenging to fulfil the social and political expectations they had created among their supporters, and that their objectives were found to be divisive between socialists and trade unionists. As mentioned previously, the workers desired to carry out their own causes and policies; they wanted to sustain their party's development in terms of affiliations and organization. Yet, these labour schemes would not be achieved unless taken by the Liberal government. In practice, they remained subject to the electoral pact, which required Labour MPs to go in accordance with the Liberals' policies (Pelling, 1978). Thus, one of the first challenges the workers did experience was their dependency upon the Liberals. This often made labour causes difficult to champion. In other words, despite the political achievements, labour parliamentary situation did not seem on their side for whatever they could do, it would seem dependent to the Liberals.

Almost the same was for the prospects of developing this new party. The workers did frequently go through radical conflicts, which could only delay the party's expansion. In some instances, the workers did not dare to contest the Liberals or hold some influential positions so as not to irritate their radical counterparts. It was thus hard to advance labour interests due to the absence of cohesion in the party itself. In this vein, Pelling (1978) stated that *the Labour Party, in its first eight years, was in any case a federation of independent organizations, and it was natural that differences existing among the bodies sponsoring the MPs, and particularly those between the Socialist societies and the trade unions, should appear in the parliamentary scene* (p.20). These radical differences did seriously weaken discipline inside the party; it even led to bitter disagreements about labour concerns, namely women' suffrage in 1907. Thus, and in addition to the overwhelming parliamentary situation of labour MPs, achieving political cohesion was another serious challenge that delayed the party's organizational progress on the one hand, and lessened the power of labour MPs, as a political pressure group inside parliament, on the other hand.

Apart from the lack of political cohesion, the Labour Party could not easily manage its fortunes, precisely during the first eight years. Most of its adherents lacked both administrative and parliamentary talents, except for its prominent figures, who were largely self-educated, earnest and above all, designed to lead as Keir Hardie and Ramsey Macdonald. On the whole, the labour MPs had not previously benefited from any professional training or administrative experience, which might have built up their reputation among their peers in the political circles. The outcomes were somehow disappointing. The new party could neither produce satisfactory reforms, nor influence resolutions in the workers' favour. With its changing chairmanship, the party could not enforce firm discipline or set its political business to order, chiefly in party conferences. These were generally punctuated with conflicting attitudes and suspicion (Pelling, 1978). Thus, it would

have been in the workers' favour if they had set their policies away from the Liberals, and then created their own political identity on a basis of utter political independence. Nevertheless, these deficiencies in talents, professional experience and other challenges were not so apparent that it made of the workers' successes relative or limited. The Labour MPs, though lacking several skills, could secure some legal amendments in their advantage.

Between 1906 and 1908, and despite the challenges above, the Labour MPs did to some extent fulfil some of their constituents' expectations. They demanded full protection of the unions from government actions and campaigned for public schemes to bring down unemployment and poverty. Indeed, they could advance labour causes further when they asked for the "right to work" and remedies for welfare laws, particularly the working conditions. In their campaign to reverse the Taff Vale decision, Labour MPs fought on their own. They could extract certain concessions of a great value for union activities, namely the Trades Disputes Act, which restored the workers' right to strike. Additional evidence about the party's minor achievements in its early days was its success to increase labour seats in parliament after the by elections of 1907 and 1909. It won one of the largest union organizations, the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, on its side. Together with their allies, they strongly backed up the introduction of some social reforms as old age pensions, minimum wage legislation, state insurance for the sick and unemployed the fact that consolidated labour MPs' parliamentary capacity among their supporters (Gordon, 1992). In short, it is true that Labour MPs were besieged with difficulties, but they could gain certain legal improvements in their favour. Yet, it is not in any case an indication that labour politics were effective. They were often overwhelmed with arguments to which they could make almost no difference, especially when it concerned the Liberals' schemes and policies.

Overwhelmed with the first challenges, Labour was unwillingly pushed on to different sidelines, which would not serve the workers' interests. With the terms of the pact, Labour MPs were required to champion causes and policies that were purely Liberal. Even for labour and welfare concerns, they could not secure considerable achievements, apart from the two little successes of 1906: the Trades Disputes Act and the Provision School Meals Act. Meanwhile, labour MPs found themselves pressing for proposals that would rarely matter their constituents, namely tax reforms. Certainly, the Labour Party gained some ground electorally over the ensuing years of 1906, but it became liable to radical divisions over the merits of the Liberal government. Some socialist elements did not welcome the strategy of the party. Worse still, a damaging legal decision, known as the Osborne Judgement, would additionally create another challenge for the progress of the Labour Party. In 1909, courts declared the party's system of fund-raising to be illegal. The decision prevented unions from using their subscriptions to finance the party, and thus, crippled both the party organization and MPs financially. Again, Labour MPs had no alternative except turning to the Liberals so as to reverse this legal decision. Eventually, the government of the day could respond by introducing the payment of MPs in 1911, and then lifting the ban on unions to release part of their funds to political concerns, in 1913. Yet, Labour MPs were blamed of keeping on the Liberals' side the fact that aroused a bitter controversy over the ideal strategy of the party. According to Gordon (1992), Labour, particularly in the years between 1906 and 1914, was gradually drawn to different political standpoints that often frustrated its radical elements.

> Controversy over party strategy surfaced within a couple of years of the successful 1906 election. It threw up two related issues: the commitment of the party to socialism, and its attitude to the Liberal government. For some elements of the ILP, the failure of the party to adopt socialist policies was made worse by its undue devotion to parliamentary activity. They wished to return to a more propagandist form of politics, directed to making converts to the faith, rather than to returning MPs (Gordon, 1992, p. 18).

Transforming the LRC into a political force was certainly a milestone in the workers' struggle for better conditions, but the achievement was as usual overshadowed by a number of defects. At national levels, and up to the First World War, Labour politics seemed unclear making no significant progress in terms of amendments in the workers' advantage. In other words, the party, which had set its objectives to serve the working class, became increasingly concerned with Free Trade and Home Rule affairs (Pelling, 1978). However, it is unwise at any means to declare that Labour was an organization in decline. Its radical spirits were trying hard to build up the party away from the Liberals' policies, and in different constituencies. By founding a number of representative bodies, they desired to increase their presence in other constituencies apart from London, Glasgow and Liverpool. This would help co-ordinate the activities of the party with its subordinate organizations and provide assistance when necessary. Additionally, such organizational expansion went hand in hand with the growth of affiliates across the country. In this regard, trade union membership was still over 1.5 million unlike the socialist societies membership, which increased considerably in the years after 1910 (**See table 3**). Undoubtedly, with more unions and labour gatherings on its side, the party would be able to maintain its upkeep and thus, strengthen its hold in more constituencies.

Table 3:

Labour Party and Trades Councils Affiliation, 1900- 1922

	Trade Unions.		Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties.		Socialist Societies. Membership.	*Total.
	No.	Membership.	No.	No.		
1900–1	41	353,070	7	3	22,861	375,931
1901–2	65	455,450	21	2	13,861	469,311
1902–3	127	847,315	49	2	13,835	861,150
1903–4	165	956,025	76	2	13,775	969,800
1904–5	158	855,270	73	2	14,730	900,000
1905–6	158	904,496	73	2	16,784	921,280
1906–7	176	975,182	83	2	20,885	998,338
1907	181	1,049,673	92	2	22,267	1,072,413
1908	176	1,127,035	133	2	27,465	1,158,565
1909	172	1,450,648	155	2	30,982	1,486,308
1910	151	1,394,402	148	2	31,377	1,430,539
1911	141	1,501,783	149	2	31,404	1,539,092
1912	130	1,858,178	146	2	31,237	1,895,498
1913	†	†	158	2	33,304	†
1914	101	1,572,391	179	2	33,230	1,612,147
1915	111	2,053,735	177	2	32,838	2,093,365
1916	119	2,170,782	199	3	42,190	2,219,764
1917	123	2,415,383	239	3	47,140	2,465,131
1918–9	131	2,960,409	389	4	52,720	3,013,129
1919	126	3,464,020	418	7	47,270	3,511,290
1920	122	4,317,537	492	5	42,270	4,359,807
1921	116	3,973,558	456	5	36,803	4,010,361
1922	102	3,279,276	482	5	31,760	3,311,036

Walker, M. (2011). *Labour Party Affiliation*. http://ourhistory-hayes.blogspot.com.

In additional ways, the party continued to develop its machinery through recruiting more agents and officers for national co-ordination and assistance. At the very beginning, it had few full-time agents to carry out the party's business in the constituencies, but by 1914, the party was able to extend its network of agents. The influence of the Labour Party could be therefore felt in areas, which were almost untouched in 1906. In Scotland, for instance, the party could secure additional affiliations and more labour gatherings on its side thanks to its active local councils, which could bring its policies and schemes to several corners of the country. The result was the fact that the party was able to provide clearer schemes and alternatives unlike its rivals: the Liberals and the Conservatives. In this vein, Labour could present different reforms in housing, employment and other municipal services. These developments were certainly of a great value for

the welfare project. Most important, at the outbreak of the war, the party seemed in a sound financial situation to sponsor more parliamentary candidates. In other words, the Labour Party was gradually getting into a powerful position allowing it to contest the next election in many constituencies (Pelling, 1978). To a certain degree, the Labour Party managed to appeal to new affiliates and groups, to expand its hold in several parts of Britain, and most of all, provide better alternatives and reforms despite the fact that it was still a third political force compared to the Liberals and Conservatives.

Without any doubt, the consolidation of the Labour Party was a ceaseless business to its agents, radicals and loyal members, who remained determined to amend the social and political future of their fellows. Yet, what the Labour Party could win over up to 1914 was still incomplete for the realization of welfare. Certainly, Labour MPs made certain achievements both social and political. They fought fiercely to restore privileges, forged alliances and concluded promises to reverse most of the legal decisions, but they had not yet met all the requirements to impose their political will. It could be said that the party managed to make itself the party of trade unions whose votes would no longer be drained by its rivals, but it was again in need for a solid support both locally and nationally. Its rising bargaining position and great electoral capacity might not lead to victories in the future elections. In this sense, Gordon (1992) declared that it was more than a pressure group, but less than a mature political party (p.25). In short, there was no guarantee that the Labour Party would be able to replace the existing political forces, and thus, lead the nation's resources according to labour ideals and temperaments. More than that, the sudden changes in the political climate by an external factor, that of war on Europe, would disrupt everything in the continent, particularly British politics.

3.2. The Years of Construction, 1914-21

The years after 1914 were decisive if not influential for the considerable changes they brought to British politics, in general, and the future of the Labour Party, in particular. It was in these years that the Labour Party gained a strong hold establishing itself as a potential party of government. The four years of war were more than a military conflict or an economic change, but a choice of political circles, mainly those who were looking for power and control. In Britain, the parties of the day were both perplexed and anxious about the new order, and thus, spent much of their time trying to assess if not re-adjust their schemes and policies to the new situation (Gordon, 1992). It is therefore important to take the post-war period into consideration for it was only in these years that significant developments loomed large making of the Labour Party, in particular, and of course its schemes, activities and strength, remarkable.

After Britain's involvement into the European dispute, the face of British politics did indeed change, mainly the future of political parties. At the very beginning of the war, Labour's political cohesion was at stake. In fact, the majority of Labour's ranks approved the war unlike some socialist gatherings, including the ILP, which strongly opposed it. This disarray led to a serious division if not a sudden change in leadership and organization.[21] Soon, conflicting attitudes became the chief feature of the parliamentary scene. Yet, it is worth noting that both sides often came together to defend the workers' privileges. They collectively demanded that their welfare should be protected even during the national crisis. The four years of war impelled the workers, from different circles, to press for sufficient government subsidies. Bodies, like the War Emergency Workers' National Committee, were established to provide relief for servicemen's families, the restraint of food prices, rent control and other social services. These were

[21] The party was seriously divided, and its leader, Macdonald, who held to the minority position, resigned in favour of more patriotic trade unionist, Arthur Henderson.

practical measures in the favour of those who had endorsed Britain's choice, but in fact, they were efforts to develop the political prospects of Labour. Thus, the war allowed Labour to develop its prospects, secure some amendments and most of all play a decisive role in the coalition government, namely a seat in the war cabinet. It did paradoxically help the party gain confidence.

At the same time, and as far as the party's financial abilities, the international crisis seemed ideals for the unions. In this context, unions enjoyed better bargaining conditions, which in return helped the party gain additional affiliates. In numbers, party membership reached 3.5 million by 1919 making Labour's political and financial position remarkably sounder. Added to the party's expansion, the extension of the franchise was of great value for Labour's electorate. This franchise, fully described in the Representation Act of 1918, boosted the workers' chances in the ensuing elections. Eventually, it granted the vote to women over 30 years the fact that enlarged the electorate from 7 million, in 1910, to 21 million, in 1918. The point is that most of these voters were within the reach of Labour. In brief, the changes above were an additional step forward in Labour's efforts to develop its political prospects. In other words, it seems that the years of the war were unexpectedly in Labour's advantage as it succeeded to strengthen its position both politically and financially. Developments like these might place it in the front line to contest the Liberals and Conservatives alike.

In many other ways, the years of war were formative for the Labour Party unlike the remaining parties, which were prone to serious setbacks. The Liberals' failures, particularly their government performance over the conduct of the war, assigned them bitter critics if not heavy losses. Asquith's scandals and the mishandling of Irish rebellion caused the Liberal Party a damaging spilt. In this regard, Hinton (1983) stated, "*the war destroyed the Liberals as a governing party and facilitated their replacement by a reconstructed Labour Party committed, on papers at*

least, to revolutionary reforms (p. **97**)." It was in these days that Labour took the initiative to establish itself as a growing party of opposition. Unlike it rivals, Labour seemed in a good position to appeal for additional support at a time the Liberals were losing their members. Again, this heightened Labour's confidence and consolidated its unity. Apart from these opportunities in Labour's favour, the war accustomed the whole nation with an omnipresent state, which began to intervene into all aspects of life. "*It conscripted men and women to serve their country, rationed food and other necessities, fixed rents and wages, ran factories and many other preventive measures* (Gordon, 1992, p. 28)". In the course of the war, workers could still turn to unions, cooperatives, friendly societies and even charities for help. These constitutional procedures indicate that the state could afford protection and some standards of social welfare. State new policies were meant to sustain public morale but at the same time to help perceive politics differently. This in fact provided additional opportunities to, and required adjustments from the labour movement (Hinton, 1983). In this way, the impact of the war was so comprehensive that it transformed the working class attitudes, their party's profile, and thus, future reforms.

Political consequences, particularly the changes in the British political scene, were generally in Labour's favour. Yet, the workers' party had still to build up itself to exploit those advantages. As a potential of government, the party was in need for an overall programme that would help meet the expectations of its supporters and thus stand on the same level, with the same ambitions, as the Liberals and Conservatives (Gordon, 1992). Through this scheme, the party leaders would increase the standing of Labour as a national party. This entails clear policies and enough means, mainly financial, to contest the support of a large electorate. Eventually, and in 1918, Labour instituted its first programme, known as the New Social Order, which was collectivist in nature. In the centre of Labour's policy was the nationalization of industries such as mining and railway

transport, which had already been under the control of the state during the war. Labour was additionally concerned with the public ownership of insurance system, electricity generation and land. In all cases, it hoped to avoid unemployment, the disruption of wages, improper living standards and other dangers that might threaten the workers' labour rights. In the longer term, Labour set up schemes for education and social welfare, in general. The party was really developing its structure and character to go along the changes that the war had brought in.

