

UNIVERSITE D'ABOMEY-CALAVI

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Département d'Anglais

Mémoire de Maîtrise ES-lettres



The Victorian Society as depicted in Disraeli's *Sybil*
and Gaskell's *Mary Barton*

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Année académique 2014-2015

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DEDICATION

This research work is dedicated to:

-The Almighty and living GOD who has led this project to an end. I am thankful to you

-The memory of my late father, LatifiOdomodé MOUSTAPHA LADJOUAN and to my uncle Fadil MOUSTAPHA LADJOUAN for granting me the finance.

-My mother Latifath LIGALI for her maternal unlimited support.

-My husband Mourtador DAOUD for his support and patience

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have to express my special thanks to:

- Professor Taofiki O. KOUMAKPAI, for his care, his tireless work and for having willingly accepted to supervise this work
- Dr. Ibrahim YEKINI, Dr. Bertin DANSOU and Dr. François AGBOIGBA for Their contribution to the writing of this research work.
- Dr. Alexis SEGUEDEME, Dr. Rissicatou BABALOLA and Dr. GNONLONFOUN for their help, contribution, advice.
- All my lecturers at the University of Abomey- Calavi who have largely contributed to my English studies. I thank you all.

“Now or never is your time;
be sure you do not neglect your arms,
and when you do strike do not let it be
with sticks or stones, but
LET THE BLOOD OF ALL YOU SUSPECT
moistens the soil of your native land”

FeargusO'connor

(Quoted from : *A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH WORKING CLASSES*,
by Eric Hopkins, pages 47.)

INTRODUCTION

A comparison of the Modern English society with the one that existed in the early nineteenth Century puts me in position to assert that every social improvement and stability are deeply rooted in previous misunderstandings and bloody conflict among the various social groups.

More serious analysis of the fact enables me to point out that wealth is the only means of class distinction and enmity among men living in the same society. The increasing Wealth makes people compete as to form social classes wherein the most powerful and privileged ones dominate and oppress the lowest and the weakest ones. Thus the Turkey Merchant and the India planter were known as the greatest English masters dominated them in the early Eighteenth Century, and formed a new English aristocracy. But in the middle of the Eighteenth Century there occurred a Revolution in the British way of living;

As a matter of fact, a great economic improvement occurred in England and changed it from an agricultural country into an industrial and commercial Nation. That change which was undoubtedly the greatest event of the time is known as the Industrial Revolution. It began with the conquest of India and its "plundering" by England and the exploitation of coal and various metal ores in England under the Roman settlement, and the various discoveries and inventions of many useful machines.

"This machine was the rough beginning of the later invented mule, and was moved by hand. Instead of one spindle like the ordinary spinning-wheel, it carried sixteen or eighteen manipulated by a single workman. This invention made it possible to deliver more than therefore" (1)

Thus a work which formerly was done within a period of one or two weeks began to be done in a few hours' time thanks to the application of new discoveries. The demands for woven goods had increased and accordingly, agricultural production greatly improved. The first textile industry was then built in England in 1771 after the invention had tried to use steam to work machines.

But it was in the Nineteenth Century that many really successful scientific as well as mechanical inventions were made.

In 1814, George Stephenson, an English man constructed the first practical locomotive which pulled eight carriages. Henceforth, locomotive moving on rails began to be used for transport of heavy goods, with greater speed and more safety than before.

In 1807, the first steam-boat was constructed by the American Robert Fulton; which steam-boat had crossed the Atlantic sea for the first time in 1819. The improvement of agricultural production as well as the growing of industries and methods of transport had an important influence on the lives of the people in the Nineteenth Century. In the first half or so of that important century, in the honour of Queen Victoria, the countryside lost a great number of its population.

¹ Engels Frederic: The condition of the working class in England. Page40
(All information in the introduction are related to this novel)

Of course, the multiplication of factories implied the need for more factory weavers as well as the diminishing of traditional handloom weaver. With the multiplication and the decentralization of factories, the English countryside people invaded factory cities. Most of those new factory workers were men, women and children who became unable to live on agricultural production, since they had been driven out of their own land by the new powerful masters. They were now employed in factories and earned wages. The social structures had then changed. The English society had henceforth consisted of two main antagonistic classes of people in the early Victorian English: the Rich or the Masters and the poor or the "have not".

The rich were the owners of factories and pieces of land whereas the poor who didn't own any wealth had to work either in factories or on farms or at home for the rich Master for wages.

Bitter conflict took place between those English social classes in the early Victorian Period. The growth of Capitalism entailed the ruin and the degradation of certain people who formerly belonged to the rank of the petty bourgeois. Those persons stunned by competition had given up the attempts to their high social position and then grew up number of the poor. Only, few of those former Masters, the victors of competition succeeded in becoming capitalists. They became the rising Middle class who joined the new aristocracy to rule and exploit the weaker social class. The new aristocracy landowners indulged in breeding sheep and other pedigree animals which required important capital. They also had the pieces of land ploughed by the farm labourers whom they exploited severely.

The direct consequence of that massive exodus movement was the problem of housing. Sometimes more than for persons lived in a very small windowless and doorless and stove-like room working or looking for job. Those "Have- Not" lived dieting and being threatened by diseases and death, without any sympathy from the rich and opulent Masters.

The social conflict opposing the Rich and the poor had reached its highest and most violent stages in the period as spreading from 1815 to 1850, especially when agriculture as well as industry had suffered a great depression that immediately followed the Napoleonic wars. Faced with the hardships of the early Victorian Period, each social group fought for its own survival by all means.

In that struggle for bread, better living conditions and poling up of selfish interests, the various social protagonists made use of social, political, economic and many other weapons they could find. It was a real war for class interests. In this connection, Thomas Paine was right when he said that:

“The vast variety of interests occasioned by an increase of trade and population would create confusion”. (2)

Indeed, the social conflict in early Victorian Period, which occurred in England at least two dozen of years Paine, had written *Common Sense* was a confusion. It was such a complex social conflict! There was hate everywhere. There was a violent inner competition among the members of each social class, while the social struggle opposing the two main classes went on dreadfully with its social, political and economic aspects.

As a matter of fact the great Victorian historians such as Macaulay, Trevelyan as well as famous social novel writers such as Charles Dickens, George Eliot, Thackeray, Benjamin Disraeli and Mrs. Elizabeth Gaskell, and poets like Browning, Arnold and Tennyson and other reformers quickly got conscious of the evils time and struggled against them throughout their work. They attempted to inform the middle –class readers about the negative aspects of the Industrial Revolution.

Benjamin Disraeli in *Sybil* and Mrs. in *Mary Barton* tried to describe thoroughly the social contrast between the Rich and the poor; proposed solutions to the social conflict, in the conclusion of their works.

² Thomas Paine: *Common Sense*, page 140

Mrs. Gaskell who was the wife of Reverend William Gaskell, a minister of the Unitarian Chapel, had lived among the poor and made an accurate and reliable description of the conflict that she witnessed personally.

Yet, Israeli who had not had the opportunity to live so close to the various facts and events which could be considered as the causes and aspects of the development of the conflict drew up most of information through the government report known as the *Bluebook*. Both *Sybil* and *Mary Barton* clearly show us detail about the social conflict in the early Victorian England on the morrow of the Industrial Revolution.

Throughout my dissertation I shall try to point out the degree of complexity of the conflict, and establish the link causal between Industrial Revolution and Social conflict.

**CHAPTER ONE:
RESEARCH FRAMEWORK**

A-Problem statement

The workers were the victims of the Industrial Revolution at the Victorian period. They were treated by the Masters like a group of meaningless animals or creatures. They had no rights in England. They lived in dirty and squalid suburbs without any streets, squares or lights. Moreover workers were sheltered in nasty and gloomy cellars where they often experienced diseases without getting money to buy medicines'. Their clothes were most of the time ragged and very dirty. Poor people walked bare-foot. The few ones who protected their feet wore torn and ragged shoes which they often sewed with wire. As far as education is concerned, the large majority of the "HAVE-NOT" class were illiterate. Their moral education was just guided over religious teachings which made them more devoted to their Masters. The whole family worked in the same factory in a very bad condition. For instance, children worked naked and alone in dark and hot galleries

English history literature reports that the Victorian Age took its name from Queen Victoria who ruled from 1837 to 1901. When Victoria ascended to the throne, Britain was essentially agrarian and rural, but during her reign, the country became vastly urbanized and largely industrialized. Due to this industrial revolution, the Victorian England became notorious for the employment of workers.

Victorian people were in majority poor. Like men, children and women worked more than fourteen hours a day, for very few wages. What worsened the factory workers' social existence was the fact that some Masters didn't pay them regularly. The women who worked in factories were compelled to get rid of the little children who were unable to work. They lived in hardship. The job safety was not a major concern and they were expected to work in filthy conditions many times. They really had no choice in the matter. They lived near factories, and in unhealthy flats or in suburbs with poor hygiene. At the time, there was no insurance and when children had accidents or were ill, they didn't have any help.

After looking at the Victorian period and weighing the price of progress and development, poor who worked during the industrial revolution were people who built Victorian Britain today. Yet, workers rights and the welfare of the workers had been violated throughout the Victorian period. Basically, this is so unfair to the people who contribute to the society as a whole.

However, worker labour, workers exploitation, workers mistreatment...are still common in many parts of the world.

B-The purpose of the study

The present research work is an examination of the Victorian society as seen through Disraeli's *Sybil* and Gaskell's *Mary Barton*. The choice of the two writers for this study gives an idea of how writers of that period contribute to the reforms concerning workers. The experience of the past is the platform to correct the imperfections of the present for a better future.

At this purpose, this research work helps to a good understanding of poverty and a better awareness of employers' situation in the society. So each one as a unit of this society from his corner will act conveniently to contribute to the well-being of workers. There is no need to be member of government or employee in a specialized international institution or member of a specific NGO ...before struggling for human rights.

C-Limitation of the study

This research work on the Victorian society as depicted in Disraeli's *Sybil* and Gaskell's *Mary Barton* exposes the general living condition of workers in that period. It is the representation of workers through Victorian literature. To do this, the real living condition of workers is seen as far as hard work and poor labour reinforced by the industrial revolution, mistreatment, malnutrition, lack of communication, children exploitation, poor medical care for workers, infant mortality...

This research work point out the meaning of poverty given by writers of the time through their works. It is essentially the literary genre of this period and how the writers through their works contribute to the various reforms taken to improve the well-being of workers in the Victorian period. A particular ascent has been put on the novelists Disraeli and Gaskell.

D-Methodology of the study

The study of the Victorian period as depicted in *Sybil* and *Mary Barton* analyses the living condition of the employers during this period of emergence of English economy. Prior, a general overview on the Victorian era is necessary to understand the Victorian society during the industrial

revolution and his attitude towards workers. To do this a feedback of English civilization courses and some researches have been done.

The nineteenth century was the great age of novel, which is described by Henry James as an intricately inwrought aesthetic and psychological design, and a subtle balancing of formal and moral tensions. This form of literary art was bound to flourish since there was an increase in literacy as the middle class rose in power and importance. As industrialization spread throughout Britain, it was common that the novel became a means of portraying life and its social and moral values familiar to the readers. Thus, the Victorian novel became greatly known for its concern for the social problems of the time. Victorian novelists, depicted the conflicts between individuals and society, and also criticized the nineteenth century social structure.

In order to better surround the subject and to conduct the research work to a good end, I resort to the internal reading method. Through the entire novel, I analyze the problematic of workers ill-treatment. I have started this research work by going to our government department in charge of human rights. There, the information I received shows that the problem still exists. I also went to literature department of the University of Abomey-Calavi to get experiences from the similar subjects of thesis.

**CHAPTER TWO:
LITERATURE REVIEW**

The causes of the social conflict in the early Victorian England were twofold. There were some historical origins as well as some immediate causes of it.

I – THE HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF THE SOCIAL CONFLICT.

As far as the historical causes are conflict are concerned, we shall admit – after a glance at the history OF England – that there had often been hardships in England before the Nineteenth Century. Yet the people’s misery was alleviated by the monasteries, and the Monarch had lost his power before the Ninetieth Century.

A-THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES.

Before the foundation of the Anglican Church or the established, the monasteries had been playing an important part in the welfare of the poor. Those monasteries were in charge of some men called the Monks or the Abbots who lives in the service of God. There were also women called the Nuns who lived together in same way. Those were women’s dwelling place was called a nunnery. In each monastery, there were a church, a school, a dispensary and a lot of boarding houses and many commodities the welfare of the community in each monastery, there were a church, a school, a dispensary and a lot of boarding houses and many commodities for the welfare of the community.

“ The monks were, in short, in every district, in a point of refuge for all who needed succor, counsel, and protection, a body of individuals having no cares of their own, with wealth to the suffering, and often with power to protect the oppressed”⁽³⁾

³DIRAELI Op. Cit. Book II, Cap. 5, Page62

The monks and the nuns led very hard lives and gave everything they owned at the service of the whole Nation. They were the representatives of the people and the Roman Catholic Church in England.

But an event, alluded to as the "Reformation of the English church", suddenly brought that kind institution of assistance to the poor to an end.

The Reformation of the Church of England didn't originate from any accurate movement of ideas. It was rather due to king Henry VIII's selfish religious policy which is worth mentioning.

King Henry VIII had been a faithful Roman Catholic Christian and had even won from the title of "Defens or Fidei" 'or defender of Faith. But the disagreement between the Pope and Henry VIII occurred when the latter wanted to take a second wife of the name of Anne Boleyn. As the king had no son, he asked the pope to annul his first marriage with Catherine of Aragon. But the pope refused. So, Henry got angry and disapproved of the Roman Catholic rule which forbade men to be polygamous.

In 1534, Henry VIII broke off with Rome and declared himself the Head of the Church of England and married Anne Boleyn.

Still, in his rough anger against the pope and the Roman Catholic church, Henry VIII dissolved all the monasteries and appointed commissioners for "Visiting and taking the surrenders religious houses". (4)

Henry still kept the title of "Defender of Faith" which his earlier orthodoxy had earned for him and his successors and retained all other sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church. He then got married six more before he died in 1545.