To sustain its appeal, Labour equipped itself with a constitution that stated its political sidelines and chief objectives. The constitution wholly restructured its executive and all that was part of its machinery. Without any doubt, this would help organize and build up the party better than earlier. In the long run, Labour could stand differently in the years to follow 1918. The new adjustments made no room for divisive attitudes or aggregate votes, but a national party appealing to the electorate rather than to the interests of unions or the schemes of the socialists. Certainly, the party's financial capacities played an additional role in developing Labour's profile in the sense that subscriptions provided extensive means to assist local bodies and councils, and thus maintain its hold. These changes in Labour's organization, namely its political programme and new constitution, were meant to accommodate additional support. This meant Labour' ability to press for further amendments, bargain for better positions, and call upon additional places of power as an alternative government of the country (Pelling, 1978). Yet, one should not exaggerate the growth of the Labour Party after the war for there existed what could make the changing process incomplete.

Becoming a mass party, which would make no difference between unionists and socialists, was an objective sometimes hard to achieve. Up to 1918, Labour was still a myriad of local parties, which had few points in common. Unions, for instance, continued to be the chief financial backup of the party, and therefore able to exert their power, particularly the sponsoring of more MPs for their side. Their sovereignty often enabled them monitor labour decisions and policies. However, maintaining this position was not meant to dominate Labour's affairs but to secure their interests. Undoubtedly, "*they would neither think of shaking the unity of their party, nor accept that their concerns and those of the party would be inseparable* (Gordon, 1992, p. 31)." In the same way, many other labour societies and groups did not follow the chief segments stated in the constitution. Some furthered their industrial campaigns unlike other labour associations, which continued to perform political functions. In other words, it was notable that Labour remained, for many years and despite all the adjustments, a federal gathering whose conduct necessitated careful practices and great diplomacy to assemble its different parts. Thus, one can assume that the reconstitution of the Labour Party was progressive yet somehow slow. Apart from organizational developments, it did not produce a solid political cohesion, which might help deliver better policies and schemes in the working class favour, in particular, and the remaining classes, in general.

Almost after a decade, the Labour Party could attract a large number of recruits and devoted followers, who were ready to serve the party's chief aims in different constituencies. With its new profile, namely its political programme and constitution, its local councils and full-time agents, Labour enabled itself to appeal to the whole nation, and not only a section of the British society. This change in structure and character together with the experiences its outstanding figures could gain during the war, and without associating themselves or their policies

with the Liberals, would certainly consolidate Labour's chance to be the people's party. It could really establish itself as a potential of government at a time its rivals, the Liberals mainly, were becoming a party in decline. As for the welfare state project, both unionists and socialists turned to political campaigns rather than mobilizing Labour's ranks in large demonstrations and strikes to secure more reforms in their constituents' favour. Their parliamentary triumphs in the ensuring years of the war show that Labour's appeal was so broad that it did not only allow it to hold a respectable electorate but play for supremacy as well. *Would Labour Party continue growing in the years following 1918? Would it meet the expectations of its extensive supporters and followers and then achieve their welfare*?

4- Labour from Protest to Power

With its political and social achievements in the ensuing years of 1918, Labour became no longer a political party to ignore. Legal amendments, labour privileges and social reforms were only at a stone's throw. As stated earlier, Labour had successfully stepped out from the Liberals' domination and stood on its own account to face the expectations of its electorate. True that it had often gone through some periods of drift, but it seemed well-placed to outshine the Liberals. Indeed, it continued to develop its organizational machinery and disseminate its propaganda among other groups, which had been reluctant to join the party, particularly among those who were outside its reach. Its new found electors were of great value for its wide coverage, and thus, an extra footing better than its rivals in the next elections (Jeffreys, 1999). In fact, Labour was the first political gathering to let women in as agents and executive officers for its leaders believed that this section of voters would boost Labour' prospects in the future. In short, Labour was increasingly becoming a means to secure social, economic and even political objectives for different groups that it would be a bit challenging to eclipse the Liberals.

Without any doubt, the support of the new found electors was in Labour's favour, mainly its chance to hold government to account, but the party still needed consolidation to establish itself as a credible anti-Conservative force. In 1922, and at a stroke, Labour doubled its parliamentary seats increasing its vote from 2.4 million to 4.2 million. For the first time, Labour became the second largest party in the country allowing its 142 MPs to form the opposition. Yet, holding this position was not always easy for a political gathering still unable to form a parliamentary majority. While it could win considerable number of seats in industrial cities and mining regions, Labour failed to break through in rural areas. This might threaten the progress of Labour as a potential of government. To overcome this deficiency, Labour set three main sections as the next target to win. It soon started to appeal to the middle class electorate, the remainder of the industrial working class and the agricultural community (Thorpe, 1966). These sections would be of a solid back up if Labour wanted to emulate the old coalition with the Liberals. At large, the 1922 intake was a prelude that prepared Labour to consolidate its base among new voters and in additional areas. It could be said that it was so necessary that it helped Labour demonstrate that it could dominate the political scene, and thus, transform itself from a party in protest against all that would violate labour rights and privileges to a party in power able to bring in reforms and amendments in favour of its electorate, particularly the working class.

4.1. Labour in office, 1924

Despite all the setbacks, Labour emerged as a rising political force whose leaders, agents and adherents would put all their energies to get their voice heard. It contested its rivals' policies, reorganized its resources and then faced its supporters with tangible transformations. It could appeal to more voters and doubters even in regions formerly Liberal. It truly became a major party able to

stand on its own account to champion the workers' interests, particularly, and those of the remaining sections, in general. It finally turned itself from a small political gathering with humble experiences in both politics and administration to a party in control of the country's foreign and home policies. This was in itself a watershed in the workers' struggle for better conditions, rights and liberties. In 1923, Labour accepted office after it had concluded a landslide election, winning 191 seats, 49 more than in 1922 (Wright & Carter, 1997). It was really a momentous event for the working class, the party and the future of the country. *Would Labour lead its first government effectively and then bring about additional reforms and amendments? Would it succeed to lay down the cornerstones of social welfare in Britain?*

Labour's acceptance to form its first government meant their readiness to face the challenges of administration and the realities of political life. It also meant further campaigns and rallies inside and outside parliament if not additional pressure on the party's leaders to meet the social and political objectives unionists and socialists had long before 1923 set out. In fact, it was not clear for Labour at the very beginning since commanding a majority of MPs with the support of the Liberals might prevent Labour from brining in its full socialist programme. At the same time, Labour would weaken its position, and thus, lose its supporters if it appeared reluctant to govern the country. In other words, it would be of a great mistake if Ramsey Macdonald did not grasp this opportunity. Wright and Carter added that other political scenarios would be considered if Labour refused to form its first government:

> Macdonald knew the significance of Labour's predicament. If the party refused office, he was sure that the Liberals would not. A Liberal government would mean the Conservatives would become the official opposition and Labour would once more be in third place. Moreover, if Labour turned down this position, this would confirm it as a parliamentary pressure group rather than a party seriously challenging for political power (Wright & Carter, 1997, p. 35).

In the end, to prove its ability in running government competently, Labour took office despite its newness and inexperience in the work of administration. Macdonald even went outside the party looking for competent officials to hold ministerial positions so as not to miss the chance of doing something to safeguard the interests of the party's supporters.

Though it seemed handicapped for contemporaries, Labour government could bring in certain changes that should not be depreciated. It is true that it could not accomplish its chief objectives, namely the nationalization of private industries, but it could pass legislation on a range of social issues, which were meant to improve the standards of living. The 1924 Housing Act, for instance, instigated a large scale programme of building houses for rent. Of course, this would lessen the problems of housing in many industrial districts and cities. On education, the first Labour government increased expenditure on public schools. Again, this would be in favour of more working class children and their access to adult education. On unemployment, Labour government could lessen dependence on social relief changing the terms of benefits in favour of the unemployed and their families. This New Insurance Act extended the criteria for eligibility, and thus allowed more unemployed men and women to profit from public funding. More than that, Labour government, with Philip Snowden as a Chancellor, succeeded in cutting direct and indirect taxation the fact that would undoubtedly reduce the cost of living, and more importantly, boost employment and investments (Gordon, 1992). In brief, Labour administration did indeed succeed in introducing a number of measures despite the fact that it lacked the right instincts of competent administration. Labour's modest approach to the business of government proved its ability, as a party in power, in meeting some of the expectations of its supporters. In other instances, the success of the first Labour government went further with labour objectives.

Added to its achievements in social matters, Labour's first government proved its success in foreign policy. While in power, Labour could help settle disputes, advocate peace, and thus, ensure the presence of Britain in international relations. The role of Macdonald in Dawes Conference and Geneva Protocol was so vital that it helped lessen tension between the Allies and Germany at that time. His competencies in both negotiation and persuasion concluded the years of disagreements between Germany and France, which afterwards accepted to the Dawes Plan.[22] This was another accomplishment for Labour's government, in general, and Macdonald's profile, in particular. Years ago, MacDonald had been alienated by his fellows inside the party for his anti-war campaigns, but now he claimed the position of Prime Minister, with the intention to bring the party, and thus, labour schemes to the outer world, mainly to the arena of international politics (Wright & Carter, 1997). In short, interference into international affairs was not only an added asset to the modest achievements Labour could realize despite its newness in the realm of government, but also a bright example about Labour's success in becoming one the chief parties in Britain.

Another major issue in Labour's progress was its records in by-elections following 1924. Labour could again increase the number of its voters the fact that helped reinforce its majority in several parts of Britain, namely Burnley and West Toxteth. There Labour could claim additional town councils and boards under their control, and actually, further changes in the workers' benefits. Yet, these developments in Labour's political performance were not flawless. In fact, it happened for Labour MPs to go through some parliamentary defeats, as with the Rent Restrictions Act. Labour government was also accused of its schemes to support the Russian government, particularly Lenin's values in Britain. This did fuel the Conservatives' propaganda, and eventually led attacks on both socialism

[22] The plan refers to a group of arrangements for Germany's payment of reparations after World War I. On the initiative of the British and U.S. governments, a committee of experts, presided over by an American financier, Charles G. Dawes, produced a report on the question of German reparations for presumed liability for World War I. The report was accepted by the Allies and by Germany on Aug. 16, 1924 ("Dawes Plan", 2010).

and communism. Literally, this was the chief issue that brought about the downfall of Labour government after few months in office (Pelling, 1978). Nevertheless, it is unwise at any case to underestimate the triumphs of Labour government it could realize in a short period, only nine months in office. Labour political campaigns and performance, as a party in control, were so incredible that it transformed Labour into a political force not easy to reckon with. In brief, Labour could extract favourable legislation in favour of the working population, intervene successfully into foreign affairs, and above of all, establish itself as a force able to achieve better living and working standards in favour of its electorate.

4.2. Labour Setting the Stage for Welfare

For sure, the workers' welfare was never a dream, which came true at one stroke, but a gradual striving that required the workers, groups and individuals, to embark on different forms of protest, mainly political after 1906. Although it took the workers a long time, this struggle was both progressive and rewarding in the end. Their voice did finally become louder after they had amassed supporters and built up their political force. It is true that the achievements of their first government were discernible in some respects but revolutionary in the sense that Labour could initially provide social and economic alternatives to the problems of the day. Indeed, Labour's first experience in administration did not only help advance Labour's potential in bringing in more privileges, but set the stage for richer lives and overall strategies. These aimed at developing rights at work, education, healthcare services and many other schemes to meet the workers' expectations particularly and certainly those of the remaining sections. Some Labour governments are distinctly remembered for the revolutionary policies they could successfully implement in favour of the citizens' welfare.

The success of Labour in bringing in the welfare state in 1940's cannot be disassociated from the proposals of the Beveridge Report.[23] As a social reformer and economist, Beveridge provided a thorough plan on ways Britain should be rebuilt after the Second World War. This set of recommendations ranged from social insurance schemes to children allowances and from workers' wages to elderly pensions. It tended to deliver some benefits in favour of the unemployed, the sick and the widowed as well as make an end to the industrial and social evils, which were thought to be the chief reason behind delaying the realization of welfare in Britain. Unexpectedly, these reforms appealed to both unionists and socialists. Soon, and without a delay, Labour endorsed these proposals taking the initiative of their popularity in Britain, and thus, giving itself a powerful position in the House of Commons. Labour could lead a landslide victory in the election of 1945 due to its promises of change, its readiness to end wartime austerity, and its schemes to remedy Britain's economy after a series of depressions. Additionally, Labour's triumph was rendered to the adoption of the Beveridge Report, which spelled out a promising view of the future. Labour now looked like a party of government after it had acquired both experience and trust during the years of war. Attlee's men, deeply devoted to social justice, would not only leave their mark on the party but the country as well (Brown, 2001). They would pass a series of measures and reforms, which would handle the issues of all the citizens' well being.

[23] The Beveridge Report is widely regarded as the foundation stone of the post-war British welfare. It claimed to offer all citizens protection as of right from the cradle to grave thereby abolishing the five Giant Evils, namely Want, Disease, Squalor, idleness and Ignorance (Whiteside, 2014, p.01).

Following its triumph in 1945, Attlee's government passed legislation to proceed with the Beveridge Report. Indeed, it made the first steps to found a National Health Service, which would provide free access to doctors, dentists, opticians and hospitals. This was part of the welfare state measures designed to address diseases and healthcare issues. For elderly healthcare, it also introduced new pensions in 1946 and created the National Assistance Board to cater for social relief cases (Whiteside, 2014). The National Assistance Act of 1948 took relief cases more seriously; it guaranteed protection for those who had not paid enough contributions into the National Insurance scheme. For workers, Labour could pass additional privileges setting ways workers would receive their financial aid in the event of sickness, unemployment or absence. It promised to enforce all workers' rights to trade union representation in an effort to ensure equality at work. Labour government was fully committed to making work more fulfilling. Obviously, these measures, and many other procedures, were meant to upgrade working conditions in Britain. Thus, it was clear that Labour began to fight social and industrial evils stimulating government departments, or more exactly state, to promote prosperity and the common good of citizens (Whiteside, 2014). Indeed, it revolutionized politics when it had taken the responsibility to handle the citizens' needs from birth to death at a time rationing was much needed.

Attlee's government continued to transform the lives of the British and work on what would promote the welfare state in Britain. In addition to healthcare and employment policies, Labour addressed squalor and ignorance to endorse better living conditions. Large scale housing projects were launched to reduce homelessness and overcrowding in industrial cities. Both the New Towns Act and Housing Act of 1949 were meant to mitigate housing problems, organizing rents and providing assistance when necessary. As for Labour' schemes to limit ignorance, mainly in the working class circles, it introduced the Education Act, which guaranteed free education until the age of 15. Labour

planned to invest in people to develop their skills and abilities, which would be the basis of a stronger economy and society. Indeed, giving free access to primary, secondary and even further education became a commitment for Attlee's government. Labour's school policies were noticeably ambitious for they aspired to turn public school around and thus, deliver qualitative education. It promised to provide schools with adequate resources, to ensure accountability and enable everyone to find his or her learning path. In brief, Attlee's office years were really formidable for they did not only change the lives of citizens, mainly workers but also provided opportunities for people to get ahead in life as education and training.

In its plan to create a favourable economy for all sections and part of its strategy to enable people live a decent life, Labour promised to take control of the manufacturing industries. It pledged nationalising the fuel and power industries, inland transport and coalmines. Few years after 1945, several industries were brought under the control of the state. For Labour, nationalisation would help secure more jobs with fair wages, and more importantly, keep unemployment rates very low (Brown, 2001). These reforms were meant to fight idleness, but above all, to transform the citizens' lifestyle via developing an economy, which would work for all. Alongside these provisions and benefits, Attlee's government decided to maintain unprofitable industries via governmental financial aids to keep them in business and thus avoid job losses. Thus, Labour did not only bring forward revolutionary amendments in education, health and housing, but also an ambitious economic strategy to drive up living standards and improve public services. Though in few years, Labour indeed laid down the foundations of a country built for all, not only the upper classes and the rich.

In the end, the considerable transformations brought forward by Labour in 1940's, namely free access to education, healthcare to all, significant labour privileges and many other public benefits should be seen as an outcome of series of rallies and campaigns, which date back to long before 1945. These achievements are more than an ending to the workers' industrial protest, but a fine proof of the Labour's political triumph. In less than thirty years, Labour underwent a notable progress transforming itself to a political force difficult to reckon with. Starting from 1906, it shifted from a parliamentary committee to a powerful pressure group, and finally to a political organization able to prompt changes. Labour, both socialists and unionists, could increase its electorate if not appeal to all of those who had been frustrated by the political conduct of both the Conservatives and Liberals. In fact, it was not easy for the Labourites to lead government and hold ministerial positions, but their achievements on the first two counts helped them gain both experience and public trust. More than that, Labour, though a Socialist Party, did not rush to advocate socialism, but sustain the departments of government to work on the citizens' different expectations for it became the party of all people not only the working class. Indeed, Labour became a fine example of social justice in favour of its constituents: a party of government in few years.

Alongside the workers' industrial protest, political campaigning and lately organization could help achieve better living and working standards in the long run. Before the First World War, none did expect that Labour would defy the old parties and thus hold office. Yet, with the failure of the Liberals and Conservatives in meeting the expectations of their voters, Labour government became a realistic prospect. What could help Labour realize such a remarkable triumph? Earlier, Labour had constantly rallied both inside and outside parliament; it had extracted a number of legal privileges in the workers' favour. Moreover, its developments in both structure and ideals could attract flocks of

workers from different trades and even from other sections. Membership in the ensuing years of the Taff Vale decision increased considerably and so did its financial abilities. In brief, Labour succeeded to position itself as one of the major political parties willing to end industrial and social evils that had delayed the realization of welfare.

Labour's success in the election of 1945 should not be disassociated from the fact that Labour had been a federation of organizations, which had gone through some ups and downs. Socialist circles, for instance, had closely accompanied the workers in their campaigns and even protests providing both orientation and organization. In the same way, a number of unions, which were both powerful and wealthy, with co-operative societies could help consolidate if not shape Labour's political identity. The workers grew conscious enough about the interests of their class after they had learned how to forge alliances, lead pressure and prompt changes in their favour. Indeed, the beginning of the twentieth century was really a turning point in the history of the workers' struggle for welfare for they became no longer an excluded social section liable to punitive legislation, but a political gathering that extended industrial protests to political campaigns to bring forward revolutionary amendments in education, healthcare, insurance, labour rights, public services and thus instigate the well-being of citizens in Britain.

General Conclusion

The journey to realizing welfare state in Britain was full of events and experiences, which coalesced together to bring in significant changes of all sorts in individuals' favour. It was never at one stroke but following a series of ups and downs, which often frustrated both governments and people. The working class, both groups and individuals, ended up triumphant in the end, with solid political representation and a number of rights after it had been excluded both politically and socially. After political and social rallies, the workers could extract legal amendments, and later Acts of Parliament, which addressed labour, education, health care and urban services for they became no longer malleable by their masters. The workers, as a class, did indeed emerge as a political force too demanding to reckon with. For a half of a century, they were able to stand tall and strong against all that was meant to put down their reform movement. Shifting from one campaign to another, the workers achieved what they had aspired for

before 1825: the right to combine, the right to work in better conditions, the right to strike and picket when necessary, the right to vote and many other legal measures they had never dreamt during the early days of industrialisation. They could even hold their employers liable to legal account if accidents or injuries occurred at the workplace. Apart from these social and labour privileges, the workers often opted for political activities to consolidate their cause for further rights and liberties. They companied ceaselessly; they adopted newer ideals and methods to address the questions of the day; they forged committees, councils and even lobbies inside parliament for they believed that their industrial dispute would not be resolved without political means. These accounts helped them position themselves in the country's political order as a rising pressure group, which in few years, turned into a political force with its own character and structure not only to lobby for labour concerns but lead the government. As far as the workers' labour rights and welfare privileges, is it conceivable to render these accomplishments, both social and political, to the workers' physical force activities? Were they, political organization and physical force activities, of equal importance?

It is inconceivable to understand what was behind the achievement of the workers' welfare state away from the social, economic and political changes that punctuated nineteenth century Britain. Almost in all the workers' accounts, and up to the Taff Vale case in 1901, physical force activities, particularly strikes and public disturbance, were the chief canal workers in different trades resort to in an effort to restore their privileges if not prompt amendments. This kind of activities was recurrent in the workers' striving for better conditions since the days of the Luddites. In fact, it proved efficient in most of the cases for it could prevent cuts in wages and increases in the working hours; it ended some punitive measures, according to the workers, like the Combination Acts, Poor Laws, Corn Laws and many others. Even Owen's public rallies could bring some minor achievements in

favour of both younger workers and women: the Factory Act, which organized child labour, proposed schooling and workshops inspection. Bargaining by rioting and general strikes in different trades helped several labour gatherings to stand together for common interests. These attempts were of a significant value for class consciousness, ideals and new strategies to resist legal repression and social strain. It could be said that without the workers' different forms of protest, the working population would not enjoy the legal recognition of labour unions, in 1871, legal amendments as the Conspiracy Laws, in 1875, and the Employers' Liability Act, in 1877. Yet, this is not to undermine the significance of the political rally in the achievement of labour reforms and welfare privileges but to advocate the fact that the workers' industrial protest remained incomplete up to 1867: the workers' enfranchisement.

In the course of the nineteenth century, mainly the first four decades, the working population witnessed a sudden yet deep change, which turned their lives upside down. They could not bear the imperfections of industrialization at all levels, the displacement of their crafts and mainly the utter encroachments of masters under various forms of obsolete laws and statutes. The working people plunged into misery, poverty, sometimes idleness and even crime in some instances; the fact that shows how dreadful living conditions have become after industrialization. In workshops, mills and mines, the situation was even worse. The workers had no alternative except to work according to the terms of their employers, who often ruled the factory system with a rod of iron: nothing like labour organization, privileges or regulations to guarantee rights were common. In the midst of these circumstances, the industrial conflict between masters and their journeymen seemed unavoidable. In fact, this was what brought the workers, skilled and unskilled, face to face with their masters. In this context, physical force activities namely, the Luddites' riots, Plug riots, and St. Peter meeting, came in response, on the part of craftsmen, to prevent mechanization,

restore rights and protect trades. Though violent, they instigated the workers' first attempts to come together against the evils of industrialization, against the deterioration of urban services, inflation and above all, the failure of political circles to address their grievances. *Would public disturbance be adequate to realize labour reforms and welfare privileges?*

True that machine breaking, which was a violent physical activity against the displacement of crafts, did not bring in considerable changes to craftsmen, but it could slow down the pace of industrialization. Craftsmen could not only threaten their masters' industrial interests, but they could shake the country's political stability as well. The significance of the Luddites is that they were not only violent insurgents against the new factory system but mindful craftsmen aware enough of their needs. Physical force activities can be again considered as the driving force behind class consciousness and interests if not the launching point of unionism. In the absence of the political will, rioters sought reforms and remedies for the conditions they were living in; they found nothing but industrial sabotage, as a canal, to voice their needs, demands if not swift changes at all levels. On the flip side, and instead of thinking of ways to alleviate the workers' pains and settle the disputes, the government of the day, or rather the political will, came up with fines and penalties, under the Frame- Breaking Act measures, to end Luddism and Swing riots, but importantly, to lower the voice of less privileged classes. As far as physical force activities are concerned, the government's attitude was itself violent in nature in the sense that it resorted to the power of legislation, the Treasonable and Seditious Practices Act, the Combination Acts, regardless of the consent of the working population. The result was that Luddism decreased considerably by 1820, but in fact, it did not end there. The industrial protest has just started, and physical force activities degenerated into other forms of protest.

The government's draconian measures did only incite additional violent activities or rather fuelled the workers' reform movement. Up to 1834, labour societies sought alternatives to public disturbance actions to defend their cause, and at the same time, to evade legislation. Social campaigns, public meetings and even pressing in journals were in some respects effective means to bargain for better conditions. In fact, the Factory Act of 1819 and the repeal of the Combination Acts in 1825 brought many changes to labour organization if not transformed the industrial relations between employers and their workers. It is difficult to consider physical force activities as basis of labour movement, but this was true at certain moments when rioters and strikers could successfully appeal to fellow workers, radicals or simply sympathisers with their cause. With different backgrounds, radicals joined the movement hoping to bring about further developments in favour of their communities. They campaigned fiercely to amend labour laws, offer education and develop better living conditions, but their schemes went further with the movement when they rallied for unions of all trades. The results were frustrating sometimes for many labour societies, both unionists and radicals, due to some difficulties, mainly financial. Some cooperative societies were blamed of being unrealistic or utopian. Besides these challenges, efforts to come together were usually met with intimidation and legal repression. At this point, the workers resorted to other canals to get their voice heard, but more importantly, to show no signs of abating. In brief, late 1830's and early 1840's were harsh yet formative for the working class in the sense that their leaders realized the need for other alternatives to collective actions to consolidate the labourers' cause.

At certain points in labour movement, strikes, public disturbance and even social campaigning seemed inadequate to achieve better conditions and welfare privileges in favour of all the workers. In this context, utilitarian reformers and the Chartists were the first gatherings to instigate political rallies to support the workers' cause. They believed that industrial disputes would not be resolved away from political representation and organization. They initiated campaigns to advocate the "People's Charter", which listed the rights and privileges the workers were deprived of. They submitted petitions to parliament, approached some political circles and rallied up and down the country to generate support and sympathy. Again, accomplishments were somehow insufficient if not frustrating for a number of factors. The Chartists could not win support for their charter due to differences in ideals and methods over how to proceed with their cause. Another concern to mind was the fact of being unrepresented in parliament although the workers, both unionists and Chartists, campaigned ceaselessly in 1850's. Further, the political climate was itself not ripe for change; the fact that put the workers, in general, through a chain of retributive Acts, fines and harsh sentences, for their attempt to disrupt peace. As a result, and as far as the progress of labour movement is concerned, the workers' political rally proved divisive and relatively less effective. It could be said, up to 1850, that the workers were not fully ready for political reform; the fact brought labour organization via industrial protest again to the fore.

With the rise of new models of labour unions, the workers became able to place pressure upon both employers and governors. In several trades, the workers could achieve both administrative organization and financial abilities, which did indeed help determine the outcomes of strikes, rallies and campaigns. Unions, often with extended branches in other parts of Britain, could win labour privileges and amendments in favour of their adherents; they even thought of support in the event of sickness or death. The Grand National Union, the Amalgamated Society

of Engineers and Trades Councils were all examples of effective unionism, which could claim certain amendments in the workers' favour, namely Coal Mines Regulation Act. Yet, the turning point in the history of labour movement was when the workers' finally claimed the right to vote, in 1867. The enfranchisement of the workers did wholly transform labour concerns and brought their dispute to a new phase of industrial relations. In fact, labour societies became no longer malleable in the hands of their employers; they became able to place pressure both inside and outside parliament. Following several ups and downs, the workers had the right machinery to push forward their cause and legalize the unions. Their right to combine, their right to picket and their right to hold employers liable to legal proceedings in case of work accidents or injuries are all considerable achievements that followed the Franchise of 1867. At this point, both political rallies and physical force activities were complementary to serve the schemes the workers had set earlier to develop better conditions and adequate legal measures though these accomplishments were in favour of certain trades.

Without any doubt, the last two quarters of the nineteenth century were determinative for labour societies, in general, for they became no longer socially or politically excluded. Yet, there still existed certain deficiencies labour movement could not remedy: the rift in the working class itself. Most of the accomplishments were mainly in favour of skilled workers or craftsmen. Labour organization was still less common in many trades, particularly among unskilled and semi-skilled workers. These labour gatherings were in fact desperate until the revival of socialism, which could successfully appeal to their needs. At this point of the workers' struggle, political protest was much needed than physical force activities. This could be seen in the fact that a lot of socialist groups as the Fabians Society and the Socialist League became sources of both orientation and organization; the thing that did considerably transform unionism later. The socialists could square their industrial campaigns with political rallies; they had

schemes for housing, education, better conditions and also political aspirations. In other words, the socialist appeal was so indispensable that it handed in another wave of reform, different in both doctrines and practices. Indeed, workers in shipyards, gas-work industry, dockworkers and many others could come together to end strain. They became more than labour associations after they had experienced major developments in terms of machinery and affiliations. As a pressure group, the workers turned to political activities to build up their political force: they forged alliances to strengthen their position in places of power; they could join local boards, committees, town councils and other governing organs. In less than a decade, the workers made of their pressure group a political force, which could bring in many privileges in the working class favour despite the challenges of the day.

It is a hyperbole to depreciate labour political triumphs without which the project of social welfare would not come true. True that labour privileges and amendments resulted mainly from physical force activities up to 1880, but later, the workers could generate all the factors to transform themselves into a political force difficult to reckon with. As any political gathering in its early days, Labour was plagued with divisions and disagreements; it even lacked the right machinery and sufficient funds. It was a federation of labour associations and groups with differences in both ideals and practices unable to stand on the same level as the Liberals and Conservatives. Yet, out of these failures, Labour Party emerged as a nation party able to handle people's grievances even at wartimes. In less than thirty years, Labour could equip itself with means and ways to fight unemployment, sickness, ignorance, idleness and squalor. It did not only appeal to the working population but the whole society: it became indeed a party of the people. With the National Health Act, the New Towns Act, and the Education Act, Attlee's government released measures to provide better conditions and more privileges to Labour's constituents. It additionally worked on all that would

end austerity, strain and other evils transforming the country's economy to an economy that would work for all. In brief, the workers could transform themselves from disenfranchised labour groups without any social or industrial privilege to a strong political party with extensive schemes in favour of its electorate.