⁴*bid.* Book I, chap. 3, page 9.

Allow me to mention that the Reformation of the Church of England was perfected by Edward VI 1547- and Elizabeth I (1558-1603). It then appeared as a religious halfway between the Roman Catholic church of which it retained the external forms and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the Protestantism of which it adopted the great doctrinal Principles.

What is more important to show about the reformation of the church, in my work, is its moral consequences upon the people. Of course, the destruction of the monasteries involved the people's difficulties in solving their vital problems of need. Most of those people sent away from the monasteries lost their daily meals, and became homeless. They became angry at any new rich family who had helped king to make them unhappy. Thus, all the supporters of the Reformation and their descendants had become the enemies of the poor. The more the people suffered or saw the ruined abbeys of the destroyed monasteries, the more they got angry, and cursed and threatened the aristocrat of the early Victorian Period whose parents had been the cause of their misery.

B – THE TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS.

The enactment of the Test and Corporation Act during the reign of King Charles was received as a stab in the backs of the millions of English people, who couldn't help considering the political leaders and other English people as their cursed enemies. The Test and corporation acts made the Roman Catholic and other likely dissenters ineligible for public offices in the government or municipalities. It was a social injustice that the millions of worthy and highbrow English citizens were not given equal rights with their protestant neighbours.

C- THE DESTITUTION OF THE MONARCH'S DICTATORIAL POWER.

Originally, the king of England was the supreme sovereign of the Nation, and legislation emanated from him. He levied taxes and assisted the

poor and ruled the country as he wanted. But he finally lost his dictatorial power.

Parliamentary influence had been increasing over the sovereign's power since 1407 as kings began to summon the common for money. Members of parliament became aware of their financial power and quickly wrested law- making power and began claiming privileges through the parliament speaker.

The Monarch had definitely lost his power after the historical event remembered as the civil war. It lasted from 1641-1649

The civil war began when parliament which believed in the supremacy of the legislature, compelled the king to keep some before helping him financially and militarily lat, to quench down the Scottish Rebellion. King Charles I who believed in his Divine power set himself against that demand and the war between the "cavaliers" or the Royal army and the "Round Heads" or the parliament army led by Oliver Cromwell. The war ended with the victory of the " round heads " and king Charles I was executed in 1649.

Cromwell proclaimed the Republic and the first English written constitution was published in 1653. It was then no longer possible for the sovereign to ignore the wishes of parliament since the House of Commons became of source of financial authority.

What was provoking to the poor in the event of civil war was that they were promised better and bright living conditions and were then encouraged to fight on the side of parliament. But they were ignored and fiercely exploited later. It was treason and they began regretting the loss of the helpful Monarch's power.

II – IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE EARLY VICTORIAN SOCIAL CONFLICT

A -The Negative Effects of the Industrial Revolution upon Society

The Industrial Revolution had undoubtedly changed the mentality of the people. The powerful men enriched by manufacturing, trades and other business, contrived by all means to rise in society as the most influential persons and get free from the landowning aristocracy. The latter wouldn't let do lose their former privileges. The poor would also react against the deeds of their Masters and try to bring more justice in the English society of their days. (5)

1-The rise of individualism

The great improvement in industrial transformation as well in commerce implied a blunt change in the social status of England in the early Victorian Period.

With capitalism was established a new social relationship between men. No man felt for his neighbor any longer. What mattered was one's self interests; one's money.

The rising Middle class tried to accomplish its egoist ambition in rising more and more individually. Man became enslaved by money which made him, not only individual but deprived of fellow – feeling. Even the relationship between a wife and her husband upon the "principle of cash payment and take off". The vivid factor of such a peevish matter of fact was the increasing competition of the time. (6)

2- Competition

Many factory managers producing the same goods or articles, or many traders dealing in the same goods and stuffs and even many workers of the same specialties were very active in the battle for profit. One could lower the price of his goods in order to sell them quickly with

⁵This matter of fact is to be compared with the present political situations as prevailing in African states.

Nowadays, people in the developing African countries are dangerously following that step of individualism a little benefit. What mattered was to draw profits in the bargain. That was competition. Engels Frederic gave an accurate definition of competition as follows:

“ Competition is the completest expression of the battle of all against all which rules in modern society. This battle, a battle of life and death, is fought not between the individual classes of society, but also between the individual members of these classes. Each is in the way to other, and each seeks to crowd out all who are in his way, and to put himself in their place. The worker is in constant competition among themselves as the members of the bourgeoisie among themselves”. (7)

In order to face the foreign competition, manufacturers pressed on which day-and-night produced a great deal of articles, which enabled them to accumulate massive wealth. Rich men began freeing themselves from the social and religions doctrines teaching them kindness and charity. Henceforth, everyone relying upon his own intelligence and his wealth struggled to live.

Capitalism is based on the search for profits, and competition is the means for reaching such a purpose. So, Masters used their employees for business improvement. Plenty of workers were employed when demands increased; and workers were given higher wages at that moment. It was in so far as the employers had to draw profits in the business after every calculation.

With such a high speed of competition, workers lost all their human values. The worker was simply considered as a material for improvement by his employer.

The *competition among the employers* brought about the same struggle for welfare among the workers.

When employers like Mr. Hunt in *Mary Barton*, had difficulties in facing economic and commercial challenges from other businessmen, they dismissed some workers who suddenly became unemployed. Meanwhile, the same Masters might recruit new and cheaper workers (Irish men, most of the time), who had been unemployed for a long time.

There was then *competition among the English workers* who insisted on having higher wages, and the Irish men who were proud of low wages.

The direct result of competition in the early Victorian England, mainly the one among the employers, was the commercial crisis.

3- Commercial depression: hard times

After many years of commercial and economic prosperity essentially impressed with industrial and financial development as well as free competition, the English acknowledged one of the hardest economic ills they had never witnessed before.

It began just after the wars with the Napoleonic France when prices suddenly fell and wages unsympathetically cut. Of course, during the wars which lasted from 1793 to 1815, the British industries usually met the government's requirement of commodities, foodstuffs, clothes and munitions of war. Many people were enrolled in the army as soldiers, and farmers were encouraged to produce great amounts of corn. But just after the peace of 1815, the government stopped those requirements. On the contrary it sold its surplus stocks and discharged thousands of soldiers and sailors who became unemployed. Thus, the foreign trade declined and there was no importation of British goods, since the British exporters had lost the command of the sea and the monopoly of world markets.

The people suffered too much from that commercial crisis. In order to face the situation the employers kept wages at a very low level, and dismissed many workers, causing then widespread unemployment. It was just like the hell the poor people, who had to pawn their clothes and furniture before getting through.

The "Have- Not" and hopeless people, sometimes tried to tell old proverbs to each other and prayed God in order to resist the crisis.

⁷ENGELS: Op. cit., Page108

As for the rising middle – class business men who were also sinking because of some parliamentary laws, they would club together and face the situation by fighting for reforms. (8)

B-MUTUAL HOSTILE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES

Whether the Masters were aristocratic landowners or newly rich middle–class gentlemen, their link with their employees was based upon a mere deafening exchange. Between the RICH NATION and POOR NATION there was no real communication.

1-Lack of communication between masters and men

At work and even at home the Masters avoided contact and communication with their workmen. They were capitalists, and too close relations with their workers might bring their sympathy to them and prevent them from piling up benefits, by making them work as hard as beasts of burden. Instead of approaching their workers and know about their hardships or their social problems they appointed some overseers or “butties” who didn’t care whipping the workmen at work. The following conversation between Mr.Carson, a factory owner and manager, and Mr. Wilson, his factory worker about Mr. Davenport, is an accurate proof of the lack of communication between Masters and workers:

“Well, Wilson, what do you want today, man? Please, sir Davenport’s ill of the fever, and I’m come to know if you’ve got an infirmary order for him”. “Davenport Davenport; who is the fellow?I don’t know the name’ He’s worked in your factory better nor three years, sir “ Very likely, I don’t pretend to know the names of my men employ, that I leave to the overlooked.” (9)

⁸all the information in this part are related to Mr. HENRY Penrose’s course of lectures on *English literature*.

⁹Mrs GASKELL: op, cit; chap, 6, page 109

It is worth adding that although Master Carson accepted to give an out-patient order instead of an in – patient one, his assistance to the sick man meaningless. The order he gave should be presented the presented the following day, a delay which helped the patient die before reaching the infirmary.

The main cause of the lack of communication between employers and employees in the early Victorian England was class egoism. The Masters wanted to be respected, and they thought that poor don't need to know about their weakness. Thus, in periods of commercial depression, both masters and workers felt the hardships. But the Master tried their best not to show their workers much they were affected.

After she had confessed not to be able to express herself in technical terms of economics. Mrs. Gaskell tried to give an account for misunderstanding between the Masters and their men. Her explanation is worth mentioning:

A very large order for coarse goods came in from a new foreign market and had to be executed very speedily. They manufactures needed more "factory hands" accordingly. But the Masters were wondering about the duplication of the same order towards another continental manufacturing town in which the goods might be made up for much lower prices than they could afford them for. So, in order to face the competition of the rival foreign manufactures which had nothing to lose in taxation, they were compelled to pay very low wages to their workers, from the beginning, up to the time when everything would become all right. As the beginning of every suffering is difficult, the Masters ought to call their workers and inform them about the situation. But, they thought it shameful to tell their about business or their hardships. They only were confident that the workers had to follow their min in spite of the depression of trade, just because they were the owners of the factories.

As for the workers; they were too hasty in condemning. Instead of trying to meet their Masters for discussion about their new social and working condition they simply got angry at their. Masters are found it useless to understand them and rather strike.

It *Sybil*, Disraeli depicts the lack of communication between Masters and workers, through the following assertion by Master Nixon, to Stephen Morley, a working class journalist.

"I went to pit when I was five year old, and I counts forty year and I'll tell you what, sir, that I never knew the people yet, but if a word had Passedatween them and the main- Master afore – hands it might not have been settled; but you can't at them any way. Atween the poor man and the gentleman there never was no connection and that's the wital mischief of this country". (10)

In the words of that poor miner, I can guess that the real cause of the lack of communication is the aloofness of the Masters, since some poor men often wished to communicate with the Rich, but in vain.

2-Trust shop system or "Tommy- shop" system of paying wages

The truck shop system or the "Tommy- shop" system appeared to be the most unjust and devilish exploitation of the poor by the Rich. It consisted in paying the hard – working men, in goods, instead of cash money. That way of paying wages could rather be accepted by the "Have-Not" workers, if the goods compulsory trucked to them were cheap and actually needed by them. But it was a pity that those goods were too expensive at the truck shops and very cheap at local markets.

¹⁰DISRAELI: op, cit, Book III, chap. 1, page 144

Those who refused to buy things "tommy'shops" were simply dismissed from their job. The workers were very conscious and vexed in grievances about criminal exploitation in truck shops.

"The question is, said Nixon, looking round with a magisterial air, " what is wages "I say tain't sugar, tain't tea, tain't bacon. I don't think it'scandies but of this I be sure, "tain't waistcoats'.....'(11)

The miners needed money in order to solve their most important problems but Master Diggs his son Joseph obliged them to get tea, sugar, bacon or waistcoats instead of cash money. Seriously, a poor starving man should not be pleased in being paid with waistcoats, or such goods, chiefly as it was most of the time five- and –twenty of his wages. The truck shop was opened once a week; an occasion at which the workers' wives and children were often threatened and beaten before being given the goods the Master wanted. The truck shop system was a very peevish exploitation

The poor miners very often had to pawn their undesirable goods to their Master' relatives. Such a very system of double exploitation of the poor workers! Master Diggs paid them in goods at very high price and his own in- law living next door bought the same goods at very low prices.

The truck shop was the place where violence was weekly witnessed in the early Victorian England. The poor women and children, in their determination not to miss their weekly goods usually fought like dogs in front the mocking Master. Let's follow a report about a crime committed by Master Joseph Diggs' while he was whipping violently his customers for entertainment at his "Tommy shop".

¹¹DISRAELI: Op. Cit. Book III, chap.1, 141.

"...Master Joseph Diggs, losing all patience, jumped on the counter, and the shrieks of the women, sprang into the crowd. Two women fainted, others cried for their bonnets, other bemoaned their aprons, and nothing however, deterred Diggs, who kicked and cursed in every quarter, and gave none. At last there was a general scream of horror, and a cry of a boy killed!"(12)

What a terrible! That's how the "tommy shops" were managed.

3-Masters' game laws.

The game Laws were the laws which regulated games in general, such as cricket, race, football... It mainly regulated the hunting, the killing or preservation of wild animals. The great iniquity of the game laws was that the Masters were free to kill as many wild animals as they could for sport, and not necessarily for the desire to eat meat; whereas the poor were forbidden by the same Laws to kill and even to pick up the animals killed by the Masters, for food. Disraeli is quite at indignant at those cynical laws. He denounces how a poor farm labourer was victim of the unjust and dreadful Game Laws.

The fact is follows: for an extraordinary sport at the Earl of Marney's the Duke of Fit-Aquitaine, the Earl of Marney colonel Ripe and Captain Grouse, all of them landowning aristocrats had killed with only four hours' shoot, seven hundred and thirty head of game or wild animals. The Master didn't want to eat the meat of those animals. But Mr. Thomas Hind, who had picked up a maimed hare crawling about the field, the day hunting-game, was sentenced and fixed in the full penalty of forty shillings. What is vexatious in that adventure is that the poor farm- labourer owned less than twenty-seven shillings a year?

¹²DISRAELI: op. Cit, Book III, chap. 3, 160.

4-Masters'arrogance and sadism

Some rich men' wicked moral behavior got on the nerves of the poor and created social struggle between the "two Nations" in the early Victorian England. Social prejudice induced some factory owners and landowning aristocrats in showing no consideration to the poor and in mocking at their sufferings. For instance in *Sybil* Lord Marney, a landowner thought that the farm workers would be better off ad long their rates were reduced. Master Joseph Diggs' sadism is observed at his truck shop. After blaspheming... and cursing the customers he, most often decided to serve the last comers instead of the thirst ones. In his own words he did so in order to' reward for" the poor women and children's pain for waiting too long. Master Joseph was rather cynic to feel no sympathy on suffering people. He delighted in excessive cruelty.