In the end, it could be said that the workers' movement was generally punctuated with physical force activities on the part of both sides of the industrial conflict, the factory masters and their journeymen, to fulfil certain objectives. The workers in different trades sought ways and means to settle down labour disputes, yet their rallies were not only industrial. They had schemes for labour legislation, better conditions, education, healthcare and all that would contribute to their welfare. Up 1867, they had nothing like political rights, schemes and organization, which might have supported their industrial protest, physical force activities, to claim further amendments or privileges. Hence, public disturbance and campaigning were vital if not the unique canals to self-improvement and organization. At certain points of labour movement, political rallies became much needed to scaffold the workers' waves of change. Yet, they proved challenging, divisive at certain times, and above all, naïve for they lacked the right machinery, organization and more importantly funding. In fact, the workers even struggled with constructing themselves as a political force. With certain changes in labour societies, in terms of structure and character, the workers amalgamated their rallies and campaigns: they set out both political activities and stoppages when needed to protect, restore or even claim newer privileges. This is enough to claim that the workers' rally opted for political thoughts and activities more than physical force activities after they had amassed both funds and mobs: a social and political power difficult to reckon with.

Surveying the workers' struggle for their welfare was truly interesting in the sense it helped unveil the significance of both industrial and political rallies in making ends meet. Labour societies could alternate between physical force activities and political campaigns to win over all that would drive up their living and working conditions. Yet, at the same time, the road to welfare state in Britain was determined by several factors and circumstances, which certainly shaped the workers' movement, their ideals and practices. It was somehow hard to include various variables without which the progress towards welfare schemes would remain inconsistent. The working class was itself subject to various dimensions; it was not a homogeneous class: skilled and unskilled workers, cooperative societies and combinations, radicals and reformists, Chartists and unionists, socialists and non socialists, both industrial and political rallies at intervals. Then, the period spanned between two centuries; the fact that again made it demanding to explore every single key event, which influenced the progress of labour movement. Yet, these entire ups and downs made it worth exploring to uncover additional lessons.

The workers' struggle for their rights was full of morals and ideals that should typify any cause for better effects: the workers could remain resilient despite all their rivals' attempts to put them down; they could pin new hopes and instigate fresh attempts each time their rally came to end; they diversified their activities setting on different canals to capitalize better opportunities for their self-improvement and organization. All these acts did indeed contribute to the making of social welfare in Britain, but this does not mean that only political rallies and public disturbance can help wrest rights. Further factors can be part of the scheme to achieve welfare state, as social work, community service activities and other ways to engage societies. The current study pinpoints additional focus on Robert Owen's legacy on the workers' well-being or rather the contributions of social reformers in shaping the mindset of their communities.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

Bedfordshire Archives & Record Service. (1838). Fourth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales. The National Archives in London, https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/68e8bf48-ff99-4a7c-8a62-dd95c4e72f5f

Hunt, H. (1819, August). *Letter to the Manchester Magistrates, Peterloo Massacre*. *The British Library,* https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/the-peterloo-massacre#

Metropolitan and Central Committee. (1820). List of Persons killed at St. Peter's Fields. *The British Library*. https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/lists-of-the-killed-and-wounded-from-the-peterloo-massacre

The British Library, (2019, October). *The Peterloo Massacre*. Discovering Literature: Romantics & Victorians,https://www.bl.uk/romanticsandvictorians/articles/the-peterloo-massacre

Books:

Accampo, E. (1989). *Industrialization, Family Life, and Class Relations Saint Chamond, 1815–1914*, University of California.

Adam, S. L. (2000). *Trade Unions and Industrial Injury in Great Britain*. Centre for Economic Performance.

Archer, J. (2000). *Social Unrest and Popular Protest in England 1780-1840,*. Cambridge University Press.

August, A. (2007). *The British Working Class, 1832-1940*. Pearson Longman.

Bailey, B. (1998). *The Luddite Rebellion*. New York University Press.

Baker, A.C. (2001). *The Companion to British History*. Routledge.

Bamford, S. (2014). *Passages in the Life of a Radical*. Lulu.com.

Bevir, M. (2011). *The making of the British socialism.* Princeton University Press.

Binfield, K. (2004). *Luddites and Luddism*.The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Blagini, E.F. (1991). *Currents of Radicalism: Popular Radicalism, Organized Labour and Party Politics in Britain, 1850-1914*, Cambridge: University Press.

Burns, A. (2003). *Rethinking the Age of Reform*: *Britain 1780-1850.* Cambridge University Press.

Carter, EH & Mears, RAF. (2011). *A History of Britain: Liberal England, World War and Slump 1901-1939*. Stacey International.

Chase, M. (2007). *Chartism: A new history*. Manchester University Press.

Cheyney, E.P. (2018). *An introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England*. Outlook Verlag GmbH.

Clegg, A. (1985*). A History of British Trade Unions since 1889*, Oxford: Clarendon.

Curthoys, M. (2004). *Government, Labour and the law in Mid-Victorian Britain. O*xford University Press.

Davis, M. (2009). *A History of British Labour Movement*. Pluto Press.

Deane, P. (1965). *The First Industrial Revolution*. Cambridge University Press.

Donnachie, I. (2000). *Robert Owen: Owen of New Lanark and New Harmony.* Tuckwell Press.

Engles. F, (2009). *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Oxford University Press.

Evans, Eric J. (2006). *Sir Robert Peel: Statesmanship, Power and Party*. Routledge.

Finger, A. (2007). The Pains and Pleasures of Opium, Religion and Modernity: a new view of Robert Owen. In Michael R. Ott (ed.), *The Future of Religion: towards a Reconciled Society*. pp.147-67 .

Flinn, W. (1975). *An Economic and Social History of Britain since 1700*. Macmillan Press LTD.

Gilmour, Ian. (1992). *Riots, Risings and Revolutions*. Hutchinson.

Gordon, P. (1992). *The Rise of the labour Party, 1893-1931*, Routledge.

Gregg, P. (1969). *Social and Economic History of Britain.* Harrap.

Hamish, W. (1999). *A History of British Trade Unionism, 1700–1998*.Macmillan Press.

Hernon, I. (2006). *Riots! Civil insurrections from Peterloo to the present Day*. Pluto Press.

Hewitt, M. (1996). *The Emergence of Stability in the Industrial City: Manchester, 1832-67.* Scholar Press.

Hinton, J. (1983). *Labour and Socialism*. Wheatsheaf Books Ltd.

Hobsbawm, E. (1952). *The Machine Breakers: Past and Present Society.* Oxford University Press.

Hopkins, E. (2002). *Industrialization and Society: 1830-1951*. Rutledge.

Jeffreys, K. (1999). *Leading Labour: From Keir Hardie to Tony Blair*. I.B. Tauris.

Kirk, N. (1998). *Labour in British society, 1850-1920*. Manchester University Press.

Mackenzie, D. (1985). *The Social Shaping of Technology*. Taylor and Francis Ltd.

Mantoux, P. (2013). *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century: An outline of the Beginnings of the modern factory system in England*, England. Routledge.

Mathias, P. (2001). *The First Industrial Nation: The Economic History of Britain, 1700-1914*. Routledge Group.

Moore, C. (1989). *The Industrial Age: Economy and Society in Britain 1750- 1985*. Longman.

Musson, E. A. (1972). *British Trade Unions 1800- 1875*. The Macmillan Press LTD.

Pelling, H. (1976). *A History of British Trade Unionism*. The Macmillan Press Ltd.

Pelling, H. (1978). *A Short History of the Labour Party*. The Macmillan Press LTD.

Pelling, H. (1987). *A History of British Trade Unionism*. The Macmillan Press Ltd.

Pickett, J. (2014). *A Movement of Our Own: Building an Independent Party of the British Working*. Portsmouth Socialist Party https://socialistpompey.pressbooks.com Accessed July 18th, 2019

Pike, E. (2013). *Human Documents of the Industrial Revolution in Britain*. Routledge.

Price, R. (1980). *Profiles of Union Growth.* Basil Blackwell.

Royle, E. (2012). *Modern Britain: A Social History 1750- 2011*. Bloomsbury Academic.

Ruegg, A. (1982). *A Treatise upon the Employers' Liability Act 1880*. Butterworths.

Rule, J. (1988). *British Trade Unionism 1750–1850: The Formative Years*. New York: Longman.

Ruth, M. (2014). The Peterloo Massacre. The British Library. https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/the-peterloo-massacre#

Smith, A. (1959). *English Historical Documents, XI, 1783-1832*. Oxford University Press.

Spielvogel, J. (1997). *Western Civilization since 1300.* West Publishing Company.

Stewart, J. H. (1955). *The origins of the British Labour Party*. Cambridge University Press.

Tewson, V. (1947). *A Short History of British Trade Unionism*. Transport House.

Thompson, E P. (1955). *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary*. Lawrence and Wishart LTD.

Thompson, E P. (1963). *The Making of English Working Class*. Pelican Books.

Thorne, C. (1966). *Sources of History: Chartism*. The Macmillan Press.

Thorpe, A. (1997). *A History of the British Labour Party*. The Macmillan Press Ltd.

Trevor, M. (1996). *An Economic and Social History of Britain 1760-1990.* Longman Group.

Wanda, N. (1920) *Victorian Working Women.* Columbia University Press.

West, J. (1920). *History of the Chartist Movement.* Constable London Company Limited.

Williams, C. (2011). *Robert Owen and his Legacy*. The University Of Wales Press.

Wright, T. (1997). *The People's Party: the History of the Labour Party.* Thames and Hudson Ltd.

Articles

"Developments in Public Health and Welfare".

https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/z9924qt/revision/3, Accessed 04/11/2019

"Early Factory Legislation, "*Reforming society in the 19th century*, www.Parliament.uk , Accessed June 17th, 2014

"The Great Dock Strike", Library Learning Information, ideasstore.co.uk, Tower Hamlet, Accessed July, 2019

"The Great Reform Act". *The National Archives*.

https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/politics/g6/. Accessed 08.03.2020

Adam, A & Patricia, B. (2016, December). "Closed Shop". *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

https://www.britannica.com/topic/closed-shop. Accessed December 24th, 2018

Augustyn, A. (2018, December). "Ramsay MacDonald". *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ramsay-MacDonald . Accessed July 29, 2019

Benesch, P. (2005). The Trade Union Legislation of the 1870s. *Law and Politics Book Review*, 15(1), 12–17.

Bloy, M. (1997, April). Basic reasons for the Failure of Chartism. *The Victorian Web*,

http://www.victorianweb.org/history/chartism/6.html

Bloy, M. (2005, December). The Luddites 1811-1816. *The Victorian Web*,

http://www.victorianweb.org/history/riots /luddites.html, Accessed February 16th, 2017.

Brain, J. The Luddites. *Historic Uk*, https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/ History of Britain/The-Luddites/, Accessed Febraury15th, 2015.

Brown, D. (2001, March). 1945-51: Labour and the Creation of the Welfare State. *The Guardian*,

https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2001/mar/14/past.education, Accessed 10/15/2019

Chislett, L. (2014, March). Triumphs and failures of the Chartist Movement. *Get Revising*, https://getrevising.co.uk/grids/triumphs_and_failure_of_chartist_movement, Accessed May 18th, 2020.

Claeys, G. (1986, March). Individualism, Socialism and Social Science: Further Notes on a Process of Conceptual Formation, 1800-1850". *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 47(1), 81-93

Clermont, R. E. (2002). Standards of Living in Britain during the Industrial Revolution: 1770-1820. *Western Undergraduate Economics Review*, (1), 3-11

Encyclopedia Britannica. (2010). "Crimean War". In Encyclopædia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite.

Encyclopedia Britannica. (2010). "Dawes Plan", In Encyclopædia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite.

Encyclopedia Britannica. (2015). "Landed Elites", In Encyclopædia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite.

Encyclopedia Britannica. (2015). "Luddite", In Encyclopædia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite.

Giles, A. (2011). Railway Accidents and Nineteenth Century Legislation: 'Misconduct, Want of Caution or Causes beyond their Control?". *Labour History Review*, 76(02), 121-142.

Hamlin, C. (1998). Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick Britain 1800-1854. *Resource Reviews*, 14(4), 368.

Harris, R. (2008, March). Government and the Economy, 1688–1850.*The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, 204-237.

Hobsbawm, E. (1967). Trade Union History. The Economic History Review, 20(2), p. 358-364

James A. Jaffe. (Autumn 2000). Industrial Arbitration, Equity, and Authority in England, 1800-1850. *Law and History Review*, 18(3), 525- 558

Kirk, N. (1987). In Defence of Class: a Critique of Recent Revisionist Writing upon the Nineteenth Century English Working Class, *International Review of Social History*, 32, 2-47.

Mackenzie, D. (1984, July). Marx and the Machine. *Technology and Culture*, 25(03), 473-502

McElroy, Wendy. (2012). The Enclosure Acts and the Industrial Revolution. *The Future of Freedom Foundation*. https://www.fff.org/explore-freedom/article/enclosure-acts-industrial-revolution/

Merchant, B. (2014, September). You have all got the Luddites wrong. Vice, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/ae379k/luddites-definition-wrong-labor-technophobe, Accessed February 18th, 2017

Milner, G. (2009, August). The 1819 Peterloo massacre: class struggle in the Industrial Revolution. *Links International Journal of Socialist Renewal*, http://links.org.au/node/1206, Accessed September 19th, 2019.

Osmont, G. (2003). The Combination Acts, 1799-1800. http://anglais.u-paris10.Fr/spip.php?article92 Accessed February 7th, 2017

Rule, J. & Malcolmson, R. (1993). Protest and Survival. *The Historical Experience*: Essays for E.P Thompson

Sadler, M. (1832, March). Speech in the House of Commons. http://webspace.ship.edu/sbburg/sadlerspeech.html. Accessed 08 February 2017

Simkin, J. (1997). Factory Labour and Physical Deformities. *Spartacus Educational Publishers Ltd*, http://spartacus-educational.com/IRdeformities.htm. Accessed 21 September 2016

Simkin, J. (2014, August). Trade Union Congress. *Spartacus Educational Publishers Ltd*, https://spartacus-educational.com/TUtuc.htm. Accessed 10 July 2019.

Trueman, C.N. (2015, March). Edwin Chadwick. *The History Learning Site*. historylearningsite.co.uk , Accessed 16 Aug 2016.

Walker, M. (2011, January). Labour Party Affiliation. http://ourhistory-hayes.blogspot.com. Accessed September, 2019

Whiteside, N. (2014, September). The Beveridge Report and Its Implementation: A revolutionary Project?" *Politique, Culture et societé*. (24), 01-14.

Encyclopedias and Dictionaries

"Marxism." In the Oxford Dictionary of Phrase and Fable. Oxford University Press, doi: 10.1093/acref/9780198609810.001.0001, 2005.

Abercrombie, N. (2006). *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*. Penguin Books.

Cannon, J. (2009). *Dictionary of British History*. Oxford University Press.

Gardiner, J. (2000). *The Penguin Dictionary of British History*. Penguin Books.

Hall, S. (1999), *The Hutchinson Illustrated Encyclopedia of British History*. Routledge.

Hill, S. & Tuner, Br. (2006). *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*. Penguin Books.

McCord, N. (2007). *British History: 1815- 1914*. Oxford University Press.

Mclean, I. (2009). *Concise Dictionary of Politics*. Oxford University Press.