Lord de Mow bray's attitude as he was mournful after being informed that the Marneys had come to him by railroad is arrogance. Of course he didn't conceal the selfish reason of his statement, when he said that he was afraid because to travel with poor people had a dangerous tendency to equality. For him, the rich and the poor must not travel by the same train.

Another proof of arrogance which brought about a bloody reaction of the poor, was the fact that, instead of understanding the ragged poor workers' delegates who had come to meet the Master for consultation, Harry Carson, a young Master, mockingly depicted their caricature on a piece of paper which he showed to his neighbours to laugh at. (13)

¹³The information about the TRUCK Shop System, theMaster's game arrogance and sadism (PP. 26-30) are proof that LA FONTAINE Tale about king Lion and the guilty as could help in the past. The present situation in European IMF (International Monetary Fund) and World Bank deals with African countries could also do.

5- The destitute willing to recover their snatched properties

With, reference to the way the Rich Master of the early Victorian England owned their wealth, on the one hand, and how the poor destitute were suffering, on the other hand, we must expect a social protest against undeserved properties.

As a matter of fact, Disraeli shows through *Sybil*, how determined Gerard Walter, the legitimate heir of Mowbray Abbey, was to recover his piece of land from lord De Mowbray, and put them at disposal of the poor.

It was the determination to fight for his father's properties and the welfare of the people that made Gerard turn a chartist or a freedom fighter, or " leader of the people"

The most important of the freedom fighters' battle- ground was "parliamentary Reform"

C-NON REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT

The problem of representation in parliament has to be considered as an historical well as an immediate cause of the social conflict in the Nineteenth Century.

From the historical point of view, I think it important to recall that a number of sever sanction had been imposed upon the Roman Catholic Christians after the reformation of the Church of England. Those millions of dissenters thought it unjust to be maintained in such a humiliating position of inferiority as not being eligible in parliament, and have others take decisions in their names. They would then fight for parliamentary reforms in order to gain their civil rights.

Moreover, the increasing commercial depression brought the business men of the rising Middle class to protest against their non-representation in parliament and lead an agitation.

Of course, apart from the aristocratic landowners who influenced parliament and used it to fight for their own interests, very few businessmen had got the right to vote or to enter parliament.

Even the working people in rapidly developed towns such as Manchester and, Birmingham, on which the wealth of the country depended, lacked representation in parliament.

D – POLITICAL MACHINATIONS

1-The Corn Laws

During the Napoleonic war the importation of corn had been almost impossible; thus, farmers were encouraged to produce a great amount of corn, bread being the staple food for the English people. Many farmers had borrowed capital for purpose. The production of corn was of course on the behalf of the landowning aristocrat who won more for their land. But after the peace of 1815 England met the competition of imported corn which was cheap. The farmers, who had brought more of their land and capital under plough during the war, suddenly saw themselves with ruin since manufacturers rather had begun to import their good from foreign countries.

The aristocratic Landlords whose incomes depended on the rents paid by their farmers and who influenced parliament pass the corn – law.

The corn- law enacted in 1815 imposed a duty on corn. They kept the price of corn up to a high level in order to prevent the importation of foreign corn.

The corn- laws were scornfully welcome by the poor who couldn't be able to buy their staple food and might starve. They also brought about the anger of the business men and manufactures that would rise and fight for free trade.

2-The six acts

The poor were sympathized with by Political radical such as "Orator Hunt and William Cobbett, who told them that never get Rights and their needs if they did not fight to be represented in Parliament. "Orator" Hunt made popular meetings with the masses, while Cobbett attacked the government week after week in newspaper entitled *Political Register*.

Parliament got alarmed at the deeds of the Radicals and them. After the repression which culminated in the "Peterloo Massacre", the six acts were

enacted. They practically deprived the people of their most cherished rights. They comprised:

- 1- Act to prevent unauthorized military training
 - 2- Act authorizing magistrates to seize arms.
 - 3- Act to prevent delay in dealing with crimes of violence.
 - 4- Act to prevent seditious meetings.
 - 5- Act prescribing seditious libels; heavier penalties for seditious libels.
 - 6- Act to compel certain publications to bear a government stamp, which raised the price (aimed particularly at Cobbett's Political Register).
- (14)

3-The poor law amendment act of 1843

The property holding class, by passing the new poor Laws in 1843 seemed to stand a corpse. Two main facts led to the enactment of the New poor Laws: the growing capitalism and the consolidated the rich men's decision of controlling their wealth more severely so as to be deeply rooted in capitalist economic system.

¹⁴The information about the six Acts is related to Mr. HENRY PENROSE's course of Lectures on English Literature.

Capitalism consists in setting opportunist Laws of supply and demand, competing and searching for profits. Thereby, the capitalists of the early Victorian England became very greedy on the control of their properties. They could not achieve their ambitious desire, while keeping on taking care of the majority of the poor, in respect of the former poor Law. Philip Warner, a miserable handloom weaver, thought that the automatization of industry which required more children and woman labour than man's skill brought out unemployment for men, and misery and sadness to all the poor people.

But for the rich men, the conditions of living of the poor resulted from what they called "surplus" they accused the poor people of being responsible for their hardships and sufferings. According to them, the distress of the poor was due to fact that the expansion or the growth of the population exceeded a deal the economic potentiality of the country. What to do to face the problem of hardships and misery of the day were them to compel the poor not to procreate any more.

Thomas Robert Malthus, an English economist of the time, was the innovator of that solution to the hardships of the early Victorian Period.

"Hence it follows in practice, and Malthus himself drew this conclusion, that charities and poor rates are, properly speaking, nonsense, since they serve only to maintain and stimulate the increase of the surplus population whose competition crushes down wages for the employed; that the employment of the poor by the poor Law Guardians is equally unreasonable, since only a fixed quantity of the products of labour can be consumed, and for every employment, another hitherto employed must be driven into enforced idleness, whence private undertakings suffer at cost of poor Law industry; that, other words" (15)

¹⁵ENGELS:Op.Cit, Page 309.

That law of population proposed by Malthus to the Rich manufacturers and Landlords in order to get rid of the poor by starving them, was understood by the poor majority as a declaration of war. The poor could not bear that theory. They retorted that it were the rich capitalist who were idle. At last Malthus' theory of surplus was welcome by the Masters who in accordance with it framed the New Poor law of 1843.

The enactment of the New poor Law of 1843 and mainly the regulation in workhouses- the shelters of the poor -, made the conditions of the " Have – Not " so worse that, even very badly paid, workers would be reluctant to ask for admittance in workhouses or assistance from Rich who elected some boards of guardians and paid taxes for the relief of the paupers or " the poor creatures".

The existing workhouses were human, and they took in charge the able-bodied persons living at home. But with New poor law of 1843 all able-bodied persons, young or old who were too poor to shelter themselves and who needed to be helped by the state or by the taxes paid by the rich, had to leave their families. They were separated from their families and put into prison- like workhouses, where living conditions were made bitter than ever. The pauper's living workhouses were visited once a day. They were supplied with meagre diets and were bound to do hard physical work in return. When the paupers had visits, they should not talk secretly.

Workhouses were almost built in every parish and they sheltered every kind of persons. The tenants of workhouses were dressed up in uniforms as prisoners and housed separately.

The workhouses were regulated by iron and cruel disciplines. For instance workhouse-keepers had to eat their meals in silence, and they were harshly prohibited to ask for more food. In *Oliver twist*, Charles Dickens is appalled and surprised and even indignant at the behaviors of the board of Guardians when Oliver, a half starved and parentless child asked for more food in a workhouse.

" I beg your pardon, sir ; Oliver Twist has asked for more! There was a general start. Horror was depicted on every countenance. For more! Said Mr. Lambkins'. Compose yourself, Bumble, and answer me distinctly. Do I understand that he asked for more, after he had eaten the supper allotted by

the dietary? He did, sir replied Bumble. That boy will be hung, said the gentleman in the white waistcoat; I knowthat boy will be hung". (16)

Is that judgment faith? And above all Mr. Bumble had already aimed a blow at the poor boy's head with a ladle.

E-THE IRISH GRIEVANCES

The social condition in Ireland in the early Victorian Period was not conducive to peace. It stated a very complicated problem. The Irish grievances stood for threefold; namely religious, agrarian and political.

On the one hand, the Irish were considered as religious dissenters because they were still Roman Catholics. They were accordingly penalized by the test and corporation act. Besides their inability to exercise political and military services, the Irish had to pay tithes to Anglican clergies, whereas their own catholic priests had to be taken care of.

On the second hand, the "civil and religious" wars had deprived thousands of Irish men of their properties to new powerful English. Then, the Irish destitute had reduced to tenant- farmers on their land. The provoking consequence of that machination was that their new Masters had got the right to dismiss them like any other employees, without any

¹⁶Dickens: *Oliver Twist*, chap. 2, page 58

Previous notice, nor any compensation. The few destitute Irish who went to England to work in factories were hated by the English.

The third sharp nail boring the Irish in the nineteenth Century was the problem related to political injustice.

The Irish wanted the repealing of the 1800 act of Union Which abolished Dublin parliament and made the Irish be represented at Westminster parliament, by only sixty- four protestant Members of parliament. But they wanted a self – government or home rule.

The Irish then organized popular meetings and purpose. Daniel O'Connell who led all the Irish revolts until his death was called " the liberator, a title given to Bishop Hatton, the leader of the Hell-Cats in Disraeli's *Sybil*.

F – THE ATTEMPTS BY WHICH THE POOR SOUGHT TO IMPROVE THEIR LOT

Owing to their aggravating bad conditions of living, the working men's first attempt to better their conditions was to pray almighty God to deliver them from the draft society in which they had been living.

Yet, despite their prayers it seemed to the poor that God himself didn't mind seeing them suffering social injustice. Even at church the rich masters sat themselves in comfortable armchairs while the poor had been satisfied with the rough, pews. Would then the poor go on respecting the laws of the Holy Scripture? ... They organized themselves into clubs and various associations, in order to cope with their social problems.

1-Clubs and associations

The poor aimed to help one another in their needs in order to forget their every day's hardships. They created some cooperative societies and burial clubs.

a- CO- OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

To put an end to the underserved sufferings of the poor, some philanthropist gentlemen and some Radicals then create cooperative shops. Robert Owen, a socialist idealist, was the best known advocate of co-

operative movements. The co-operative production was based on equality and common ownership of goods and wealth.

In 1832, his interest in co-operative production made Owen set up a co-operative factory called "the labour Bazaar. It was set up in Gray's inn, in London. Its members who were operatives had to supply the raw materials by themselves and produce their own items, in order to make money. The cooperators to sell their goods at the same price as their former masters. Then they should be able to pay themselves their own wages, and share the dividend. It was such a magnificent idea, but the "Bazaar" became impractical on account of lack of capital.

The idea of co-operative was nevertheless appreciated by the operatives, the farmers and the unemployed men who, by 1832 created nearly 500 societies which aimed to invest together on land and share the profits.

In *Sybil*, the caricature of Robert Owen is shown by Benjamin Disraeli through the character of Mr. Trafford, as his idea of cooperation in factory is concerned. Like Robert Owen, Mr. Trafford believed in education and welfare for all the poor. He was very kind to his workers whom he built nice cottages and schools, and paid fair wages. Mr. Trafford never paid wages with delay or in goods. For him as for Owen there should not have been a gap or any cold relationship between employers and employees or between rich men and the poor men

The most famous co-operative society in the 1840's was the Rockdale Equitable pioneers' society. It was founded in 1844. The pioneers' shop called "the store of the Rockdale pioneers' gave birth to the modern co-operative movement. Of course, their example rapidly followed by hundreds of working men.

The co-operative members clubbed together to buy wholesale the goods they needed that they stocked. And then, they opened little shops for their retail. The goods were sold cheaper among themselves and their neighbours.

Within that successful co-operative society every customer was regarded as a shareholder who received a dividend as regarding his purchase rate.

The experience of co-operative shops and alleviated the working men's sufferings, and soon they sought to extend it to other social problems

B -Benefit clubs.

Implacable growing starvation and diseases hunting the poor, and sudden death resulting them, the working people had to club together and create relief funds. Those funds enabled them to help the destitute and destitute and desperate fellows in pressing need of money to solve their problems.

A rate of money was fixed by all the members of the club. It was subscribed and saved in relief funds which gave financial aids to tearful members. There were two main kinds of benefit clubs founded in the eighteen forties the poor: the sick clubs and the burial clubs.

A sick club provided an amount of money which was used to assist either a subscriber who is ill or a sticking member of his family.

Whereas a burial club granted a certain amount of money for the burial of a dead member or for the death of wives or children of members. Then at death, any member who had saved regularly should have enough to pay to a funeral and avoid the indignity of pauper burial by town's people. How was a pauper burial done then?

Mrs. Gaskell's description of the way Davenport was buried after his death is good description of pauper burial.

"The only mark of pauperism attendant on the burial concerned the living and joyous, for more than the dead, or the sorrowful. When they arrived in the churchyard, they halted before a raised and handsome tombstone; in reality a wooden mockery of stone respectabilities which adorned the burial-ground. It was easily raised in a very few minutes, and bodies were piled until within a foot of two of the surface, when the soil was shoveled over, and stamped down, and the wooden cover went to do temporary duty over

another hole. But little they recked of this who now gave up their dead". (17)

That occurred in a churchyard in Manchester. Davenport was buried likethat, just because he had paid to his burial club by a few weeks omission, which omission made him forfeit his claim to an important sum of money for his burial.

A man could belong to many benefit-clubs.

I can also assert that Mrs. GASKELL, in depicting how poor people were buried in the eighteen forties was denouncing that way of performing the burial service over the poor people like meaningless creatures in pauper in graveyards.

It is good and praiseworthy of the poor sufferers in the eighteen forties to club together to deal with their social condition of living. But as we have just witnessed through the experience of burial clubs it required both money and courage. That is why, I think, other destitute chose other means to escape their hardships.