Plowright, J. (2006). *The Routledge Dictionary of Modern British History*. Routledge.

William, Sweet. *Jeremy Bentham*, Encyclopedia of Philosophy, https://www.iep.utm.edu, Accessed on July 19th, 2018.

Appendices

Appendix 1:

Labour Party Leaders

Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party, 1906–22

1906–8	Keir Hardie
1908–10	Arthur Henderson
1910–11	George Barnes
1911–14	Ramsay MacDonald
1914–17	Arthur Henderson
1917–21	William Adamson
1921–2	John Clynes

Leader of the Labour Party

1922–31	Ramsay MacDonald
1931–2	Arthur Henderson
1932–5	George Lansbury
1935–55	Clement Attlee
1955–63	Hugh Gaitskell
1963–76	Harold Wilson
1976–80	James Callaghan
1980–3	Michael Foot
1983–92	Neil Kinnock
1992–4	John Smith
1994–	Tony Blair

Thorpe, A. (1997). *A History of the British Labour Party*. Macmillan Press LTD, p. 244

Appendix 2:

Labour Cabinets

MacDonald's Cabinet, Jan. to Nov. 1924

Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary	J. R. MacDonald
Lord Chancellor	Viscount Haldane
Lord President	Lord Parmoor
Lord Privy Seal	J. R. Clynes
Chancellor of the Exchequer	P. Snowden
Home Secretary	A. Henderson
Colonial Secretary	J. H. Thomas
War Secretary	S. Walsh
Indian Secretary	Lord Olivier
Scottish Secretary	W. Adamson
Air Secretary	Lord Thomson
First Lord of Admiralty	Viscount Chelmsford
Chancellor, Duchy of Lancaster	J. Wedgwood
President, Board of Trade	S. Webb
Minister of Agriculture	N. Buxton
President, Board of Education	C. P. Trevelyan
Postmaster General	V. Hartshorn
First Commissioner of Works	F. W. Jowett
Minister of Labour	T. Shaw
Minister of Health	J. Wheatley

MacDonald's Cabinet, June 1929 to Aug. 1931

Prime Minister	J. R. MacDonald
Lord Chancellor	Lord Sankey
Lord President	Lord Parmoor
Lord Privy Seal	J. H. Thomas (to June 1930)
	V. Hartshorn (June 1930 to Mar. 1931)
	T. Johnston (from Mar. 1931)
Chancellor of the Exchequer	P. Snowden
Home Secretary	J. R. Clynes
Foreign Secretary	A. Henderson
Colonial Secretary	Lord Passfield
Dominions Secretary	Lord Passfield (to June 1930)
	J. H. Thomas (from June 1930)
War Secretary	T. Shaw
Indian Secretary	W. Wedgwood Benn
Scottish Secretary	W. Adamson
Air Secretary	Lord Thomson (to Oct. 1930)
	Lord Amulree (from Oct. 1930)
First Lord of Admiralty	A. V. Alexander
President, Board of Trade	W. Graham
Minister of Agriculture	N. Buxton (to June 1930)
	C. Addison (from June 1930)
President, Board of Education	Sir C. P. Trevelyan (to Mar. 1931)
	H. B. Lees-Smith (from Mar. 1931)
First Commissioner of Works	G. Lansbury
Minister of Labour	M. Bondfield
Minister of Health	Arthur Greenwood
Minister of Transport	H. Morrison (in cabinet from Mar. 1931)

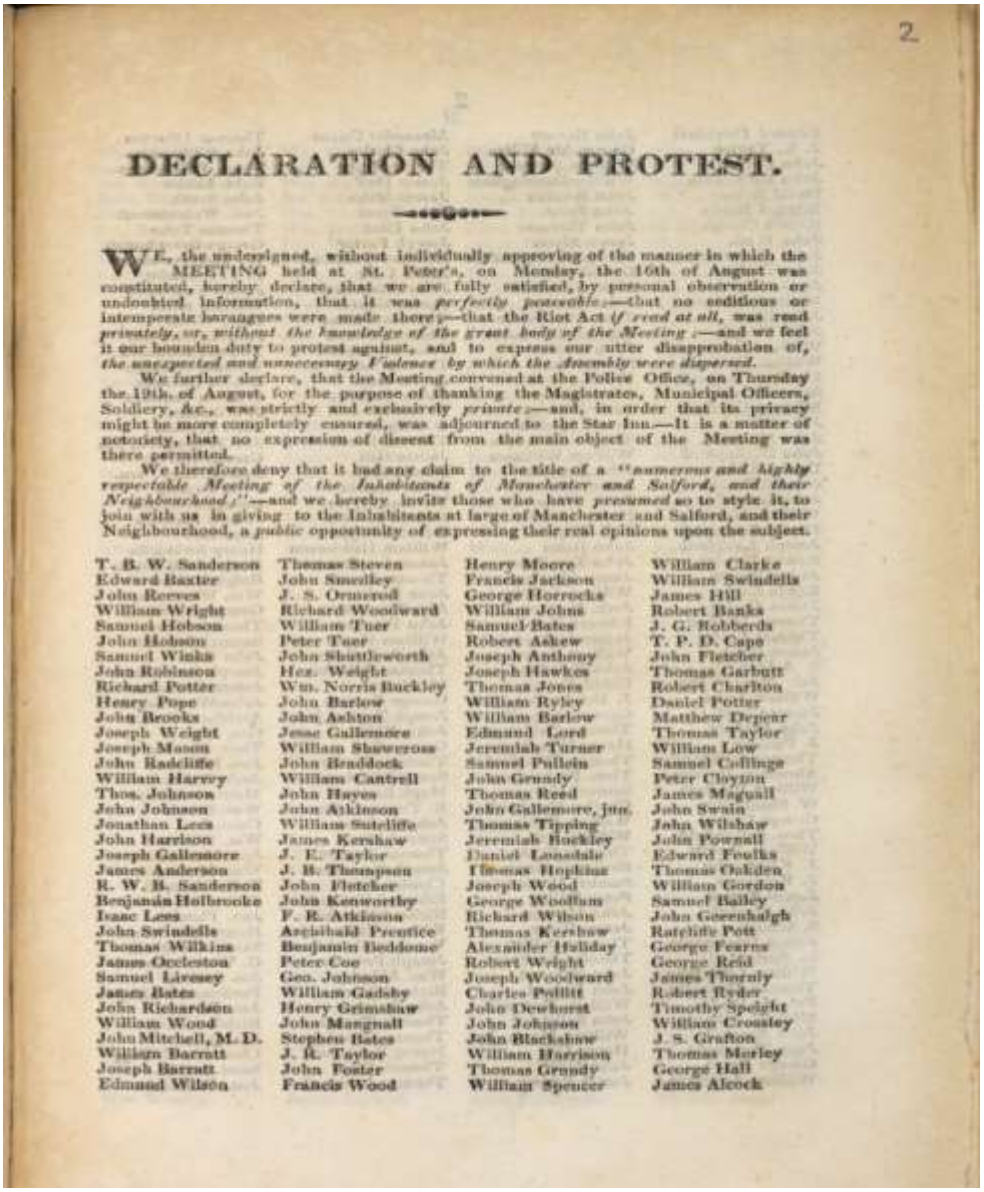
Attlee's Cabinet, July 1945 to Oct. 1951

Prime Minister	C. R. Attlee
Lord Chancellor	Lord Jowitt
Lord President	H. Morrison (to Mar. 1951)
	Lord Addison (from Mar. 1951)
Lord Privy Seal	Arthur Greenwood (to Apr. 1947)
	Lord Inman (Apr. to Oct. 1947)
	Lord Addison (Oct. 1947 to Mar. 1951)
	E. Bevin (Mar. to Apr. 1951)
	R. Stokes (from Apr. 1951)
Chancellor of the Exchequer	H. Dalton (to Nov. 1947)
	Sir S. Cripps (Nov. 1947 to Oct. 1950)
	H. Gaitskell (from Oct. 1950)
Minister of Economic Affairs	Sir S. Cripps (Sep. to Nov. 1947)
Home Secretary	C. Ede
Foreign Secretary	E. Bevin (to Mar. 1951)
	H. Morrison (from Mar. 1951)
Colonial Secretary	G. Hall (to Oct. 1946)
	A. Creech Jones (Oct. 1946 to Feb. 1950)
	J. Griffiths (from Feb. 1950)
Dominions Secretary	Lord Addison (to Oct. 1947)
(Commonwealth Relations from July 1947)	P. Noel-Baker (Oct. 1947 to Feb. 1950)
	P. Gordon Walker (from Feb. 1950)
Defence Secretary	C. R. Attlee (to Dec. 1946)
	A. V. Alexander (Dec. 1946 to Feb. 1950)

Thorpe, A. (1997). *A History of the British Labour Party*. Macmillan Press LTD, p. 245

Appendix 3:

Public Petition Declaring the Peacefulness of St.Peter's Meeting



2.

DECLARATION AND PROTEST.

WE, the undersigned, without individually approving of the manner in which the MEETING held at St. Peter's, on Monday, the 16th of August was constituted, hereby declare, that we are fully satisfied, by personal observation or undoubted information, that it was *perfectly peaceable*;—that no seditious or intemperate harangues were made there;—that the Riot Act *if read at all*, was read *privately, or, without the knowledge of the great body of the Meeting*;—and we feel it our bounden duty to protest against, and to express our utter disapprobation of, *the unexpected and unnecessary Violence by which the Assembly were dispersed.*

We further declare, that the Meeting convened at the Police Office, on Thursday the 19th, of August, for the purpose of thanking the Magistrates, Municipal Officers, Soldiery, &c., was strictly and exclusively *private*;—and, in order that its privacy might be more completely ensured, was adjourned to the Star Inn.—It is a matter of notoriety, that no expression of dissent from the main object of the Meeting was there permitted.

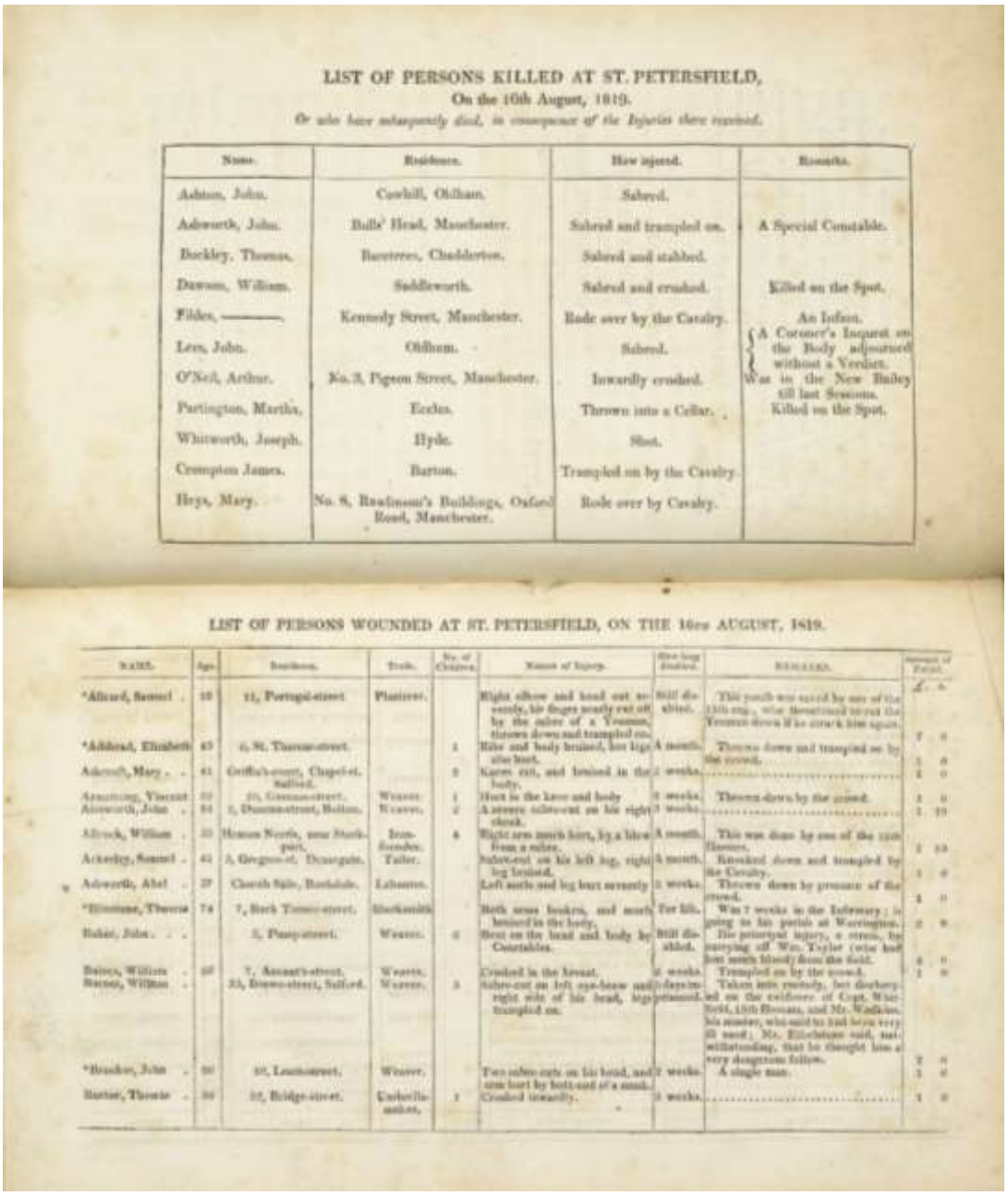
We therefore deny that it had any claim to the title of a "*numerous and highly respectable Meeting of the Inhabitants of Manchester and Salford, and their Neighbourhood*;"—and we hereby invite those who have *presumed* so to style it, to join with us in giving to the Inhabitants at large of Manchester and Salford, and their Neighbourhood, a *public* opportunity of expressing their real opinions upon the subject.