¹⁷Mrs GASKELL: Op. Cit, Chap, 6, Page 112.

c – Begging associations

The early Victorian beggars were called "the street walkers". They were homeless, uncombed and often half naked. In 1818 a begging club called " the Mendacity society " was established in red lion square, in order to put an end to begging. The society was to relieve only the deserving beggars. The latter were given tickets acknowledging them as beggars. With the growing hardships in the eighteen, the theory of being a deserving poor man before begging was more respected by the tens of thousands of old people and infants who always stood in the street and asked for alms. They were often hunted by policemen at night, but they never the opportunity of expressing their needs to the same hunters on day- time: "we want a ticket for mendacity society " was their usual answer to policeman whenever the latter spoke to them.

d-Prostituting associations

The longing for money to solve their most urgent problems such as those of food and clothes, brought some starving and neglected women to sweat from "sexual work" and gain money.

According to Leon Faucher in his *Manchester in 1844: its present condition and Future Prospects (1844)*, there were 660 brothels and 1402 prostitutes in Manchester City alone. These records were due to the commercial distress which entailed the closing of mills, the paralysis of trade, low wages and unemployment. Faucher also asserted that Manchester was, after London, the city in which prostitution developed the most in England. The wealthier classes were who those encouraged poor women to commit prostitution in the eighteen- forties. Faucher remarked that: "the decent prostitute flocks to Manchester, because it is, in regard to promiscuous intercourse, the rendez-vous of the wealthier classes (gens commeilfaut). On this subject, Mr. Logan naively says: "*there is not a single first-rate house for assignations in Rockdale because the gentlemen always go to Manchester*". (18)

¹⁸Mrs GASKELL; Op. Cit, Notes, Page 474

Who are then to be accused for that sad business? The poor women and girls hankering after money and social welfare, or the rich men who, inspired by their legal wives, enjoyed themselves with poor female creatures? Mrs. Gaskell in *Mary Barton* how Ester, Mary Barton's aunt became involuntarily a prostitute, just because she had been disappointed by a gentleman. Same Ester who saved Mary Barton later from the trap of Henry Carson who just wanted to flirt with her, while she believed in true love.

e -Thieving associations

Lots of men, women, girls and boys flocked together in thieving associations. Each association had a chief who, of the time, was an old skilled thief who trained the newcomers they started going to streets and markets for pick-pocketing and burglary. At the age of six or seven, a child belonging to a thieving association had to be taught how to rob stalls and pockets within a blunt day time without being caught.

Charles Dickens is the Victorian novelist who has depicted more accurately, the life and organization of the thieves in England, in the Nineteenth Century through his novel *Oliver Twist*. In *Oliver Twist*, the society of pick-pockets or "fogle-hunters" and burglars is presided by an old Jew named Fagin, who trained the children in his gang for artful thieving. They mainly robbed the gentlemen or those who seemed to them like well-to-do people. Their trade enabled them to avoid starvation in selling their loots at prices. Those loots mostly consisted of watches, ear-rings, necklaces, handkerchiefs and other small and nice objects. The thieves understood that their business was as hard as a nail; nevertheless they are afraid of prisons which seemed to them better than workhouses.

f -Drug-Swallowing associations

For many other poor men and women drugs strike sullen thoughts and hunger, for they weaken the nerves and cancel sensibility from the body when they are taken. Some drugs are eaten and some are smoked. Eatable drugs such as laudanum and treacle were used by nurses and even parents to feed newborn babies. That permitted mothers to go to work in factories while their starving infants would not feel hunger.

Those women didn't wish death for their babies, but what could they do? Most of those infants fed upon drugs died in their sleepiness. On the

other hand some people chose to smoke opium in order to forget their trouble. Other drank alcohol or drugs for the same purpose.

In *Mary Barton* opium is considered as a medicine by John, Barton. The aim of that medicine is to give men courage, and help them cure their mental and psychological sufferings.

g-Murdering associations

Parents who shared the same ideas decided to cope with the hardships by managing to get rid of their children whom they couldn't take care of, because of shortage of money.

That kind of murder was committed by dint of sending the children out into the street to be run over by the traffic.

That assassination was done, not because the parents didn't like their children but on the contrary it was committed on account of parents' love for their children. The following testimony from John Barton is a proof:

"I've seen a father who had killed his child rather than let it clean before his eyes; and he were a tender- hearted man"...(19)

Mr. Barton had himself, committed suicide later, in refusing to eat anything until his death.

2- Trade- Unionism

The unification of the sufferers and forsaken working men into various clubs and associations mitigated somewhat their living conditions. Yet, it didn't give an end to the masters' cantankerous behavior toward them. They soon became likely to against the property holders for their rights. Trade- Unionism was the most prominent association for that purpose.

¹⁹Mrs GASKELL: Op, Cit, Cap. 16, page 23

Within trade –unions the workers consulted about wages and took concerted action to defend their interests in labour.

In 1829 the Grand General Union of Operative Spinners of Great Britain Ireland “was created by John Doherty, an Irish cotton spinner, in the Manchester area. In the following year, he founded “the National Association for the protection of labour” (N.A.P.L) which was general union of Trades.

Many other Union were created, such as “ The builders’ Parliament” and “ the operative builders’ Union “but none of them met any real integration.

The most famous trade-union with ultimately political objectives in the late eighteen-thirties was “The Grand National Consolidated Trade Union ”foundedby Robert Owen in London. Its greatest purpose was to organize strike relief. Yet, the general strike or “Grand National Holiday “ was to be required to, in order to bring a quick end to the capitalist system and competition, still in practice. Foreign companies should have up the management of industries and manufactures on the behalf nation companies.

The G.N.C.T. was joined by thousands of thousands of workers who found in it the ideal solution for their contemporary problems. Each district in England had its section of Trade Union. Popular meetings were held everywhere by the unions at torchlight.

Membership of trade-unions was kept secret because the unionists were hunted and dismissed by the master. The trade –union’s grievances essentially about extra work, low wages, truck in paying wages, children labour. In a sentence, the unionists summed up their grievance in the trade-unionists’ slogan; A fair day’s wage for a fair day’s work”. (20)

Unionists have wise and careful arrangements, such as secret-meetings, oath –taking, subscription of funds in order to face diverse problem relating to dismissed leaders and fellows. Secret meetings of the initiated unionists, at which important decisions were taken, were presided The necessity of struggling against a wealthier opponent made the Trade-

²⁰Disraeli, Op, Cit

Seven chairmen called "THE SEVEN ". All the other members were all disguised cloaks and black bonnets, so that they should not be recognized by an intruder. The home where the meetings were held was adorned with black curtains and cloth.

If I associate the black colour with sadness, hell, or death, according to the English traditions of the days, I shall assert that the aims of the meeting were to bereave or to the victims of the working class and to work out the murder or the death of the on enemies of the poor. Moreover, a complete human skeleton was put on the pedestal the president who, among "THE SEVEN", sat on a loftier seat than the other, and opened the Bible in front of him. The skeleton surely represents the future of the common of the working class.

At those secret meetings, denunciations of traitors or strike-breakers and other masters made, and decision were taken together as to deal with the offenders. At such a meeting *Sybil*, Tohn Briars was denounced and accused of avarice, meanness, cunning and crisis, because he was a votary of the work by task or "*the piece-work*" instead of king by hour. According to his accuser, Briars was a traitor and a robber because, by ag forty-shilling per week by piece-work, he was "robbing his fellows for a week's movement since the usual wages for day-work was twenty shilling ".

The case of Briars would be taken into account and dealt with by the special committee. Masters such as claughton and Hicks were also denounced and were to be dealt, because they had removed from their Factories, some workers who were identified as trade- unionists. General warning strikes were to be performed in those master's factories.

Other important characteristics of the trade-unionism of the early Victorian England e the rites of initiation based on the oath-taking. A new candidate to trade- unionism was ejected to a number of rites and ordeals. He would be put alone in a large room. He would be his eyes bandaged and would be frightened. With his arms pinioned together he would prought into the meeting- room where prayers were made.

The most important phase of the admission into the workers' fraternity was undoubtedly the oath-taking. The new-comer, though he was admitted into the meeting room, was not able to recognize anybody before he took an oath, since evrybody was still masked and his own eyes were bandaged.

Although the following passage is too long, may I be allowed to quote it as a sample of oath-taking?

" MickaelRadley " said the President. Do you voluntarily swear in the presence of Almighty God and before these witnesses,that you will execute with zeal and alacrity so, far as in you lies, every task and injunction that the majority of your brethren testified by the mandate of this grand committee, shall imposed upon you, in furtherance of our common welfare, of which they are the sole judges ; such as the cchastisement of Nobs,the assassination of oppressive and tyrannical masters, or the demolition of call mills, works and shops that shall be deemed by us incorrigible ? Do you swear this in presence of almighty God, and before these witnesses?"

" I do swear it replied a tremulous voice. Then rise and kissthatbook!"Mick slowly rose from his kneeling position, advanced with tremblingstep, and volume. Immediately everyone unmasked.

Dvildust came forward, and taking Mickby the hand, led him to the president, who receivedhom pronouncing some mystic rhymes. He was covered with a robe and presentented, with a torch, and then ranged in order with his companions. Thus terminated the initiation of Dandy Mick into a TRADES-UNION » (21)

²¹DISRAELI :OP. cit, book IV, chap.4, page 221

That quotation deserves no further commentary. It only shows the determination of the working men associated into trade-unions to wage war against their oppressors.

3- Chartism

In spite of the workers determination to fight for social justice through trade-union, their living conditions grew worse and worse. They then decided to react, by giving birth to Chartism. Chartism was a nationwide social movement which aimed at gaining for the poor people, mainly the English working class, a greater say in parliament.

That new and compact form of the workers opposition to social injustice was founded in 1837 by the innovation of some radicals. Indeed, among the radicals who had been disappointed about the result of the reform Act of 1832, there was Francis Place and his friend J.A. Roebuck who incited the London working men's association, an existing trade-union founded in 1836 by William Lovett, to draft the people's charter, through which the demands of the working people were embodied under the following sixheads:

1. Universal suffrage which should give the right to vote for every man who was, at least 21 years old, sane and unconvicted, whatever small he would give for his household.
2. Ballot voting, which would enable the people to vote in secret in order to avoid intimidation and bribery by landlords employers.
3. Equal electoral districts instead of disproportionate constituencies to secure equal representation.
4. Abolition of the property qualification of 300 pound for membership, in order to enable working class men to be eligible for parliament.
5. Payment of Members of parliament with the same object, to enable poor men to stand for election.
6. Annual general elections that would compel Members to study the wishes of their constituencies.

The six points were strictly defended and supported by the whole conscious working class. The people's charter was widely published in popular pamphlets. Chartism, as a working-class movement, was open to every poor people, whether they had belonged to trade-unionism and other associations or not.

In *Sybil*, the following conversation between some factory girls about the claims of the workers through the charter shows us how necessary it was for every workman to join Chartism.

It's worth mentioning that a former charter had been framed in five points, since 1780. So the girls in the following conversation made a confusion about the former charter of which five points were still the first five heads of the new charter comprising six points. Let's follow the conversation:

" I will never marry any man who is not for the five points ", said Caroline.

" I should be ashamed to marry any one who had not the suffrage "
"said Julia (22)

For every one, Chartism would put an end to the people's sufferings; provided that parliament and the queen petitioned the charter.

Like trade-union, Chartism used to have mass meetings and secret practices. The chartists, in order to make themselves heard in parliament, had drawn up petitions and delegates from various districts were sent to National chartists conventions.

Among those delegates, there were several trade-unionists. In *Mary Barton*, John Barton is at the same time, an active trade-unionist and a chartist delegate, for instance.

Chartism was made active and popular by deeply committed newspapers such as the Northern star by Feargus O'Connor. The famous chartist leaders in the eighteen forties were: Francis Place, William Lovett, J. A. Roebuck, Joseph Hume Thomas ATTWOOD, Mogul, Feargus O'Connor and Richard Oastler.

The Chartism first National petition to parliament was presented in June 1839, parliament didn't take into consideration the working class legitimate grievance and refused to admit it.

The second petition presented to parliament in May 1842, when the economic conditions were at the verge of chaos, was also rejected. The reaction of the hunger-stricken workers was prejudicial: Violence.

²²DISRAELI:Op.cit Book VI, cap 8, Page380

In April 1848, Chartism revived and O'connor announced his plans for a great meeting at Kennington Common in London, to form a procession. But the meeting was prohibited by the government and was given up. The petition was then rejected. The chartist movement crippled and died later.

An obvious cause of the weakness of the chartist movement in the early Victorian England was its internal dissensions. Chartism was parted into two antagonistic parties. The moral force chartist party led by William Lovett was opposed to anything more than a constitutional agitation, whereas the physical force chartist party under the leadership of Feargus O'connor was for the using of violence in case that the petition was ignored, as had been all the three times. Nevertheless when the social tension becomes too bitter both the two chartist groups acted more or less violently.

**CHAPTER THREE:
THE SOCIAL PROTAGONISTS**

The emergence of Britain as the first great industrial Nation and pioneer of new methods in transports, communications and technology, in the early Victorian Period, brought about a rapid urbanization and a new social arrangement.

"In Sybil Disraeli explores and popularizes an idea which had been current for some time. Cobbett and Crarlyle; among others, had Expressed it that Britain's increasing wealth had divided it into the poor, the "two Nations" of the novels subtitle." (23)

To fathom clearly the various aspects of the social conflict in that period, it would be necessary to have in mind some details relating to each of those two social classes which were involved in the furious battle.

I - THE PROERTY HOLDING CLASS

The property holding class is the association of those who laid hands on the destiny of England after the Industrial Revolution. They constituted, according to Disraeli' the Nation of the Rich". Engels Frederick called them ". The Bourgeoisie", while Mrs. Gaskell simply alluded to them as "Master". They were the owners of all the properties in England, and they lived a very comfortable life. Their wealth and sense of Modernity were particularly shown in the luxury of their urbanized squares with broad pavements, meadows and gardens.

In Mary Barton, the most representative members of the property holding class are the Carson's. They lived in a sumptuous storied building and had got a lot of servants and poor domestic workers at their service. Mrs. Carson's social way of living was discovered by George Wilson, one of his factory workers who went to his house in order to beg an infirmarium order Davenport, his starving friend and work- mate.

²³Smith, M, SHELLA: Introduction for Sybil, page XIII.

The Masters always had enough to eat and their servants helped them with copious meats of their choice when and wherever they wanted. For instance at breakfast time Mrs. Carson and her elder daughters sent a maid to tell cook they would like for breakfast and where they would have it:

“Missis will have her breakfast up stairs, cook, and the cold partridge as was left yesterday, and put plenty of cream in her coffee, and she thinks’ a roll left and she would like it well buttered” so saying the mad left the kitchen to be young and to attend to the young ladies bell when they to ring, after their later assembly the night before.” (24)

At the same moment of the scene above – mentioned Mr. Carson and his son, both, well dressed, were enjoying. Their hearty breakfast “ at a well – spread breakfast table in their wonderful library. So, at home Master idle and comfortable at ease in their cosy and luxurious houses.

Leisure was sacred for the property holding class and they would give anything in life not to be prevented from having good times. The young “bourgeois” often went to assemblies for their leisure and stayed and there all night long, where their elders either went to dancing parties, or listened to music or indulged themselves in other interesting entertainments.

In Sybil Disraeli shows us how keen the Masters were at their leisure. Sybil opens with a horse- racing scene which was for the Master a favorite game at which occasion their courage and power through betting. Hunting was also a sacred leisure for the land- owning aristocrat. The following quotation about lord Money’s hunting arty as reported in a newspaper is a proof:

²⁴ Mrs. GASKELL: Mary Barton, Chapter 6, Page 107

“Extraordinary sport at the Earl of Marney’s. On Wednesday, in a small cover called the horns, near Marney Abbey, his grace the Duke of Fitz-Aquitaine, the Earl of Marney, Colonel Rippe, and Captain Grouse, with only four hours shooting bagged the extraordinary numbers of seven hundred and thirty head of game, name hares three hundred and thirty- name ; pheasants two hundred and twenty –on; partridges thirty-four , rabbit eighty –seven, and the following day upwards of fifty hares, pheasants, & c (wounded the previous day) were picked up. . . ”
(25)

There is no denying that such game was a pure massacre and criminality to animals, for it was for no useful purpose. Another important characteristic of the Masters was their political intrigues.

In order to protect the privileges of their social rank the rich kept jealously the political power and influenced parliament which enacted laws defending their selfish interests to the detriment of the poor

The property holding class in early Victorian England consisted of two main social groups: the conservative landowning aristocracy and the rising Middle class.

A – THE CONSERVATIVE LANDOWNING ARISTOCRACY

Pretending to be of noble birth, the conservative landowning aristocracy ranked itself at the highest social ladder after the king and members of the family who were the greatest representatives of Nobility. The conservative landowning laborers work for them. So under the king the land owning aristocrat or the great lords namely the Duke, The Marquis, the earl or the Count, the baron, the Baronet and the knight. The order given is that of the rank ladder of the nobility from the high to down.

²⁵DISRAELI, B:Sybil, Book IV, Chap 10, Page 197.

The Duke and the Earl were the chief war leaders – such as Lord Marney in *Sybil* – and the viscount, the baron and the knight were their vassals. There was also the Squire who bore the armour of the knight. I think those details useful, since they have been helpful for me to understand some aspects of the social conflict in the early Victorian England, especially the landowning aristocrat's armed involvement in the battle as regular or yeomanry troops

The fact that every member of the landowning aristocracy was a Member of Parliament as a matter of course and that one needed to reach a high social rank in the nobility to influence decision in parliament, incited corruption and political intrigues among the landowning aristocrat.

Thus, the conservative landowner's everyday life was influenced by a scramble for higher nobility in order to get more say at parliament and make it enact laws for their good. In *Sybil* Disraeli shows a particular interest in that practice of the conservative landowning aristocracy. For instance, Lady St Julian's went to see the Duke of Wellington for help, so that her son Augustus should become Lord of Admiralty. Another example is that of Sir Vavasour, a coronet who wanted to move from the lowest hereditary title in order to become Baron of Lovel. He went to meet Mr. Hatton, the pedigree, for that business. Last's hear Mr. Hatton answer to his claim:

"In a word, if your wish to be Lord Bardolf; I will undertake to make your so, before, in all probably; Sir Robert Peel obtains office, and that I should think would gratify Lady Firebrace"(26)

²⁶DISRAELI: Op, Cit. Page 242.

Mr. Hatton would gain five thousands for his business. By those examples Disraeli tried to show us that the aristocratic landowners reached their position in the early Victorian England by means of corruption, nepotism and injustice. To become a noble man, one only needed to get so money so as buy titles and noble pedigrees. In *Sybil*, Lord De Mowbray after descendant of a waiter; he became an aristocrat landowner after he had illegally bought from Mr. Hatton, the documents concerning the manors of Mowbray; Valence, Mowbray. Those documents legally belonged to prop up Mr. Allen waltz's assertion that the early Nineteenth Century:

"The English aristocracy is itself parvenu" (27)

B – THE RISING MIDDLE CLASS

That second group of the nation originated from the last division of Labour brought about the industrial revolution.

The expansion of trade production had made some skilful men heap up fortunes, so that they suddenly ascended as the new powerful "bourgeois" or rich Masters of the early Victorian Age. The rising Middle class mainly consisted of manufactures, merchants, financiers, farmers and a few factory workers whose had saved money

"The powerful men of the day came from factories and workshop where their fathers had been small employers, still capable of working with their hands when necessary. Over a few years their fortunes swelled until the cotton kings had grown into a race of grandees, outside the ranks of the traditional aristocracy." (28)

²⁷ALLEN WALTER: *The English Social Novel*, page 155.

²⁸CAZAMIAN LOUIS: *The Social Novels in England 1830-1850*, page 15

To get their economic security they had to struggle for having their own representatives in parliament.

In Mary Barton and Sybil, the main representatives of the rising Middle class are the Diggs. They are mill owners. Are they are factory who treat their workers without any human regards. Although Mr. Carson is a self – lade manufacture who had been a poor worker, his very stern and wicked towards his employees, so that he is known as the hardest master in Manchester. As for Mr. Diggs, he is so cruel to his workers that he doesn't pay them in cash- wages.

Yet, all the middle – class Masters were not bad to their "men" in the early Nineteen ten Century. In Sybil, Mr. Trafford is a model employer. Other men from the Middle class who sympathized whither the poor workers and helped them better their social conditions were called the radicals.

II-THE" HAVE-NOT "CLASS

The " have – not" were the victims of the Industrial Revolution. Of course, the new inventions, of machines for work as well the building of factories out the existing handicraft men, and a great number of small landowners were ruined and were obliged to word the new powerful men.

It was the victory of machine – work over had – work. "have' note" social class factory production entailed human exploitation child and woman labour and mass misery. They were deprived of most elementary commodities; despite every day hard and extra work for their employers. Most of were unable to bring up their children

The "Have – not " or the Non – possessing class members of the early Victorian period apart from their miserable social living condition were treated by the Master like a group of meaningless animals or creatures. They had no rights in England.

The living conditions of the poor contrasted greatly of their Masters. They lived in dirty and squalid suburbs without any streets, squares or lights. More over they were sheltered in nasty and gloomy cellars where the often experienced diseases such as typhus and cholera, without getting money to buy medicines. About the dwelling street of the poor in London and their health conditions, Engels asserted this:

"Not one house of this street escapes the cholera. In general, the streets of these suburbs are unpaved, with a dung-heap or ditch in the middle, the houses are built back to back, without ventilation or drainage, and whole families are limited to a corner of a cellar or a garret". (29)

At the beginning of Nineteenth century, the "have – Not" were not only ill- bred and ill- lodged, but they were also ill clad.

The clothing of the working people, in the of cases, is in a very bad condition. The material used for it is not of best adapted. Woodland linen have almost vanished from the wardrobe of both sexes and cotton had taken their place fustian has become the proverbial costume of the working- men, who are called "Fustian jackets" and call themselves so in contrast to the gentlemen who wear broad cloth, which latter words are used characteristic for the Middle- class". (30)

There's no need to add that those clothes worn by the poor were most of the time ragged and very. Almost the whole poor people walked bare-foot. The few ones who protected their feet wore torn and ragged shoes which they often sewed with wire. As far as Education is concerned, the large majority of the "Have-Not" class were illiterate; what, at first, prevented them for understanding legislation in order to know and claim their civil rights. Their moral education was just guided over religions teachings which lade them more devoted to their Masters.

²⁹ENGELS: Op. Cit, page 97.

³⁰IBID. page 99.

"At the beginning of the Nineteenth Century there existed a number of schools for the working classes. As a result of laissez – faire of

beliefs...there seemed little prospect of any government help for working – class education. A the most important kind of school for children of the laboring’ class was the charity school.” (31)

Benjamin Disraeli in the same respects had taken the example of the people of Wodgate to show us the impact the lack of education on the working class in the early Victorian England. The blacksmiths of Wodgate didn't know anything about culture, history, geography, economy or any other kind of knowledge. They lived just like animals in a forest.

“It is rare that you meet with a young person who has seen a book; rarer to find the boy who has seen a flower, or the girl who has seen a sovereign. Ask them the name of their sovereign and they will give you an unmeaning stare; ask them the name of their religion, and they will laugh: who rules them on earth, or who can save them in heaven, are alike mysteries to them.” (32)

Yet, in spite of their ignorance and their misery, the poor worked hard. Especially, those who worked in industrial towns endeavoured their work to better their social conditions. Some of them educated themselves and became journalists.

On their days- the working men walked in public gardens with their families in order to breathe air and forget their everyday misery. Other workers, mainly the younger ones, went to public houses to drink or to watch theatres as leisure. “The Have-Not” class consisted of four main groups social forces: the factory workers, the farm laborers and Master's servants; the handloom weavers and the locksmiths; and the destitute.

³¹ HOPKINS ERIC: Social History of the English working class 1815-1945

³² DISRAEL: Op.cit, Book III chapter 4, page 164.

A – THE FACTORY WORKERS

The people who worked in the various factories during the Industrial Revolution were the factory workers. They worked on the very powerful engines or machines in the spinning or the metallurgical and other industries, excavating the ores or making commercial devices and items.

The factory workers lived upon wages paid to them by their employer at a due time. In the following passage Engels tried to explain how the first group of factory workers was born at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution:

“By degrees the class of farming weavers wholly disappeared, and was merged in the newly arising class of weavers who lived wholly upon wages, had no property whatever, not even the pretended property of a holding, and so became the working men proletarians.” (33)

The factory workers were then some less powerful people or some weak small-holders who had failed the new factories of the Industrial Revolution.

An important characteristic of the factory work in the early Nineteenth Century was the kind of people it employed. The factory employed any kind of human being: men, boys, women or girls at any age. Often a whole family worked in the same factory in a very bad condition. For instance, children worked naked and alone in dark and hot galleries.

Like men, children and women worked more than fourteen hours a day, for very few wages. What worsened the factory workers' social existence was the fact that some Masters didn't pay them regularly. The women who worked in factories were compelled to get rid of their little children who were unable to work. Such are the main particulars about the factory workers in the early Victorian period.

³³Engels: op, cit page 40.

B- THE FARM LABOURERS AND THE MASTERS' SERVANTS.

Those two groups of the "Have- Not" class deserved a particular attention as far as their living in the Victorian Period is concerned. They formed a single social force, the one which lived the most closer to their Masters. Yet, they were not treated the same way by the Masters. Whereas the farm labourers experienced bad social living condition like the factory workers, the Masters servants seemed to be pampered by their employers.

The farm labourers were somewhat free from concentrated toil of life experienced by the factory working very early at dawn at about four o'clock. That schedule was firmly followed in hay making or harvest time.

Their main activity was to plough the rich men's land and take care of their animals.

Then they worked at dairies and on farms. They were given low wages for their trouble; just what could keep them alive. Accordingly, who had more than three children were unable to feed them correctly. Like the factory workers, they lived in squalid huts were victims of sickness. But they spent much of their time working in the open air.

Although the Masters' servants belonged to the Nation of the poor they lived together in the same compounds or building with their Masters. They didn't have the same social problems as their class neighbors. As a matter of fact the Masters' servants didn't feel hunger. That truth of their life was discovered by Mr. Wilson William, poor factory worker who went to see his master, Mr. Carson on the behalf of a starving friend. Mr. Wilson was very hungry and was about to ask some food to eat from the servants. But the latter didn't think it useful to help him with a part of the great amount of the delicious meal they were could not stand seeing them at rest for a couple of minutes. They were always on errands.

Let's deal about the handloom weavers and the blacksmiths.

C- THE HANLOOM WEAVERS AND THE LOCCSMISTHS

Those two categories of workers were the principal representatives of the English private handicraft men reining after the Industrial Revolution. With them, in the same social force, can be quoted the tailors, the cobblers, the carpenters, the masons and other poor private workers who didn't succeed in being employed in factories or on the Masters' farms.

Although the handloom weavers and the locksmiths belonged to the same social ladder, their problems or conditions of living were different.

Apart from the locksmiths, **the handloom weavers as well as others** lived in the rapidly increasing industrial towns. They were victims of the impact of the Industrial Revolution.

In *Sybil* through the character of Philip Warner, Disraeli displays the handloom weavers' idle and miserable existence in the early Nineteenth Century.

"Twelve hours of daily labour, at the rate of one penny each; and even this labour is mortgaged! How is to end? is it rather not ended? And he looked around him at mugs, a paper of salve, and an iron spoon. In a farther part, chamber without resources: no food, no fuel, no furniture and four human being dependent on him, and lying in their wretched beds, because they had no clothes."(34)

Before the Industrial Revolution. Warner was very proud of his handloom weaving work. His job allowed him to feed up his family correctly. But becoming unable to face the harsh competition of the new factory work that was what had become his lot. Despite the cheapness of his goods he lacked customers. What could he do? What would he do if he sold his handloom?