T. B. W. Sanderson	Thomas Steven	Henry Moore	William Clarke
Edward Baxter	John Smedley	Francis Jackson	William Swindells
John Reeves	J. S. Ormerod	George Horrocks	James Hill
William Wright	Richard Woodward	William Johns	Robert Banks
Samuel Hobson	William Tuer	Samuel Bates	J. G. Robberds
John Hobson	Peter Tuer	Robert Ashew	T. P. D. Cape
Samuel Winks	John Shuttleworth	Joseph Anthony	John Fletcher
John Robinson	Hez. Weight	Joseph Hawkes	Thomas Garbutt
Richard Potter	Wm. Norris Buckley	Thomas Jones	Robert Charlton
Henry Pope	John Barlow	William Ryley	Daniel Potter
John Brooks	John Ashton	William Barlow	Matthew Dejeur
Joseph Weight	Jesse Gallemore	Edmund Lord	Thomas Taylor
Joseph Mason	William Shawcross	Jeremiah Turner	William Low
John Radcliffe	John Benddock	Samuel Pullein	Samuel Collings
William Harvey	William Cantrell	John Grundy	Peter Clayton
Thos. Johnson	John Hayes	Thomas Reed	James Magnall
John Johnson	John Atkinson	John Gallemore, jun.	John Swain
Jonathan Lees	William Sutcliffe	Thomas Tipping	John Wilshaw
John Harrison	James Kershaw	Jeremiah Buckley	John Pownall
Joseph Gallemore	J. E. Taylor	Daniel Lonsdale	Edward Foulks
James Anderson	J. B. Thompson	Thomas Hopkins	Thomas Oakden
R. W. B. Sanderson	John Fletcher	Joseph Wood	William Gordon
Benjamin Holbrooke	John Kenworthy	George Woodham	Samuel Bailey
Isaac Lees	F. R. Atkinson	Richard Wilson	John Greenhalgh
John Swindells	Archibald Prentice	Thomas Kershaw	Ratcliffe Pott
Thomas Wilkins	Benjamin Beddome	Alexander Holliday	George Fearns
James Occleston	Peter Coe	Robert Wright	George Reid
Samuel Livesey	Geo. Johnson	Joseph Woodward	James Thurzly
James Bates	William Gadsby	Charles Pollitt	Robert Ryder
John Richardson	Henry Grimshaw	John Dewhurst	Timothy Speight
William Wood	John Maugnall	John Johnson	William Crossley
John Mitchell, M. D.	Stephen Bates	John Blackshaw	J. S. Grafton
William Barratt	J. R. Taylor	William Harrison	Thomas Morley
Joseph Barratt	John Foster	Thomas Grundy	George Hall
Edmund Wilson	Francis Wood	William Spencer	James Alcock

The British Library, (2019, October). The Peterloo Massacre. Discovering Literature: Romantics & Victorians, https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/the-peterloo-massacre

Appendix 4:

List of People Killed in St.Peter's Field



LIST OF PERSONS KILLED AT ST. PETERSFIELD,
On the 16th August, 1819.
Or who have subsequently died, in consequence of the Injuries there received.

Name.	Residence.	How injured.	Remarks.
Ashton, John.	Cowhill, Oldham.	Sabred.	
Ashworth, John.	Bulls' Head, Manchester.	Sabred and trampled on.	A Special Constable.
Buckley, Thomas.	Barretree, Cheddleton.	Sabred and stabbed.	
Dawson, William.	Saddleworth.	Sabred and crushed.	Killed on the Spot.
Fildes, ———	Kennedy Street, Manchester.	Rode over by the Cavalry.	An Infant.
Lees, John.	Oldham.	Sabred.	A Coroner's Inquest on the Body adjourned without a Verdict.
O'Neil, Arthur.	No. 3, Pigeon Street, Manchester.	Inwardly crushed.	Was in the New Bailey till last Sessions.
Partington, Martha.	Eccles.	Thrown into a Cellar.	Killed on the Spot.
Whitworth, Joseph.	Hyde.	Shot.	
Crompton James.	Barton.	Trampled on by the Cavalry.	
Heys, Mary.	No. 8, Rowlinson's Buildings, Oxford Road, Manchester.	Rode over by Cavalry.	

LIST OF PERSONS WOUNDED AT ST. PETERSFIELD, ON THE 16TH AUGUST, 1819.

NAME.	Age.	Residence.	Trade.	No. of Children.	Nature of Injury.	How long Confined.	REMARKS.	Amount of Relief. £. s. d.
*Allard, Samuel	19	11, Portugal-street	Plasterer.		Right elbow and head cut severely, his fingers nearly cut off by the sabre of a Yeoman, thrown down and trampled on.	Still disabled.	This youth was cured by one of the 15th regt., who threatened to cut the Yeoman down if he struck him again.	2 0
*Ashtead, Elizabeth	45	6, St. Thomas-street.		1	Ribs and body bruised, her legs also hurt.	A month.	Thrown down and trampled on by the crowd.	1 0
Ashworth, Mary	41	Griffin's-court, Chapel-st. Salford.		2	Knees cut, and bruised in the body.	2 weeks.		1 0
Armstrong, Vincent	33	20, Greenmarket.	Weaver.	1	Hurt in the knee and body	2 weeks.	Thrown down by the crowd.	1 0
Ainsworth, John	34	5, Downham-street, Bolton.	Weaver.	2	A severe sabre-cut on his right cheek.	3 weeks.		1 10
Alcock, William	33	Heaton Norris, near Stockport.	Iron-founder.	6	Right arm much hurt, by a blow from a sabre.	A month.	This was done by one of the 15th Hussars.	1 10
Ackerley, Samuel	41	5, Gregson-st. Deansgate.	Tailor.		Sabre-cut on his left leg, right leg bruised.	A month.	Knocked down and trampled by the Cavalry.	1 0
Ashworth, Abel	27	Church Side, Rochdale.	Labourer.		Left ancle and leg hurt severely	2 weeks.	Thrown down by pressure of the crowd.	1 0
*Bloomer, Thomas	74	7, Back Turner-street.	Blacksmith.		Both arms broken, and much bruised in the body.	For life.	Was 7 weeks in the Infirmary; is going to his parish at Warrington.	2 0
Baker, John		5, Pump-street.	Weaver.	6	Blow on the head and body by Constables.	Still disabled.	His principal injury, a stroke, by carrying off Wm. Taylor (who had been much bloody) from the field.	0 0
Baines, William	40	7, Annett's-street.	Weaver.		Crushed in the breast.	2 weeks.	Trampled on by the crowd.	1 0
Barnet, William		33, Brown-street, Salford.	Weaver.	3	Sabre-cut on left eye-brow and right side of his head, legs trampled on.	5 days re-mained.	Taken into custody, but discharged on the evidence of Capt. Winterbottom, 15th Hussars, and Mr. Watkins, his master, who said he had been very ill used; Mr. Ellerbeck said, notwithstanding, that he thought him a very dangerous fellow.	2 0
*Bradley, John	30	10, Lomb-street.	Weaver.		Two sabre cuts on his head, and one hurt by butt-end of a musket.	2 weeks.	A single man.	3 0
Barker, Thomas	30	32, Bridge-street.	Umbrella-maker.	1	Crushed inwardly.	3 weeks.		1 0

Metropolitan and Central Committee. (1820). List of Persons killed at St. Peter's Fields. *The British Library*. https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/lists-of-the-killed-and-wounded-from-the-peterloo-massacre

JSLCS ACADEMIC JOURNAL

Volume 1/N°1
December, 2018

The Journal of Studies in Language, Culture and Society (JSLCS)

Editor in chief:
Dr. Nadia Idri

جامعة بجاية
Tasdawit n Bgayet
Université de Béjaïa

UNIVERSITÉ ABDERRAHMANE MIRA - BEJAIA
FACULTÉ DES LETTRES ET DES LANGUES

www.univ-bejaia/JSLCS

Journal of Studies in Language, Culture and Society (JSLCS) is an academic multidisciplinary open access and peer-reviewed journal that publishes original research that turns around phenomena related to language, culture and society. JSLCS welcomes papers that reflect sound methodologies, updated theoretical analyses and original empirical and practical findings related to various disciplines like linguistics and languages, civilisation and literature, sociology, psychology, translation, anthropology, education, pedagogy, ICT, communication, cultural/inter-cultural studies, philosophy, history, religion, and the like.

Contents

JSLCS ACADEMIC JOURNAL
Journal of Studies in Language, Culture and Society 1(1), December 2018 (pp. 57-71)

Mohamed Cherif Seddiki[1]
Faculty of Arts and Languages, University of Laghouat, Algeria

THE INCLUSION OF CULTURAL CONTENT IN CIVILIZATION COURSE CLASSES:A PROCEDURE TO MOTIVATE STUDENTS OR FRUSTRATE THEM?

Abstract

The use of cultural content in EFL classes has recently driven a rising interest among language instructors. Yet, there are conflicting attitudes about the appropriate teaching strategies and classroom activities designed for classes as such. 67% of EFL instructors see these classes are mere attempts to develop linguistic competency while the rest, university lecturers particularly, see that a laser focus should be on cultural knowledge. They do believe that the mastery of language is secondary compared to critical thinking and textual analyzing making EFL classes more than a language hub for developing reading, writing and speaking. This eventually calls the content of culture-based lessons together with the relevant teaching techniques to inquiries. The course of civilization has incited talks about what relevant topics and teaching practices can help achieve the objectives of this course. The concern of this paper is to bridge the gap between the teachers' attitudes on what final objectives this course should target: developing the learners' linguistic ability, enriching their cultural knowledge or both. It aspires to refine the content of the course and share some of the best teaching practices. Surveying some education scholars' recommendations together with the latest teaching practices suitable for this kind of classes might help speculate what might wholly turn civilization class around. A survey is additionally conducted to find out what might make civilization course very appealing. This attempt is significant in the sense it pinpoints the importance of cultural content in teaching English as an international language, and its pivotal role in diversifying teaching materials and motivating learners if handled appropriately.

Key words: Cultural Content; ELT material; Linguistic skills; teaching strategies.

1. Introduction

In many departments of English, the course of civilization is theoretically meant to develop the learners' cultural and linguistic skills. Learners are supposed to acquire English and explore its culture dealing with a range of topics and tasks using a blend of teaching practices. Yet, the scope of the course and the way it is taught are still unclear. Many lecturers undermine language usage despite the fact that culture and language are inseparable. Working on the same

[1] Email: m.seddiki@lagh-univ.dz

topics and tasks made EFL classes more challenging in the sense that these class lack variety. In the case of ***British civilization course***, the whole content is limited to historical events making the course less varied and less captivating. More than that, classes as these provide few opportunities for students to harness their language skills. In this vein, some EFL instructors noticed that teaching the history of Britain would neither develop the students' language skills nor provide a broad image of English culture for a number of reasons. Thus, it is high time to rethink of motivation, classroom activities, classroom settings and more specifically textual selections. It is worth mentioning that historical textual analyses without language tasks remain insufficient for meeting the final outcomes of the course. Furthermore, EFL instructors, mainly non-native speaker teachers, are not there to reinforce foreign values; they are not there to foster British cultural ideals among their students, but teach English and its culture in context (Kachru, 1992). The scope of the course seems inappropriate. Professionals are therefore invited to define what final objectives the content should arrive at and what effective teaching methods should be used to anticipate and motivate students.

Culture is a rich outlet of teaching resources that language instructors and syllabus designers often focus on. Its mutual connection to human behavior, the realm of ideas, beliefs and attitudes make it a solid platform for variety and motivation. It acts as a powerful magnet that still drives the learners' interests and gets them immensely involved into learning (Brown, 1994, p.165) Topics of all kinds and for all grades can adequately offer all that instructors are looking for to achieve their objectives. Learners of English are no exception; they are exposed to diverse situations, which can help them explore different language exponents and cultural elements. Lessons about people, history, geography, education, work, science, technology, nature, economy, art and many others are all meant to broaden the learners' cultural knowledge. Thus, teaching culture becomes inevitable, exciting and above all rewarding, mainly when teaching practices are appropriately implemented. Yet, ***British civilization course*** is utterly mishandled due to the absence of a clear assumption about the way to use cultural content as well as the relevant methodology.

As far the results of the questionnaire are concerned, the challenges above can be rendered to the term "**culture**" itself. The vagueness of culture, as a term, makes it a bit hard to incorporate cultural information into EFL classes. Many EFL instructors, non-native speaker ones in this case, are running into obstacles that they cannot easily get over. Their students are often uncooperative and unable to respond to their drills and attempts to engage them because of many reasons, particularly instructional. In fact, teachers are encouraged to adopt change in their classes, to make use of a variety of activities, but a lot of them undermine those recommendations. More specifically, their objectives are too

general, if not inaccurate; their classroom activities are usually not varied, if not ill planned. This made ***civilization course*** plainly overwhelming. Eventually, there are slim chances to develop language skills. More than that, there is no space for assessing the learners' progress despite the fact that they are learning a foreign language carrying with it a cultural dimension. It could be assumed that the learners' reluctance to cooperate in some ***civilization course*** classes results from the conflicting styles used in teaching culture. It's true that the students' limited vocabulary, grammar unawareness, difficulties in writing and many other language disabilities is another contributing factor to their reluctance, but EFL teachers need to be aware of the effective styles in teaching culture. In fact, the focus on history, narration and storytelling style left no space for assessing the students' linguistic abilities. Thus, it is very important to consider these challenges so as to avoid frustration among learners. It is needed to consider the concept of culture, its indispensable role in class and more importantly, the useful techniques to assemble culture and language in ***civilization course*** turning these classes into vibrant cultural and linguistic meetings.

2. Literature Review

A review of literature has shown that there is a common agreement upon the usefulness of cultural content in EFL classrooms. In fact, there is a bet on how mutual culture and language are related making "culture" more than a fifth skill (Kramsch, 1993). Claire Kramsch, for instance, vigorously argues that cultural information is inevitable when it comes to learning a new language. The review has also shown that "teaching English" doesn't mean teaching British or American culture; hence, there is no need to internalize the cultural norms of native speakers of the language (Kachru, 1992). EFL instructors are therefore encouraged to handle "culture" sensitively and appropriately in favour of linguistic and cultural competencies taking into account local culture. In the same sense, "culture" should be seen as a rich outlet of all that might contribute to both variety and motivation. Another review has revealed that it's necessary to tailor teaching techniques according to broad objectives. Sandra Lee Mckay insists on rethinking of both tasks and goals, which serve mutual understanding, accommodation, cultural tolerance and other broad objectives (Mckay, 2003). It therefore becomes advisable to refine the teaching practices to boost EFL instructors' awareness of what current strategies, procedures, if not relevant tasks, are ideal for culture-based courses.

3. Methodology

For the methodology, this paper is utterly based on content analyses. This means that any statement will be drawn from academic works that are relevant to the topic of this study. With this analytical approach, I did proceed by identifying what is wrong with the teaching of civilization course at the ***University of Laghouat, in Algeria***, making a great emphasis on the complexities of culture-

based lessons as well as the teaching strategies, which are common among the lecturers at this university. This research involves talking to in-service lecturers about ways to incorporate cultural information into ELT materials, gathering ministerial documents or the department's manuals related to the teaching of this course, and reading some the lecturers' handouts meant to support the students' understanding. The major part of this research was a questionnaire given to forty students from two different groups. They were of different linguistic and cultural abilities, but they all attended civilization course at ***the University of Laghouat.*** As for additional instruments of this research, I converted the collected data and results into pie charts and bar graphs to have a comprehensive view of what made civilization courses less engaging. Describing facts might additionally help figure out the chief defects that EFL instructors have to avoid when integrating cultural content to their classroom tasks.

4. Results

Based on the findings of the survey, this research reveals that there a misconception of the term "culture" the fact that made EFL materials less varied and less engaging. The bulk of EFL teachers affirm that culture and language are complementary in EFL classrooms, but they neither diversify their topics nor their classroom tasks. Cultural content is central to motivation and variety for the wide range of both topics and activities it can offer to EFL materials. Yet, it is worth mentioning that the complexity of culture can pose certain difficulties or rather challenges that educators, professionals and particularly EFL teachers need to mind when integrating culture into classes. EFL instructors are no longer language facilitators, but mediators between languages and cultures. In this vein, they need to fully comprehend what culture is, what measures and implications cultural content can bring to their EFL classrooms. They need to rethink of varied tasks and set broad objectives as tolerating differences, mutual understanding, accommodation and so forth.