³⁴DISRAELI: op. cit, Book II, Chap. 13? Page 114

The handicraftmen's misery reached its moral consequence when, unable to face their family duties, fathers were bound to live on their children or their children or their wives' wages. The latter who worked in factories, sometimes escaped their burden and ran away from their household.

As for the locksmiths in the early Victorian England, Disraeli presents them as being thoroughly unaffected by the Industrial Revolution. Tightly enclosed in their traditional rules they lived a long way from urbanized towns. Apart from their skill at work, the locksmiths, especially the inhabitants of "wodgate" or the "hell-cats", as they are called in *Sybil*, were rude. Their social organization was limited to two groups: the group of the wicked Masters and that of their devoted apprentices. In their village everybody drank and ate at weekends. People in industrial towns thought that everything related to the locksmiths was devilish. Naturally violent, they would take part in the social conflict in the early Victorian Period after being instructed about the social and stands of the English Nation.

D – THE DESTITUE.

By the word "destitute". I mean the group of the "Have-Not" who had been overcome by misery or hardships in the early Victorian Century. They were namely the unemployed people; some of whom later became beggars, prostitutes; thieves or other kinds of sinners. They were alluded to as "people of the streets"

Most of them had been respectful people who were sacked from factories or farm at given time. Some of them of them had been private handicraft men unable to face the competition from factories.

Those unemployed men would take part in the social conflict in the early Nineteenth Century, in the hope of flinging jobs later.

**CHAPTER FOUR:
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONFLICT**

With the aggravation of the poor people's misery after the enactment of the poor laws and chiefly after parliament rejected the people's first petition, the clash between the rich and the poor got to its highest point. The "have not" were not only convinced that they were exploited and deprived, but they finally understood that they were mocked at and had to get up and match their civil, human and political rights. Meanwhile, the masters would like to overcome the situation and maintain the supremacy of their social class.

The determination to get freedom here, and the firmness not to fail there, brought about, not only a mere social-class quarrel, but a real dreadful social war among the rich and the poor. As far as the early Victorian England is concerned, the social battle was twofold. It was a complex conflict. In fact all the same social classes I have quoted previously were involved in two main separate systems of confrontation.

On the one hand, there was the social confrontation opposing the land owning Aristocrat to the middle-class gentlemen who contrived and gained the support of the poor complaining workmen. That was an administrative and political battle by which the middle-class gentlemen tried to force open the historical English social alignment.

On the other hand, the same social forces opposed again. But now, they arranged themselves with different or even contrary orientation, owing to settlement of the first conflict. Therefore, the new antagonism corresponds to the social position of each protagonist. That is what I willingly call the long drawn – out social war between the rich and the poor.

I – THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL BATTLE BETWEEN THE LANDOWNING ARISTOCRAT AND THE MIDDLE-CLASS GENTLEMEN.

The Aristocrat was the lords to whom, owing to the feudal traditions, everyone had to show respect, and give services. But the new wealthy middle class the Industrial Revolution had given birth to wanted to get free from traditional rules and exploitation. They soon reacted against old social order based on social exploitation on behalf of the landowning Aristocrat, and dared to confront the lords.

A – CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE FEUDAL TRADITIONS AND THE SPIRIT OF MODERNITY : The rise of the spirit of democracy.

The rising middle-class gentlemen thought it abnormal that the feudal system made only the landlords represent the whole English Nation in Parliament.

They were all for a society of democracy where all adult citizens of all classes had to choose their elected representatives in Parliament to defend their social interests. In such a society, the rights of citizenship such as freedom of trade, speech, religion, opinion and association and the majority rule should be granted by government which would show respect to the rights of minority.

The spirit of democracy advocated by the rising Middle class also aimed to reduce the traditional power of the crown and the church. Every man should be free and at ease. That ideology was energetically fought by the Aristocratic Landowners who felt their interests threatened. With their tenants completely independent from them, they would sink poorer and poorer and finally lose their social privileges. They stuck to the feudal traditions in which the individual was to be tied up to the material and moral values of his ancestor. For the traditionalist landowners, the middle-class gentlemen or the " new bourgeoisie" such as the Acts of settlement, statutes of apprentices, protectionist con laws, in order to weaken the power of the new democrat. Yet, the growing industrialist gentlemen put pressure on the whole society and gave expansion to the new spirit of democracy.

Their main weapons were speeches, new papers, novels through which they denounced the landed Aristocracy and their absurdities at church and parliament. They claimed the rights and the duty of every man,

rich or poor to learn the principles of sciences, Arts, and trade for the welfare of the whole Nation.

The word on which they especially insisted was "Freedom". They declared that, men would have to get rid of their traditional society and become free and independent, relying either on the strength of their intelligence or wealth or, on their muscular strength if they were poor.

In 1835, the Municipal Corporation Act had elected, Professional bureaucrats servicing in elected councils who replaced the old unpaid and corrupted squires and magistrates of the feudal administration. It was the first step in the destruction of the old feudal administration. It was the first step in the destruction of the old feudal and corrupted form of administration, by the spirit of democracy. Otherwise, the rising middle-class undertook the free-trade agitation.

Their wealth being essentially based on trade, the middle class gentlemen complained with unjust heavy taxation. They energetically reacted against the income taxes, especially the one over the importation of corn.

From 1836 to 1846 some middle-class radicals and economists such as Richard Cobden and John Bright led the free trade campaign against the interests of the greedy aristocratic landlords and parliament. They denounced loudly and repeatedly the Corn Laws which maintained the price of bread high, for the benefit and welfare of the wicked and insatiable landlords. Their association called '*the Anti-Corn Law league*' should fight the administration against the corn-laws, and for free trade.

B- STRUGGLE FOR FAIR REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT.

The new businessmen, through their agitation for Democracy and modernity, invited the poor to fight on their side for fair representation in parliament.

For that purpose seditious meetings were held everywhere by radical agitators". The weapon they used were subversive speeches at mass meetings and pamphlets such as Cobbett's political Register. Their political teachings made the working class get conscious that parliament would not

actually take notice of their conditions of living, and their needs and right, as long as they lacked vote and representation.

The existing class organisation especially the trade-union quickly joined the middle-class agitators in their struggle against social and political injustice. It was the period in which the bourgeoisie tried to conjure up the image of common middle and working-class opposition to the holders of power.

In *Mary Barton*, Mrs Gaskell gives us the witness of a gentleman from London, who went to Manchester to speak to millions of working people and trade-union leaders in order to raise them for battle for parliamentary reform.

"He wrote out a stirring placard for the walls. He proposed sending delegates to entreat the assistance of the other trade unions in other towns. He headed the list of subscribing unions, by a liberal donation from that which he was especially connected in London; and what was more, and more uncommon, he paid down the money in real, clinging, blinking golden sovereigns! The money, alas, was cravingly required; but before alleviating any private necessities on the morrow, small's sums were handed to each of the delegates, who were in a day or two to set out on their expeditions to Glasgow, Newcastle, Nottingham&C" (35)

So the middle class gentlemen gave everything for their Victory over the landlords. They got on well together with the working men who organized themselves to reinforce their struggle.

The willing Reform Act claimed by the joined workmen, manufacturers, merchants, and other middle-class radical movements should bring general welfare to the Nation.

³⁵Mrs Gaskell: Op. Cit, Chap 16, Page 237

The reform act was thought by the poor people, not only as means of freedom, but as the way to get in "El Dorado", the country in which everybody was free and wealthy.

The following letter written by a lady named Mrs. Bulwer to a friend in 1831, on the eve of the Reform Act bears testimony on the degree of hope and social aspirations the Reform Act had aroused on working classes:

"The other evening, a ragged fellow who crying out the king's speech, announced it with the following appendage: "good news for the poor! Great and Glorious speech of His most Gracious majesty William the Fourth! The Reform Bill will pass! Then you'll have your beef and mutton for a penny a pound. And then you'll be all as fine as peacocks for penny a quart. In which you may drink his Majesty's Ministers' health, and the glorious Reform Bill's health, all without a ruining of yourselves!" all the common people are now persuaded that the Reform Bill will feed and cloth them for nothing. Poor geese!".⁽³⁶⁾

Poor geese indeed!

The Reform Bill, which became later the Reform Act, was not relevant to the hope of popular welfare. At first, it deprived the very rotten boroughs, which were fifty six very small constituencies, of both their member. Secondly, it allowed thirty rather larger constituencies to retain one member. Thirdly, the seat which were then set free were distributed among the large towns such as Birmingham which had not been represented before.

Fourthly, the Reform Act of 1832 gave the right to vote in boroughs to any householders who paid ten pound or more, a year, in rent

And that all the political Reform brought about by the great agitation made by the coalition of the rising Middle class and the "Have Not" as against the Landowning Aristocracy.

³⁶ CAZAMIAN, Louis : Op. Cit., page 27.

The gentlemen of the Middle class mostly paid more than ten pound a year in rent. So they had to get right to share the political power with the landowners.

But what about the poor people who could not even pay five pound a year in rent and yet had fought the battle for representation in Parliament?

What was clear that the Middle class was satisfied with the reform Act of 1832?

C- THE ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE'S AGITATION

The manufacturers and the merchants could not keep on respecting the selfish laws which cramped trade by keeping foreign corn out of the country on behalf of the landlords, and raised the cost living for all the other classes of the community.

They decided to fight for free trade by putting pressure on parliament to repeal the Corn Laws. The Anti-corn Law League headed by Richard Cobden and John Bright was then founded for the purpose.

From 1838 to 1846, the Free Trade Agitation engaged all radicals and economists and appeared once more as a struggle for public good rather than as a mere battle for class interest. The anti-corn league's speeches and pamphlets empowered the existing working-class movements, such as the trade-unions and Chartism and made the workmen more stubborn in their struggle for their social welfare. Processions were made at which the landowners were accused and appealed to sense.

The battle against the obnoxious the Corn Laws reached its highest point in 1845, when the population in Ireland began to starve on account of the failure of Potato crop; being the staple food for the peasantry with the corn from England; but the latter had unfortunately been ruined by rains during the summer of the same year.

The Irish who needed food, cried against the Corn Laws. Headed by their leader O'conneil, they multiplied the social agitations. Cobden who had been elected to parliament since 1841, once more put pressure on the government to repeal the Corn Laws. Let us now follow how the second system of the conflict developed.

II – THE LONG DRAWN-OUT SOCIAL CONFRONTATION BETWEEN RICH AND THE POOR

After the enactment of the reform Act of 1832, the poor, had naively believed in their brotherhood with the bourgeoisie whose cause was the cause of all the people, as William Cobbett had persuaded them were disappointed to share the political power with the Aristocracy and owners.

Of course, once the middle-class gentlemen got the political power, they forgot the poor who had fought with them. The poor were disillusioned and determined not give up the fight for their political and civil rights. Chartism decided to complete the work of the reform Act. Trade-union and individual workers got excited and blamed the principles of individualism and seeking for self interest, the middle-class sided closely and tightly and to their former masters and to oppress their common employees.

Thus in that new ground of battle those who had the same interests to defend clubbed together and opposed the others. They were two main groups of antagonists: the Rich or the employers and the poor employees.

Apart from their protestation against political injustice, the poor people claimed for their economic and social rights. They demonstrated and attacked the masters. The latter retaliated and then, began the social war.

It wasn't a real war fought with great or sophisticated weapons; but I just call it war to the extent that, at a given time, light weapons were used.

A – INDIVIDUAL DEEDS OF VENGEANCE

Some angry poor workers acted individually as to retaliate upon the evils the rich men were to the poor people.

1 – Rick burning

Some of the houseless and homeless farm-labourers acted secretly and individually to retaliate upon the rich landlords and farmers on burning the rick.

The rick is the mass of hay or straw or corn, or a mass of other agricultural harvest that the Masters had the labourers made into heaps on the farms.

To understand the effect of the rick burning upon the Aristocratic landlords or the Masters, one has to get a brief knowledge about farm-work in England in those days.

Farms were the main, if not, the only one basic means of wealth for the landowners in the early industrial England. The rents paid by the farmers and the various taxation on agricultural products were the ground for the wealth of the landlords. The latter divided every farm into fields on which different kinds of corn, grass and other plants were grown for food and sales. The grass and the hay were sold or given to their reared animal for food; which animals were milked or sold.

The farm labourers' purpose in burning the rick was to paralyse the economy of the Masters and draw their attention on their condition of living. Once the rick was burnt the employers' animals would die from hunger and they should certainly experience hardship like them, sooner or later, since they would not even get any crop to sell or any rent to get.

Although the rick burning in England in the early Nineteenth Century was only an individual deed of vengeance, a kind of conspiracy or solidarity was noticeable throughout the behaviour of the other farm-workers. While a master's own workers were trying to keep out the fire from the rick, their neighbours on other farms attended passively the blazing of the rick.

A similar case occurred in the parish of Marney, on Mr. Bingley's farm. Let us hear Mr. Bingley's opinion about the burning of rick:

"It is not so much the fire, sir", said Mr. Bingley, of the abbey farm, to Egremont, but the temper of the people that alarms me. Do you know, sir there were two or three score of them here, and except my own farm servants, not one of them would lend a helping hand to put out the flames, though with water so near, they might have been of great service". (37)

Poor Mr. Bingley! He pretended to be astonished and annoyed at the behaviour of the poor farm labourers who didn't react when his rick was burning. Anyway the poor were fed up and should keep on reacting until some solutions were found.

2 – Murder

The hatred for their employers was sometimes so hard that some workmen committed murder to avenge themselves. Those rebels, most of the time acted individually and secretly upon their own free will. Sometimes, the murders of the scornful property Holding Masters were encouraged and even financed by leading members of trade-unions.

Murder as an act of retaliation or vengeance occurred when the poor people got unusually excited with anger by the behaviour of the ludicrous masters. When the murder was decided by a group of trade- Unionists, only one member is chosen after a drawing.

The murder committed on young Harry Carson by John Barton is mentioned in *Mary Barton* as a typical example of that case of murder responsibility. May I be allowed to show throughout the words of Louis Cazamian, the circumstances in which Mary Barton's father, one of the chartist delegates chosen by the working people to negotiate with the Master about the conditions of the working class, became the murderer of young Carson.

³⁷DISREALI:Op.Cit, Book II, chap.4, Page 65

" While the workers' representatives are awaiting the outcome of the discussions. Carson's son, a thoughtless young fellow who has been paying attention to Mary Barton, notices that their poverty has left them looking like scarecrows. He draws a caricature of their gaunt, haggard faces which he laughingly shows to his colleagues. But he has been observed, and after the meeting, the newspaper is swept up by a striker. The strike leaders meet in a smoky inn to examine it, and are humiliated and outraged. They swear an oath to punish the man to shoot young Carson dead". (38)

I owe another testimony of the kind to Engels Frederick through the following lines:

" In 1831, during a violent labour movement, young Ashton, a manufacturer in Hyde, near Manchester, was shot one evening when crossing a field and no trace of the assassin discovered there is no doubt that this was a deed of vengeance of the working men"(39)

What a similarity! Young Carson was also shot dead while crossing a field; and moreover there wasn't any real trace of Mr. Barton, despite Father Carson's lust for vengeance.

B – CONSPIRACY

The " silver street conspiracy " took place in an abandoned rather spacious chamber. Its aim was to incite the people on a general strike and even to form a committee for arming the people so that the government should be obliged to resign. Then the poor should lead. It is the working class Revolution in England.

But unfortunately the conspirators' plans were known to the police while they were making their final preparations and they were tried, convicted and imprisoned. So much for the individual deeds of Vengeance. Let's read about another system to confrontation.

³⁸CAZAMIAN Louis : Op. cit, Page 205.

³⁹ENGELS. Op. Cit, Page 246.

C – THE CHARTIST DELEGATES AND THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Throughout Chartism the working class wanted to stand firm as a political and social organization which aimed to form “the National chartist convention “which was to sit in parliament as rival to the House of Common, and to parliament the National working class petition urging acceptance of the six point of their demands. All was to be achieved through a respectful discussion of their claims. But the successive rejections of the claims of the poor gave birth to great disturbances.

The direct consequences of the rejection of the petition by parliament were strikes and riots which progressively turned into a real social war.

D – STRIKES OR NATIONAL HOLIDAYS.

Strike or “ National Holiday “, was the official mean for Trade- Unions to deal with their employers. The workers decided to stop working for the employers until their claims were met. They insisted on more wages, shorter hours and better condition of working and living and decided to go on strike as regularly as their condition of living would not be improved.

The workmen’s refusal to work paralysed the economy of their employers by making the latter lose important markets. Thus, the leaders of Trade-Unions ordered the workmen to close the mills and go on strike as the pigheaded employers were unlike or reticent to grant their claims.

In *MARY BARTON*, Mrs. Gaskell didn’t come under the meanest observation of the working men’s strikes in Manchester. The strikers organized themselves as if they prepared for a real social war.

1 – A strike witness in manchester

In manchester, it was witnessed by Mrs Gaskell that while the strikers sat stern and quite with folded hands protesting against low wages, other Trade-Unions’ delegates from other Industrial towns such as Nottingham and Glasgow came to them. They brought their supports to the Manchester

fellows out in the streets and defied the Masters by keeping up widely spirit of resistance.

The working class grievances were written on banderoles and on walls. Some workers heckled and jeered at the Rich Masters.

2 – Masters' reaction to strikes

In Manchester, the reaction of the masters to the workers' refusal to work was immediate. At first they decided to hire new employess and thought of what to do to the strikers later. But the fulfilment of that decision gave vent to a real social class confrontation. The woekers went on protesting and claiming their rights.

“ The master, meanwhile, took their measures. They placarded the walls with advertisements for power- LOOM WEAVERS. The workmen replied by a placard in still larger letters, stating grievances.⁽⁴⁰⁾”

On account of the factory hands' agitation and their termination to prevent the employers from hiring other workers, the factory owners held regular meeting and consulted one another about the situation. But they were always firm on their selfish decision not to take into account the workmen's grievances. They wouldn't even humble themselves in trying to negotiate with the poor factory-hand. After all they were the owners of their factories. So, they reopened the factories and hired power-loom weaver'sliviing in the remote countries, who had heard of the former advertisement for workmen. Those re-hired workers were strike- breakers.

⁴⁰Mrs GASKELL. Op. Cit, Chap. 15, Page 222.

The strike-breakers were called "black-legs" or "knobsticks". Some of them were regular workers who, for some reasons, found themselves compelled to work, while their neighbours been on a strike.

3 – The strikers' attitudes with regards to the employment of strike-breakers.

Had the strikers let the "knob-sticks" keep on working on their place that they would have lost both grievances and their job. So organized within the trade- unions, they started turning the "knob-sticks" back from factories. They did that by means of dissuasion, intimidation and threatenings.

Soon, the employers in collaboration with retired policemen, and even with the government had the strike-breakers be accompanied to their factories. At least twelve men, all of them ex-soldiers or policemen were set to guard each factory-yard, so as to protect the strike-breakers against the trade Unionists. The guards were armed with guns, ready to shoot down those who dared attack or intimidate "knobsticks".

That violent tactic used by the Masters to break up strikes, made the strikers horrid. They would not keep quiet and lose their jobs. They declared war to the master and the strike-breakers.

They armed themselves with stones, wood and guns in order to face their enemies. Those weapons were disorderly used by the strikers who hurt guards, master and strike-breakers. But their main victims were the poor depressed men who had tramped from remote countries and had accepted to work on the starving wages. They were waylaid, beaten and left almost for dead by the roadside, despite the magistrates and policemen's promptness to put violent strikers into prison. Whenever the policemen broke up a lounging knot of men the same men separated quietly to reunite further. Most of the time, in their excitement against the " knob Sticks", the strickers threw vitriolsdangerously. The victime were badly hurt and some of them died, leaving alive their helpless household which had impatiently been waiting for their come back home.

In fact, that fight opposing strikers to strike-breakers is to be regarded as the tragic flaw of confict between the rich and the poor. Its

result was no more the social welfare to the or, since the striker –breakers didn't belong to the Nation of the rich. Such a tactic of aliation of the strikers to injure poorer men belonging to their own social class a missven. It was a victory of the masters over the poor.

John Barton witnessed a damage which a strike-breaker was victim of and got conscious of the strikers weakness.

What affected him and made him condemn vitriol throwing and violence against strike-breakers was his view of the moaning man who started bidding his wife farewell, as soon as Barton asked him the latter's name:

Mary, Mary, shall ever see you again

Mary, my darling, they've made me blind

Because wanted to work for you and our Own baby ; oh, Mar !

(41)

What a pitiful monologue! I wonder if that strike breaker really deserved what happened to him.

Of course the sigh to moved John Barton who suddenly understood that strike breakers should not be dealt with savagely like that. As a trade Union leader, John Barton warned his fellow strikers.

"... But bless your life, none of us would ever throw vitriol at a knob stick if he could see the sight I saw today."(42)

⁴¹MrsGASKELL: *Op. Cit.*, chap 16, Page 240

⁴² *Ibid*

John Barton's words didn't fall into deaf ears.

The strikers got conscious that their real enemies were at ease while they were fighting those who were even poorer than them.

E – RIOTS

Violent and popular outburst of noisy and uncontrolled behaviours was the next and last step of the social conflict in the early Victorian England. The feelings of the poor towards the Rich grew more and more hostile since the latter had rejected their various demands and arrested some of their leaders.

1 – Revolt against machinery.

The demonstrators' actions were spontaneous and very harsh when they arose against the wickedness of the rich masters. The poor men' first target to do away with the rich exploiters was the destruction of factories and mills.

They stuck to the feeling that machinery, the main product of the Industrial Revolution, was the actual origin of their long sufferings; and that the same factories and mills were the strongest means by which the rich social classes dominated them economically and politically. They resolved then to smash the machinery in order to make the supercilious masters witness misery, and test a bit of the poor people's conditions of living.

The " plug riot" or the " Luddite riot" occurred in England after the rejection of the people's Petition by Parliament in 1842, It was violent attack of machinery.

In "Sybil", Disraeli fully describes what the Luddite riot was like. Until the first Petition to parliament which was rejected in 1839, the people's charter had not been understood, in a large scale. Illiterate workers, namely most of the miners, tailors, tinkers, cobblers, brushmakers, caterers masons builders, farmers and mainly the blacksmiths did not support the people's charter despite their sufferings.

The political points of the claims of the charter were abstract and didn't mean much to them. They thought that the charter didn't deal with the grievances they would willingly fight for. The real troubles with those

poelpe people who didn't work in town or in factories were the problems relating to the tyanny of the tyranny of their employers and their overseers or " butties" and those concerning large stints, low wages, extra-work and truck shops.

After the rejection of the first two National Petitions, Chartism used a new stratagem. Some cunning chartist leaders went to remoterural places and taught the illiterate handworking men the importnce of the people's charter and stirred them up against the "Rich Nation" as a whole. The brute working men were taught their civil rights that the Charter had been desperately defending. Some of those rights were: the right to gain four shillings as a day-wages, the sacred right to work for only eight hours a days, the right to work freely without " butties" or overseers, the right to get two post of "ale" or local beer a day... and other very important rights of which they were deprived just because of the greediness and the wickedness of the rich who owned factories and mills by which they unjustly oppressed the poor.

The chartist had also intructed the vindictive rude people like the blacksmiths, on the necessity to destroy the Rich people's mills and factories on account of which their business were growing dull. After their physical sufferings and personal injuries were commented on, as to make them ready to fight the Rich for their civil rights, the rural handicraft men were told about their political rights on which depended the fulfilment of their civil rights.

The six points of the Charter were commented on to the rural workers. They were advised as the remedy of which adoption at parliament would surely grant to the poor their civil and political rights.

In *Sybil*, Disraeli shows us the reaction of the black smiths of wodgegate when Field, the chartist leader has succeeded in convincing them about the People's charter. As to do honour to Bishop Hatton, the boss of the blacksmiths of wodgegate, Field considers him as the only one who in the world is then able to set the " have not" free

Hatton was called the "Liberator". He became suddenly decided to fight all the Rich and Vampires which were sucking the blood of the poor day by day. He led the " Hell cast" of Wodgegate for the social war against the Rich who didn't want to accept the people's charter.

" The march of Bishop Hatton at the head of the Hell-cats into the mining districts was perhaps the most striking popular movement since the Pilgrimage of Grace. Mounted on a white mule, wall-eyed and hideous form, the Bishop brandished a huge hammer with which he had announced that he would destroy the enemies of the People: all butties, doggies, dealers in truck and Tommy, middle masters and main masters. Some thousand hell-cats followed him, brandishing bludgeons, or armed with bars of iron, pickhandles, and hammers." (43)

Like in Holly war, the rural workers led the war against the Rich. Disraeli compared the position of Hatton, sitting on white mule between his two little sons on a donkey at each side, to the position of the leader of the holy religious procession against the dissolution of the monasteries and the enactment of the Test and corporation Acts.

The poor people's number increased as far as they came nearer to the industrial towns. Their invasion of Mowbray was at first marked by the closing and breaking of machinery.

Whenever the demonstrators reached a factory, they showed their banners on which the points of the Charter were written and they threatened the factory workers to close the mill, the foundries, the mines, the loom shops and join the procession.

At the leader's command the mills which were still switched on were still smashed and their plugs driven out of the boilers: Causing all those damage under the cheerful slogan of: "A fair day 's for a day's work". The demonstrators stated that machinery.

⁴³DISRAELI: Op. Cit., Book VI, Chap. 6, Page 374

Should disappear in England unless the Masters and enemies of the people acknowledged the people's as "the Law of England".

2 – Attack on the truck shop

While some rioters went on smashing machinery, other decided to go straight to the shop in order to avenge themselves and revolt against humiliation they had always been victims of.

The insurgents of truck shops or "tommy-shops" brought their "tommy-books" or the once of their relatives in which the compulsory purchases were mentioned and billed to the masters in order to set things all right.

At the sight of the procession of the demonstrators, the truck shops' owners shut their shops and closed, barred and bolted the lower windows and doors of their dwellings. They were so much afraid of the People's violent retaliation to the great tyranny they had consciously indulged in them. So, they imprisoned themselves in their closed rooms.

Meanwhile, the usual customers of the truck shops gathered round the avengers, looking forward to enjoying the sight of punishment on the common enemies of the poor.

Some women who had suffered from the wickedness and the violence of the "Tommy-shop" managers were delighted on seeing the invaders armed with bludgeons, crowbars, hammers and other rude weapons with which they were attempting to force their way into the closed "Tommy-shops". :

"It what I always dreant would come to pass, said Liza Gray, ever since Master Joseph cut my poor baby over the eye with his three-foot rule". (44)

⁴⁴DISRAELI. *Op. Cit.*, Book VI, Chap. 7 Page 377

This quotation taken from Sybil displays the appreciation of a factory-worker's wife as she saw the Truck shop-destruction group of the hellcats about to attack the diggs' tommy shop. Armed with a gun, Mr. Diggs' son, Master Joseph opened a window in the upper storey of the house and tried to intimidate the invaders, while his father tried a peaceful negotiation with them.

The Masters didn't want to open their shop. Nevertheless the demonstrators ignored Diggs-the-father's sweet policy of concession and asked him to send down all the "tommy-books" they had got there to be burnt. Of course the capitalist Diggs did not accept.

The Hell-cats then got angry and started forcing the gates open. Master Joseph who couldn't stand that fired and wounded a woman and killed a child. He then gave the cue. The mob got exploded with rage and strong power and lust for vengeance. They set the whole flat on fire. Let's watch with Mr. Disraeli how the battle of truck shop, especially the one in the Diggs' shop ended:

"The roof of the house caught fire: the dwelling burned rapidly: you could see the flames like the tongues of wild beasts, single being was observed amid the fiery havoc, shrieking and desperate; he clung convulsively to a huge account-book. It was Mater Joseph. His father has made his escape from the back of the premises and had counselled his son instantly to follow him, but Master Joseph wished to rescue the ledger as well as their lives, and the delay ruined him". (45)

There is no need, to repeat that the greedy Joseph died in the battle for the "Tommy shop". He was burnt to ash. His lot was the same as that of many wicked young masters who defended their truck shops in resistance of the vengeance-stricken poor men.