The findings of the survey have also shown the effects of misunderstanding the way culture based courses are treated. The superiority of English and its culture can be plainly seen in most of ELT materials giving less chance for local cultural content in both topics and classroom activities. Smith maintains that in the acquisition of an international language, the goal of learning is to enable learning to communicate their ideas and culture effectively**.** It is therefore advisable to be aware of recent strategies that properly serve the objectives described above. Being familiar with new arrangements in class, planning for new activities and using different aids, particularly those which are part of the learners' cultural knowledge, would certainly help meet better results. Cultural content is therefore so sensitive that it needs careful treatment, mainly in non-native speaker contexts. EFL teachers are not supposed to focus on narration and story-telling; they need to diversify and tailor their activities according to

local culture as they are increasingly becoming mediators more than language facilitators. Cultural content should serve broad objectives as breaking stereotypes and fostering mutual understanding.

5. Discussion

Discussing the teaching of British civilization, ***at the University of Laghouat***, required me to focus on three main ideas, namely the nature of the cultural content, the challenges of incorporating cultural information, particularly in non-native speaker context, and the remedies, which might turn this class around.

5.1. An Overview on Language and Culture in EFL Classrooms

In the last decades of the twentieth century, English has exceptionally generated the features of an international language that has triumphed the remaining languages of the globe: it has been on a march to victory thanks to couple of incentives (Graddol, 2006, p.58). The increasing number of its users explains its giant leap towards linguistic superiority making excellence in English a must to get ahead not only in the realm of academia, but in life as well. After years of learning, a lot managed to gain a complete command of grammar rules and syntactic structures; they have remarkably developed a degree of proficiency, which becomes no longer determined by birth, but rather by the fact of being able to use language effectively (Mckay, 2003). In addition to colleges and universities, where English is adopted as a compulsory course or a language of instruction, English has dominated the scene of institutional platforms, scientific research, travel tours, commercial deals and many other industrial activities demonstrating its necessity for achievements in different sectors. Recently, it stepped to another phase of superiority when learners extended their interests to more than grammar and syntax. Learners become eager to know about beliefs, festivals, lifestyles and all that concerns English culture asserting that learning language cannot be disassociated from culture (Byram, 1999). In other words, the cumulative exposure to English being spoken or written has worked its way on learners' needs and turned their concern to exploring beliefs, thoughts and manners rather than pure linguistic skills.

In EFL classrooms, instructors are becoming more concerned about the form and the content of their teaching materials. In many Algerian universities, courses such as ***British civilization*** tend to develop the students' linguistic abilities through a variety of language tasks, particularly reading and writing. Besides language skills, these courses tend to enrich the students' cultural knowledge: Learners are supposed to know about Britain's physical features, historical key events, the country's system of government, celebrations, festivals and many other topics providing a high potential in developing a thorough vision about the UK. They might additionally come across numerous idioms, slangs and even details only the natives know. By the end of these sessions, learners might

become linguistically and culturally aware of what to say or how to act in a given situation though they have never been to the UK realizing the broadest objective of teaching culture: Awareness and understanding. "*A super goal for the teaching of culture is that all students will develop the cultural understanding, attitudes, and performance skills needed to function appropriately within a segment of another society and to communicate with people socialized in that culture*" (Steely, 2003, p.29). Yet, misinterpreting what culture is and mishandling the techniques used in integrating culture in classes have caused a number of challenges among students, mainly cultural. The misuse of teaching styles has additionally influenced the whole learning process making students wholly frustrated and less productive. Thus, it is high time to see culture related courses in the same context as teaching language. In other words, there should be strong emphasis on careful plans with a variety of activities giving learners more opportunities to practice and produce. Accordingly, teachers need to be appealing to their students and more exactly, what might go in accordance with the local culture.

To examine the way ***British civilization*** course is handled, I conducted a survey on the contents of the course as well as the tasks planned to meet the students' needs. In 2011, due to several changes, both internal and external, the ministerial committees opted for the installment of LMD system in Algerian universities. An overall curriculum was subsequently introduced bringing a set of transformations in terms of courses, their objectives and even their content, but it's worth mentioning that they were too vague. There is some evidence that the teaching of ***British civilization course*** is a bit overwhelming as neither its content nor the practices used in teaching it seem to be appropriate. Some EFL instructors are teaching British culture in context without veiling linguistic skills in English. Their great awareness of various teaching styles and more importantly, how to incorporate culture in class helped their students enhance their cultural and linguistic skills. For them, meaningful structures, communicative procedures and manageable quantities are important to proceed a culture-based lesson. Other EFL instructors, on the other hand, believe that ***British civilization course*** should meet pure cultural endings. In fact, they prioritize the development of critical thinking and deep understanding although they undermine language usage. They often dominate all that happens in class making little chance for students to produce. More than that, students might be asked to undertake assessments that evaluate their language skills rather than their cultural knowledge the thing that seems paradoxical. These conflicting teaching styles have certainly set the ground for refining the way ***British civilization course*** should be taught thinking of balance between linguistic competency and cultural knowledge. In regards to the students' expectations, I asked 40 students to find out what makes this course captivating. This might also

lead to refining ELT materials or adopting new teaching styles. 59% of the students asserted that they expected a content that would develop their English and help explore British culture at the same time. They reported that cultural knowledge and language competence should go hand in hand in this class **(See Figure one)**. This advocates that cultural information is central to engaging students into the learning process. Hence, EFL instructors are invited to adjust the content of this course to appeal for their students' interests. More importantly, they need to view culture in its broadest meaning and as a rich outlet for teaching resources.

Figure 1:
Linguistic Skills versus Cultural Knowledge

Being unaware of the teaching practices relevant to teaching culture and having a broad vision about the concept of "culture" might not help turn the course of *British civilization* around. The survey has shown that "*history*" dominates most of teachers' lectures, *at the University of Laghouat*. Nowadays, many EFL teachers use "culture" in its limited description: historical events and biographies. They do usually provide students with a series of facts without giving a reason behind their selection of texts or tasks. Additionally, these tasks often undermine language usage making little or no focus on grammar rules, pronunciation and writing styles though practice is efficient for language learners. The teaching style has frustrated many students. It's high time to see "Culture" from another perspective to serve the cultural and linguistic affinities language learners are looking for. Culture is about symbolic and learned aspects of human society. This includes language, custom, conventions and all that might distinguish human behaviour from other primates. Differences in beliefs, attitudes, tastes, dress, manners and practices can help distinguish certain social groups from certain others stating that culture is a way of life too (Hill and

Tuner, 2006, p.92). In EFL contexts, a selection of topics and a variety of are needed to motivate students. *"When teaching English as an international language, educators should recognize the value of including topics that deal with the local culture, support the selection of a methodology that is appropriate to the local educational context, and recognize the strengths of bilingual teachers of English*" (Mckay, 2003). I additionally tried to see whether developing cultural knowledge is important or learning British history is. 80% of the participants answered that it history is less important than developing cultural knowledge. (See Figure 2). This is another call for reviewing the content of the course in a way to meet the students' cultural and linguistic interests. The variety of themes and topics can undoubtedly contribute the objectives above.

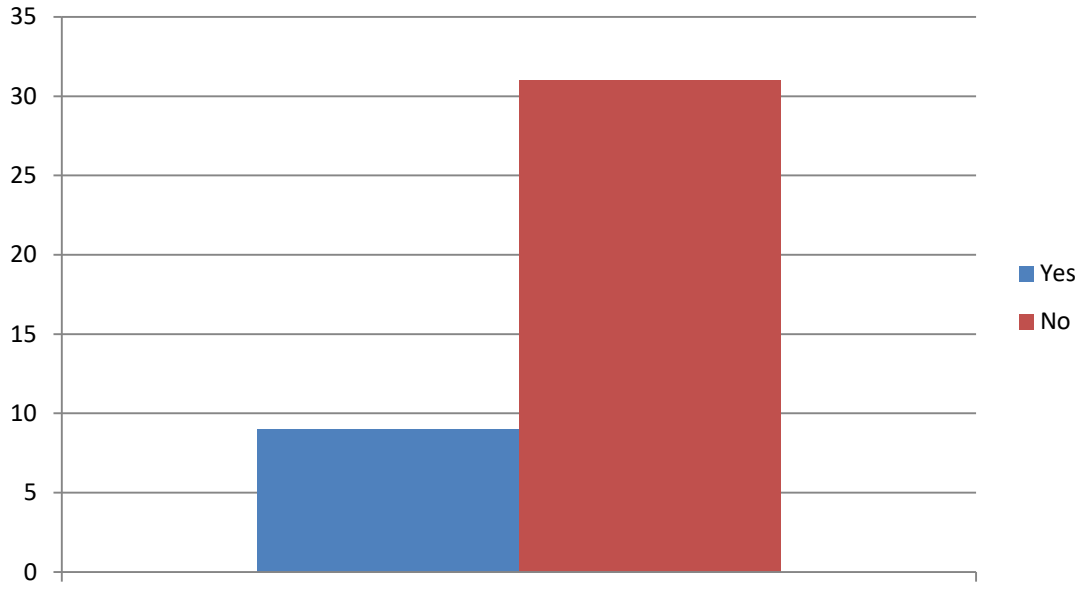


Figure 2: British Civilisation Course and British History

5.2. Cultural Information and the Learners' Skills:

Teaching culture to EFL learners plays a major role in meeting the ever-increasing interests of learners. If used conveniently, cultural content can be of a paramount importance for the learning process. In fact, it supplies the teachers' needs for resources, classroom tasks and activities. Culture is a reliable source of motivation in the sense that it exhibits a host of themes, thoughts and even products. Considering language teaching, it stimulates the learners' production, or rather language expression (Sun, 2013, 371). Learners can discuss, compare, express their views, illustrate and defend their ideas having a bunch of ways and means to do so. Accordingly, the potential to enhance the students' linguistic ability is incidentally considerable. For these reasons, EFL teachers are invited to

teach culture in context. They are supposed to blur that overwhelming line between teaching culture and teaching language taking into account appropriate teaching styles, cultural background of language usage as well as culturally based linguistic differences to avoid any sort of misunderstanding or prejudices (Alptekin, 2002). In the case of ***British civilization*** **course**, understanding British culture rests upon varied topics and activities to let students communicate their ideas and culture to others effectively (Smith, 1976). I tried to understand what matters in British civilization course: cultural knowledge or linguistic ability. 65% of the respondents reported that they strongly agree and that culture and language are closely entwined with one another **(See Figure three)**.

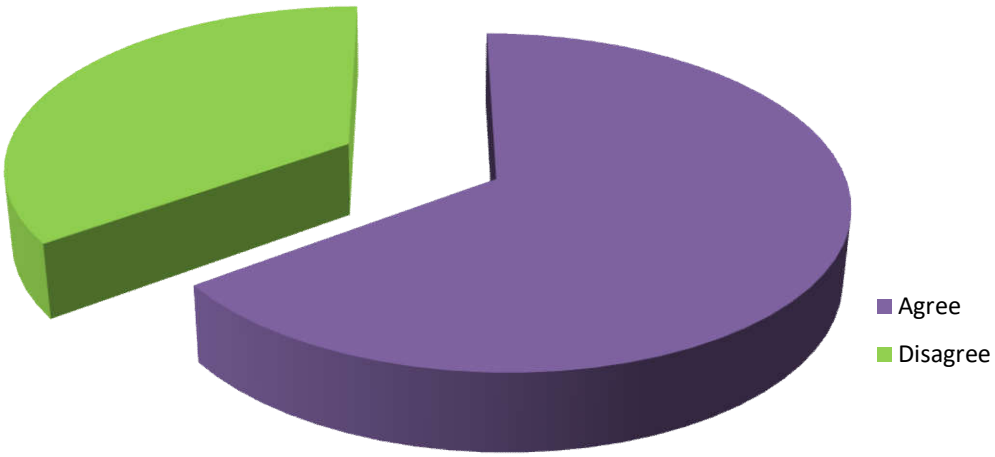


Figure3:
Linguistic Performance and Cultural knowledge are of Equal Importance.

Apart from its contribution to the learning process, in general, and the variety of the ELT materials, in particular, the inclusion of cultural content can help achieve broad objectives. Learning a foreign language means crossing borders and exploring regional differences, new tastes and values (Bailey, 1991). Teaching culture should be tailored for promoting bi-cultural and multi-cultural understanding. Cultural content should appeal for tolerance, mutual appreciation and honourable co-existence for peace, harmony, progress and prosperity. These conventional cultural values should be pinpointed to woo and convince learners across language communities that the main objective of teaching culture understanding. Students would progressively learn new patterns of judgments about the appropriateness and rightness of native ways; they would develop the

necessary skills to evaluate, organize information, refine generalizations and feed their intellectual curiosity. They would become aware of what is acceptable, what is not, what is conventional, what is rude in other cultures and so forth. Cultural content is so vital that it helps bridge the gap between cultures and breaks stereotypes. It helps broaden the learners' assumptions when they correct or assert their convictions. *"One culture may determine that snapping fingers to call a waiter is appropriate, whereas another may consider this gesture rude"* (Levine, 1993). Yet, cultural content, though vital, may pose a couple of challenges very hard to overcome. Things might go wrong when incorporating culture into classroom activities if being unaware of teaching methods, language usage, regional cultural paradigms and other related issues (Kramsch, 1998).

This research has unfortunately shown that the common teaching model used in this course is teacher centered style. This kind of instruction does not allow students control or direct their own learning. As for classroom management, final objectives aren't clearly stated and tasks are partly irrelevant. Learners, in classes like these, spend hours listening to their teachers with little or no chance to respond or reflect on the tasks. More than that, their learning experiences are not assessed allowing less chance to measure their success or failure. I tried to find out whether ***British civilization course*** needs new adjustments or not. 62.25% did affirm that their challenges or rather difficulties are particularly rendered to the teaching styles used. In fact, they collectively agreed on the necessity to amend **(See Figure Four)**. Without proper teaching styles, cultural content can be less engaging, if not frustrating. This necessitates EFL instructors and lecturers to rethink of both strategies and materials to heighten their learners' motivation.