3 – Miscellaneous popular demonstrations

All over the English Nation, various popular routs had been organized at the same moment by the poor against the Rich. Most of those movements were very violent.

⁴⁵DISRAELI. Op. Cit., Chap. 7 Page 379

Everywhere the violent demonstrators destroyed and sacked and plundered rooms, and castles. They were so violent that even the police was unable to face them. Those physical force agitations had even tried to cut the railroads in order to prevent the regular soldiers to come down by train and attack them.

The most horrible phase of the popular demonstration during the social conflict in the early Victorian England, was the people's attack on the master's castles.

In *Sybil*, Disraeli shows us how the mob attacked Mowbray castle in which upper storey were found all the documents concerning the Abbot's land ; land the legal heir of the documents being Walter Gerard, a chartist leader.

The attack on the Mowbray castle was violent. Its purpose was to rescue the land unjustly snatched from the poor. The main artisans of that battle were again Bishop Hatton and the hell-Cats supported by a few chartists and Trade Unionists.

The assailants who had drunk much ale before starting their demonstrations were most killed by a regular army of yeomanry which intervened a few minutes after the invaders had set fire to the castle. Although the moral force chartist leader, Morley had succeeded in getting the documents and transmitting them to Gerard's daughter, he was shot down.

F – THE MEASURES TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT

As far as the social conflict in the early Victorian England is concerned, the members of the government were the representatives of the whole country and should not take up position openly as regards social class and its interests. To that extent, they artfully supported their rich brethren by making laws and taking other measures. The fulfilment of those measures and laws brought about violent reprisals upon the working class.

First, the government approved of the masters decisions to deal firmly with the strikers. When a little trifle casually opposed a rich man to a poor man; whether the rich gentleman was right or wrong he might willingly ask the policeman to arrest the poor man. That statement finds its proof in the reaction of the policeman who intervened during a fight.

Opposing Jem Wilson, a factory worker to Harry Carson, a young son of a factory owner about a girl:

" Mr Carson was on his feet directly, his face glowing with rage or shame. Shall I take him to the lock-ups, sir? Said the policeman. " No, no exclaimed Mr Carson, I struck him first. It was no assault on his side, though ; he continued, hissing out his words to Jem, who even hated freedom procured for him, however justly, at the intervention of his rival". (46)

I wonder why a policeman, a representative of the government should not ask comprehensive question both the parties in conflict instead of thinking directly of an aggression of the Rich by the poor.

Secondly the eighty forties' government had severely and unjustly repressed the popular demonstrations.

1 – The Mowbray massacre

The most sorrowful testimony of violent repression of the working class demonstrations pointed out by B. Disraeli in *Sybil* was the Mowbray massacre.

Walter Gerard, a chartist leader was heading a multitude of people with purpose of keeping the peace. He was dissuading his supporters from joining battle with the Hell-cats in the destruction of Mowbray castle. Among the people Walter was addressing there were a lot of women and children. At the view of the peaceful group of people, a detachment of yeomanry led by Lord Marney charged them without any inquiry. The innocent and almost unarmed people were fired and sabred by those legal forces sent by the Magistrates to set order. Walter Gerard was killed in that massacre. But the survivors of the people got alarmed and stoned Lord Marney to death.

⁴⁶ Mrs GASKELL: Op. Cit., Chap. 15, Page 230

A similar repressive attack was mentioned in the History of England in the early Victorian period. It is remembered as the Peterloo massacre.

2 – The Peterloo massacre

In order to convince the working people of the necessity of fighting for their political Rights, the radical "ORATOR" Hunt was to have a meeting with them in favour of Parliamentary reform. Thousands of unarmed and peaceful people, among whom there were many women and children, came from the districts round to listen to Hunt at Peter's Field, Manchester.

The sight of such a multitude made the magistrates so alarmed that they sent a detachment of yeomanry to arrest Hunt. But the crowd was so thick that the men on horseback were not able to force their way through it. Thus a detachment of regular cavalry was sent to charge the mob. Men, women and children were slashed by the soldiers. A lot of them died and more were wounded.

For the leading class there was ground to show pity in the various massacres. Mainly for the Peterloo massacres their prompt action in quelling "the riots". Moreover the government's position was supported by parliament which passed the six Acts which deprived the poor from their most cherished rights.

The behaviour of the governing class at the beginning and during the social clash between Masters and workers in the early industrial English Nation, made the people lose all credulity on the political leaders and strengthen the conflict which developed into a stage of war.

Such was the social connection which existed between the two main social classes to which Industrial Revolution gave birth in the early Victorian England.

After such an analysis and meditation on the social conflict in England in the early Victorian period, I can now set a general value on it, especially in keeping with the impact of the Industrial Revolution.

CONCLUSION

This analysis of the social conflict in the early Victorian England shows that the new social and economic order established by the Industrial Revolution had deeply worsened the existing cool but unjust social order settled down by selfish historical deeds such as the Reformation of the Roman Catholic and the civil wars.

In addition to the humiliating and provoking consequences of the historical events over many injured and destitute citizens, the Industrial Revolution based on capitalism and individualism had privileged money-power and selfishness by arranging England into two new social classes, which, instead of collaborating hated each other.

As a matter of fact, the Industrial Revolution taught the whole English Nation the importance of money. Everyone worked out to get money as much as he could. Those who were lucky to get enough money protected it and searched for the ways of having more. Those who weren't lucky or skilful enough to make money tried hard to get it. But the determination of the Rich to the everlasting powerful people in the Nation prevented the poor from achieving their wishes.

The social violence then occurred inevitably, because the two main social classes born from the Industrial Revolution didn't succeed in agreeing on how to raise the issues caused to them by Money power.

The Masters' seeking after too much profits in the capitalist system of work led to low wages, overwork, long working hours, truck shop system, the poor Laws Amendment Act of 1843 and other rough and wicked deeds of which the "poor Nation" was the victim.

The suffering of the poor and the destitute hard-working men brought about their instinctive frenzy as regards to their humiliating living conditions, and made them organize themselves and fight the idle and selfish rich people for more social justice and peace.

Both Benjamin Disraeli and Mrs. Elizabeth Gaskell, had clearly depicted the social gap between the sadistic rich men and the miserable and hopeless poor men, and proposed each, an acceptable creed for the future.

As social novels, *Sybil* and *Mary Barton* Show the real picture of the sufferings and the problems experienced by the whole English Nation during the Industrial Revolution in the eighteen forties. Although the two novels have many similarities and their reading utterly gives us a reliable picture on the early Victorian England, Mrs Gaskell's *Mary Barton* is more compassionate.

In *MARY BARTON*, Mrs Gaskell wrote about what she actually saw and lived out of her own experience among the factory workers in Lancaster and Manchester.

As for Mr Disraeli's *Sybil*, there is a little tendency to fiction and exaggeration in the description of the protagonists and some events concerning the social conflict in his contemporary England. Yet, the events are not unreal. He read about them in *The Blue Book* which is the report of various commissions sent by the crown to witness the grievances of the poor.

Like their other contemporary social novel writers, Disraeli and Mrs Gaskell's own opinions or solutions to the problems of their days depended on their social position or their political aspiration.

Therefore, if it necessary to point out the personal point of view and solution proposed by each of the two social novel writers we are concerned with in my work.

Mrs. Gaskell is a sensitive and sympathetic Victorian novelist who has just published *MARY BARTON* in order to inform her readers about the sorrowful events which were occurring around them and which they might not have known. Throughout her novel, she has skilfully invited the two main protagonists to find out remedy to the negative consequences of the Industrial Revolution.

In her capacity of faithful Christian and a religious leader's wife, Mrs Gaskell has plunk fair in her analysis of the struggle between the Rich and the poor. She has no political ambition. She has just written according to

what she has witnessed. That is why she has not been biased in her judgement of the Masters. She has acknowledged the poor people's sufferings and contrasted their poverty and hardship with the wealth and idleness of their Masters.

Nevertheless, Mrs Gaskell has drawn a peaceful solution to the conflict. She invited her readers (most of them, being rich people) to get along with the "have not" class which had been suffering great distress since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. Mrs Gaskell's hope addressed to the Masters and their Employees is that they forget their selfish condemnation of one another and live as brothers, regardless of their wealth and sufferings. Both rich people and poor people had to live in utterly Christian brotherhood, so as to put an end to the social conflict of the days.

Driven by her faith, Mrs. Gaskell goes so far in her advice to the protagonists as to use the parable of the greedy rich Dives and poor LAZARIUS. Mrs. Gaskell has used the comparison between Dives and Lazarius to warn both the selfish and greedy rich masters and the vengeful and intrepid poor men about the risk they should run after death if they didn't change their prudish behaviour.

To materialize her feelings and solution for those who might not have the bible, Mrs. Gaskell ended her novel by a living and convincing picture. She puts on the stage the rich vengeance-thirsty Master Carson who is forgiving at last John Barton, the murderer of this only Child; the same murderer dying in his arm as a sign of mutual forgiveness and new born brotherhood between the Rich and the poor.

Yet, the solution given by Benjamin Disraeli, however peaceful itself differs from that proposed by Mrs. Gaskell. It more relates to leadership or politics than to a mere social conflict.

Of course, Disraeli was an accurate politician and novelist, and *Sybil* or *The two Nation* is to be understood as a social novel displaying the author's political views on the problems of the days. *Sybil* or *The two Nations* is then regarded as socio-political novel.

As a political leader of the conservative party, Disraeli wrote *Sybil* to display his political views about the social clivage brought about by the Industrial Revolution, and to give the causes of the conflict by criticizing

skilfully his political rivals as well as the political deeds he had never approved of.

But as a solution to the problem of conflict of his days, Disraeli disagreed with people's ambition to become independent from the Rich and even lead, after sharing the political power with them. According to Disraeli, the people or the poor are important and cannot lead. So, he proposes the leadership of the English Nation by the new generation of aristocrat who were wise enough to find remedies for the people's illness. He invites the new aristocrats to remember their sacred duties which consist in helping the poor, ensuring equality by elevating them a little.

He is then for the old Toryism in which the various classes of the nation will live under the authority of a powerful and absolute monarch, and where the church will find its power throughout the building of larger monasteries.

Disraeli acknowledges that most of the Masters are mischievous and dishonest, but he has also shown through the characters of Mr. Trafford and Egmont that some rich men are human and deserve to lead the poor.

That solution to the social problem in the early Victorian period is fulfilled at the end of *Sybil* when Egremont gets married with Sybil, a daughter of the people. Egremont substitutes for his brother Lord Marney after the latter's death. He becomes the legal protector of Sybil and her wealth, and he rewards fairly Dandy Mick for all the danger he has encountered while bringing home the writ-box containing Sybil's inheritance. The new lord.

He has also fulfilled his duty by giving assistance to the poor people, such as Devildust has become a capitalist.

To solve such an important and vital problem, that solution seems to me irrelevant. A feeling that the new aristocracy has the duty to protect and lead the poor who "can never lead" is not fair. My point of view is that the people are not as important as Disraeli thinks. Doubtless the strength of the people is to ignore even their demonstrations through chartist trade-unionist organizations. It is unquestionable that people violent revolt

against the behaviour of the millowners and landlord during. The hard times has contributed to the provement of their lives after the eighteen –forties.

I believe that it is their tremenous determination that has frightened both the masters and the government and compelled them in seeking some solutions to thier social problems mong the various acts taken progressively by the fearful and reluctant governmentnenever the people demonstrated, the following one scan be mentioned

The 1802 FACTORY ACT introduced by Robert Peel according to which no oprentice should be employed or comployed to work fore than twelve hours in any one ays, nor should he work by night. Regulations for separate dormitories were also provided y that first factory Act

The FACTORY BILL of 1816 proposed by Robert Owen and introduced at parliament y Robert Peel. It became law in 1818 and declared that no child under the age of nine should work on cotton mill and that no child between the ages of nine and sixteen should work more hantwelse hours (between 5. Am 9.p. m) a day

Other Acts of the same above mentioned kind were introduced in 1825, 1830 and 1831.

THE TEN HOURS BILL:introduce for the first time in March 1833 by lord Ashley, an evangelistic Anglican leader, with the help of Sadler. It was adoptedin 1847, sixteen years later. It pointed out that no man should work more than ten hours a day.

The MINES ACT introduced by Lord Ashley in 1842 forbade the employment of women underground. It also forbade the employment of any boy under the age of ten.

The association of health in towns and publichealth acts were passed in 1844, to take care about the health of the poor.

All the political demands voiced in the people's charter, except the annual parliaments are nowadays taken for granted by the British parliament.

When we consider all those measures taken by the government to improve the living conditions of the poor, can we agree with Disraeli that the people have no Power?

No, the chartist movement and the trade Unions have played, to some extent, an important role, and their leaders have not been inefficient. The above quoted Acts and bills would not have been passed if there had not had any strikes or riots.

According to me, mutual understanding and patience between rivals seem to be the most humble solution to social conflicts.

Conflicts have always existed, and social conflict still exists nowadays. Trade-Unions' strikes take place very often now and political conflicts seem to be in fashion in all the world. That remark leads me to think that some more suggestion should be found in order to avoid similar violence to that in the early nineteenth in England.

Besides love and patience the most important ground for the prevention of conflicts in human society is humility. When both the poor and the Rich are humble, there can exist good understanding between them. Humility is positive consciousness or common sense. Every one has to restrict his selfishness, his lust and his greediness and consider his neighbour as his brother or this sister or as his child, and always keep in mind that he is not above the others. It is quite a difficult solution, but it is not impossible.

As Mrs Gaskell has suggested, men can become humble by the stage of forgiveness and brotherhood. Progress of science and technology is a very good thing indeed; but conscience and humility are necessary for people to live together in a "better world". /.

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NB: All the quotations from *SYBIL OR THE TWO NATIONS* are to be found in the world's Classics Edition.

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