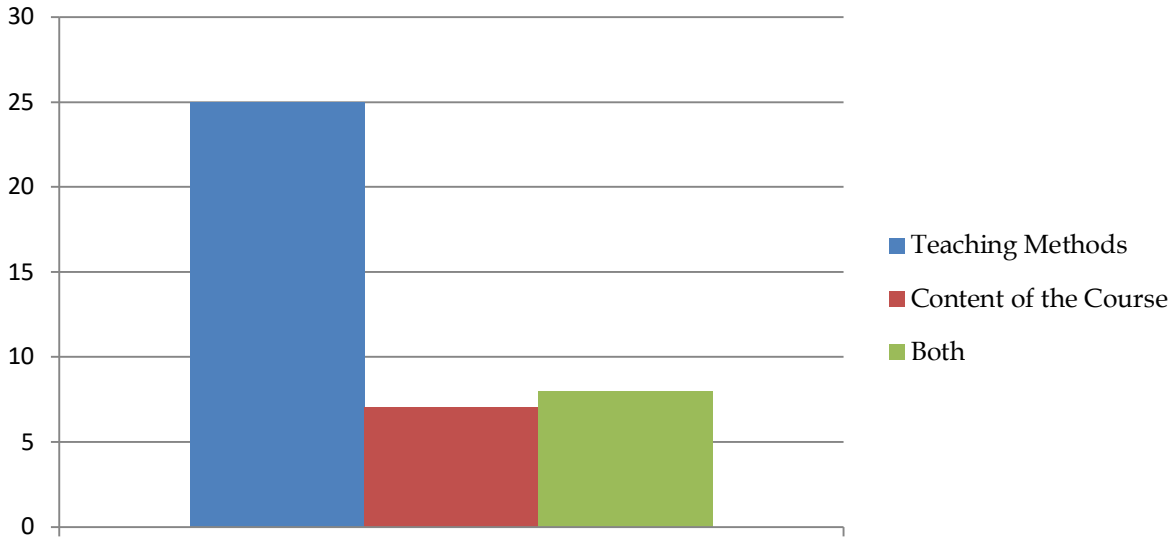


Figure 4: The kind of Changes British Civilisation Course needs

5.3 Refining Culture-based Courses

Reviewing ELT materials should be an on-going habit among EFL instructors. This helps spot what might go wrong with the teachers' selections in terms of both topics and tasks. When integrating cultural content, EFL instructors are supposed to be very selective. They need to be aware of how appropriate their cultural content is. Clarity means having a full image of what cultural backgrounds they belong to, what might offend or awaken their interest, as Englebert describes: "…*to teach a foreign language is also to teach a foreign culture, and it is important to be sensitive to the fact that our students, our colleagues, our administrators do not share all of our cultural paradigms*."(Engelbert, 2004). Topics of random choice such as politics, religion, sex, social class and many others might not be of a great interest; they may violate the ideals of some learners unlike others; they may cause hurt and misunderstanding (Patricia, 1997). They might cause reluctance to cooperate with the teacher's cues, questions and attempts to engage students. Thus, teachers are expected to be well informed about the cultural information they want incorporate into their material: its compliance with the students' local culture, its value for their knowledge and the way it would serve the final outcomes of the lesson. Teachers are invited to pre- teach culture and predict what might hinder the progress of their lectures before starting their classes. This often includes thinking of the main phases of lessons, the resources to be used and the procedures they will perform.

Teaching English culture in context should go in harmony with teaching English. EFL teachers should adopt the appropriate teaching strategies to proceed culture related lessons, and here is a number of common styles. The **PPP** [1] type of lessons goes through three phases that explain all that occurs in class. After short presentations, students are given the chance to practice and express their ideas; they then start working on the language with their teacher or their peers. Yet, there are some limitations when it comes to culture based lessons. Though widely used, this type of lessons doesn't appeal to humanistic or learner-centered needs. It starts from no knowledge, through highly restricted sentence-based utterances and on to immediate production the thing that makes the whole process partly unsuitable for teaching culture." (Harmer, 2007, p.64). Students can do nothing without their teachers; they remain helpless, especially adequate guidance is often missing. Students need to understand the procedures they would go through and the objectives they would achieve in reference to the new language exponents. Instead, other alternatives to the **PPP** framework are suggested to remedy these defects. The ***"deep end strategy"*** turns the whole procedure on its head as if you, as a teacher, throw your students at a deep end. Doing so, teachers encourage their students to produce; they will clearly identify the kind of problems their learners are having, and then return to either presentation or practice phases. There are still other variations and alternatives as **ESA**[2] and **TPR** [3], which tend to enable students acquire new items, carry out commands and, may be, go on advanced activities. These aim at developing different skills when interacting with peers or solving problems. However, the use of these strategies would not work perfectly unless procedures are explained meticulously.

True that being aware of teaching strategies is highly recommended, but additional managerial tips might introduce positive changes to this kind of classes. This includes thinking of interesting topics, engaging tasks and appropriate arrangements. At first, the incorporation of recent topics addressing the learners' interests is a key to motivation. Undoubtedly, varied themes such as traveling, immigration, leadership, talents, sporting events, stories, famous figures and many others would engage students and allow them act their age. Then, thinking of new arrangements in class is of a great value for the progress of lesson phases. Group or pair work can help students explore differences,

[1] A teaching procedure which grew out of structural- situational teaching in which the teacher presents a situation and the language. The students then practice the new language, before they go to produce the language for themselves. Harmer, J. (2007). *How to Teach English*. Harlow, England: Pearson Longman

[2] Stands for Engage, Study and Activate: The three elements that should be present in a teaching sequence.

[3] Total physical response is a language teaching method based on the coordination of language and physical movement. In TPR, instructors give commands to students in the target language, and students respond with whole-body actions. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Total_physical_response

similarities and compare their newly established sets within the safety of the group. Culture assimilators, newspaper articles, projected media, drama and other procedures would motivate students and help them consolidate several skills, especially if given the chance to reflect and evaluate the learning experience. These teaching techniques might help lessen challenges and difficulties that characterize this kind of classes, but it doesn't mean that they are ideal because the term "culture" is too complex. Language teachers cannot teach culture only when proper training in instructional methods is fully understood (Hughes, 1986). Briefly, it could be said that successful culture-based lessons rest upon a combination of practices: Careful planning, engaging content and more importantly, great awareness of useful instructional strategies and techniques.

5. Conclusion

English has ultimately triumphed several languages of the world as it becomes no longer connected to English speaking countries (Cook, 1999). Individuals from different parts of the world became keenly interested in learning the language for academic, economic and even cultural factors. A lot want to have access to science, get ahead in business, travel and explore the mysteries of other cultures. These factors, and indubitably many others, revived EFL industry, in general. They transformed the content of courses in a way to appeal for the students' interests. Yet, English has worked its way on the learners' mindset, and a lot of them extended their interests to more than pure linguistic affinities. Many students became really into learning new sets of cultural values, ideals and pattern of judgments that belong to target culture. In fact, culture becomes an important outlet of resources, tasks and all that might be useful for the learning process making it a vital part of EFL classes. These changes in interests influenced the way some culture based courses are taught; they called the content of tasks and strategies used in these EFL classes to inquiries. Some EFL instructors put the emphasis on linguistic competencies unlike many others who deliberately ignore language usage and then prioritize cultural awareness. Teaching culture might be demanding and frustrating in some settings. This might occur only when teachers mishandle the concept of culture or the way it should be taught. Recently, culture based courses are under constant reviews and changes that aim at nothing, but engaging students and developing their skills making the inclusion of cultural content in EFL classes so sensitive.

When incorporating cultural information, teachers have to think of tasks and activities that involve the learners as doers in the learning process. ***Participatory learning*** is arguably the best approach to making culture more appealing to learners of English as a Foreign Language. This could involve engaging activities as culture assimilators, culture capsule projected media and

many other different tasks. In the same vein, learners can be given practical assignments for class demonstration, open discussion and other group work tasks, which would turn culture based class around. A variety of procedures can serve both cultural and linguistic outcomes. This could involve careful selection of what is conventional, interesting and ideal for the students'. In the case of ***British studies course***, the topic of history is only one part of culture, and there should be additional themes and tasks that anticipate students as it is methodologically wrong to use one theme and one type of activities the whole academic year. It is also important to mind that teaching culture is a bit hard, mainly when it comes to two cultures: target and local. Without any doubt, the learners' culture must be brought to the fore. This is very necessary because the misuse of terms or patterns in describing any form of the learner's culture could result in unpalatable experience. Balance is therefore needed. Taboos, social class and sex are often non-starters. They are sure-fire ways to cause misunderstandings and hurt feelings. Instead, teachers should carefully choose their topics; they should not advocate foreign values or focus on target culture. They are supposed to involve themes and tasks that address the students' cultural background and let them compare, contrast, reflect, analyze and think critically. It is agreed that when learners participate actively in the learning process, learning becomes very exciting and rewarding. In the end, ***British civilization class*** will be a true chance for students to develop different individual skills if teaching strategies are used appropriately and cultural content is handled conveniently.

References

Alptekin, C. (2002). Towards Instructional Communicative Competence in ELT. *ELT Journal*, 56(1), 57-63

Bailey KM. (1991). *Focus on the Language Classroom: An Introduction to Classroom Research for Language Teachers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, H. D. (1994). *Principles of Language Learning and Teaching*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Regents

Byram, M. (1989). *Cultural studies in foreign language education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Byram, M., and K. Risager. (1999). *Language teachers, politics and cultures*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Cook, V. (1999). "Going beyond the native speaker in language teaching". *TESOL Quarterly*, 33, 185-209

Englebert, J. (2004). Character or culture? *An EFL Journal*, 24(2), 37-41

Graddol, D. (2006). *English Next: Why Global English May Mean The End of English as a Foreign Language*. Plymouth: English Company Ltd.

Harmer, J. (2003). *The Practice of English Language Teaching*. Harlow, England: Pearson Longman.

Harmer, J. (2007). *How to Teach English*. Harlow, England: Pearson Longman.

Hughes. W, (1986). The Learning how to learn Approach to Cross Cultural Orientation, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 10(4), 485-505

Kachru, B. B. (1992). *Models for non-native Englishes*. The Other Tongue Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Kramsch, C. (1993). *Context and Culture in Language Teaching*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Levine, D. R. Adelman, M. B. (1993). *Beyond Language: Cross-Cultural Communication.* Prentice-Hall.

LIurda, E. (2004). Non Native Speaker Teachers and English as an International Language. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 14(3), 314-321

Mckay, S.L. (2000). Teaching English as an international language: Implications for Cultural Materials in Classroom. *TESOL Journal.* 9(4), 7-11

McKay, S.L. (2003). *Teaching English as International Language: Rethinking Goals and Perspectives*. New York. Oxford University Press.

Patricia A. (1997). Duff and Yuko Uchida, The Negotiation of Teachers' Socio-cultural Identities and Practices in Postsecondary EFL Classrooms, *TESOL Quarterly*, *31*(*3*), 451-486

Seeley, H.N. (2003). Teaching *Culture: Strategies for Intercultural Communication*. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Smith, L. (1976). "English as an international auxiliary language". RELC Journal 7(2), 38–43

Stephan Hill. Brayan S. Tuner. (2006). The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology, England: Penguin Books

Sun, Li. (2013). "Culture Teaching in Foreign Language Teaching." Theory and Practice in Language Studies. 3(2), 371- 375

الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية
وزارة التعليم العالي و البحث العلمي

جامعة أبي بكر بلقايد –تلمسان–
مخبر الفنون والدراسات الثقافية

الرقم:2021/22

وعد بالنشر

يشهد السيد رئيس تحرير مجلة دراسات فنية أن:

المقال الموسوم:

The Notion of Political Protest and the Pursuit of Legal Rights in Media: Surveying the Chartists' Campaigns, 1838-1848

من تقديم الطالب الدكتورالي: Mohamed Cherif Seddiki

University of Abou Bekr Tlemcen, m.seddiki@lagh-univ.dz,

واشراف الأستاذة الدكتورة:Frid Daoudi

University of Abou Bekr Tlemcen, daoudi.frid@univ-tlemcen.dz ,

سينشر في العدد المقبل من مجلة " دراسات فنية" والذي سيصدر بتاريخ 16 ديسمبر 2021.

حرر بتلمسان: 28 سبتمبر2021

مدير المخبر ورئيس تحرير المجلة

مدير المخبر
طرشاوي بلحاج

https://www.asjp.cerist.dz/en/PresentationRevue/702

Summary:

Both individuals and groups aspire to improve their living and working conditions via setting upon plenty of canals and mechanisms. In this sense, this study deals with labour societies, in Britain, that ended up triumphant after they had protected their legal and professional interests. In plenty of instances, they could lead mass manifestations, aggressive strikes and other physical force acts to protect their crafts, increase their wages or decrease their working hours. Thus, is it wise to consider that the resort to physical force activities is an effective way to realize welfare? Using a descriptive method to review and analyze historical events, this study tries to explore what possible ways might help achieve welfare; it sheds light on the history of British labour unions and their contributions in transforming the working class from a less privileged class into a powerful party in control of the nation. They did not only denounce the political conduct of the day but brought alternatives and schemes to handle the workers' needs and interests. In the end, this is another voice added to mobs against ineffective policies, which would bring nothing except chaos and disorder.

Keywords: Labour Unions- Political parties- reforms– Physical-force- Social Welfare.

ملخص

يتطلع الأفراد و الجماعات، سواء كانت تكتلات سياسية أو نقابات عمالية، إلى تحسين ظروفهم المعيشية والمهنية انطلاقا من مجموعة من الآليات. تتطرق هذه الدراسة إلى التجمعات العمالية في بريطانيا التي تمكنت من حماية مصالحها والاستفادة من جملة من الامتيازات القانونية والمهنية بعدما خاضت العديد من الإضرابات ودعت الى العصيان المدني في مجموعة من المناطق الصناعية لغرض حماية وظائف العمال وتغيير واقعهم المعيشي. فهل يعتبر اللجوء الى القوة وسيلة فعالة لتحقيق غايات اجتماعية واقتصادية وحتى سياسية؟ وتهدف هذه الدراسة من خلال وصف وتحليل أحداث تاريخية إلى محاولة الكشف عن السبل الناجعة لتحقيق الرفاهية الاجتماعية. فهي تسلط الضوء على تاريخ النقابات البريطانية ودورها في تحقيق جملة من الأهداف الاجتماعية والسياسية لفائدة الفئات العمالية التي ثارت ضد سياسات الحكومات وأرباب العمل على وجه الخصوص. إنّ استقراء هذه الأحداث قد يساعد في فهم الأسباب الحقيقة وراء استرجاع العمّال لحقوقهم ووصولهم إلى مراكز القرار. إنّ سياسات التهميش و الإقصاء لا تفضي إلاّ إلى الاحتقان السياسي والاجتماعي، وهذا ما يجعل من هذا البحث صوتا اضافيا لصوت الشعوب المطالبة بحقوقها.

الكلمات المفتاحية: تجمّعات عمالية- أحزاب سياسية- إصلاحات- أعمال عنف- رفاهية اجتماعية

Résumé:

Les individus comme les groupes aspirent à améliorer leurs conditions de vie et de travail à travers une panoplie de canaux et mécanismes. Les sociétés ouvrières britanniques ont fini par triompher après avoir protégé leurs intérêts juridiques et professionnels. Dans de nombreux cas, ils ont pu mener des manifestations de masse, des grèves agressives et d'autres actes de force physique pour assurer une protection à leurs métiers, augmenter leurs salaires ou bien réduire leurs heures de travail. Ainsi, est-il sage de considérer que le recours à des activités de force physique est un moyen efficace pour réaliser le bien-être? Cette étude se base sur une méthode descriptive et analytique afin d'explorer les moyens possibles qui pourraient aider à atteindre le bien-être.

Elle met en exergue l'histoire des syndicats britanniques et leurs contributions à la transformation de la classe ouvrière d'une classe moins privilégiée en un parti puissant ayant le contrôle de la nation. Ils n'ont pas seulement dénoncé la conduite politique de l'époque, mais ils ont plutôt proposé des alternatives et des plans pour satisfaire les besoins et les intérêts des travailleurs. En fin, la présente recherche demeure une valeur ajoutée au profit des foules contre les politiques inefficaces, qui n'apporteraient que du chaos.