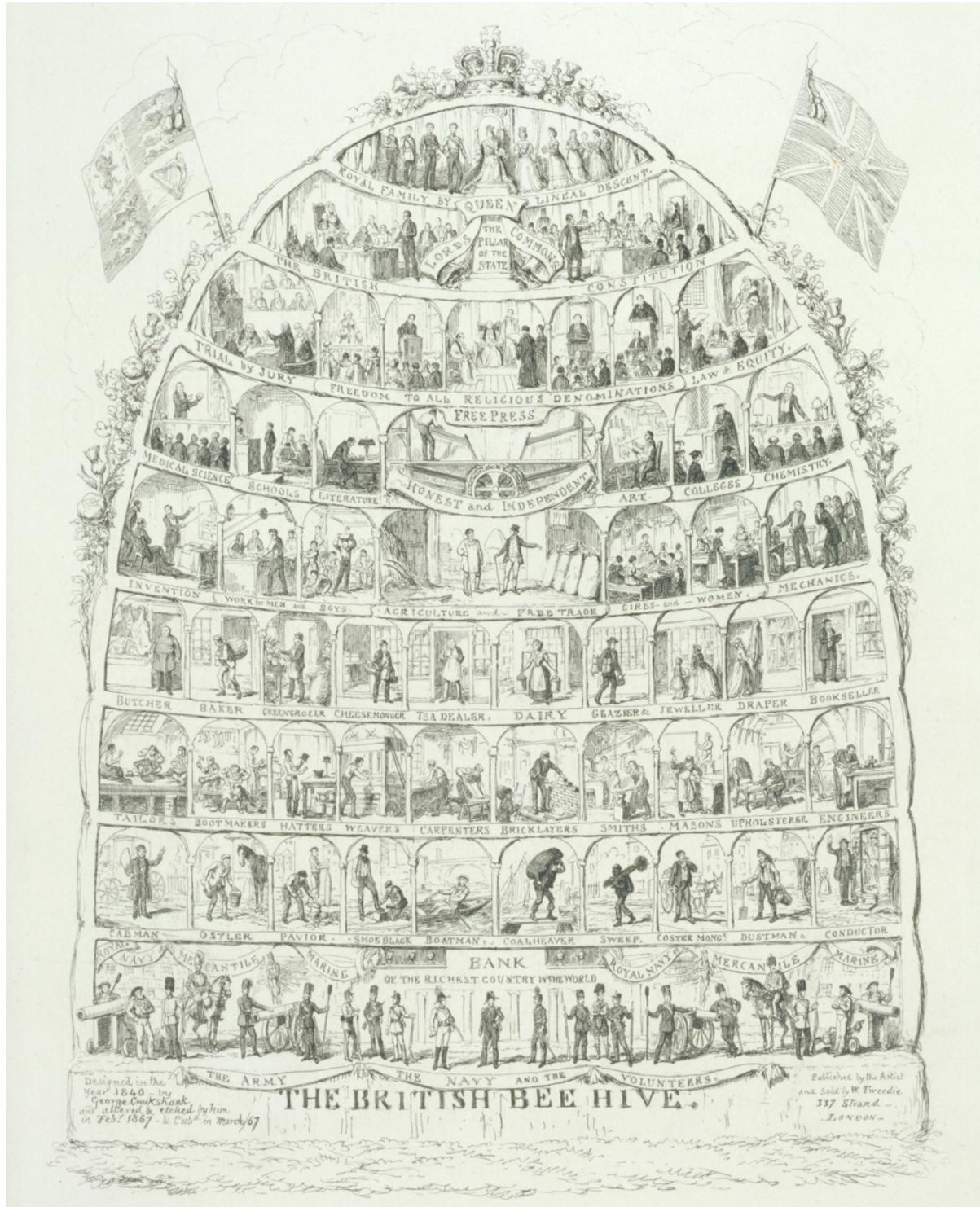


# *Economic, Social, and Cultural Change in Britain, from 1815 to 2007*



**Week 1 (15th September): Rappels méthodologiques et distribution des exposés**  
**‘Progress’ in the Industrial Revolution**

Text 1: *Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire*, W. C. Taylor, 1842

**Week 2 (22<sup>nd</sup> September): ‘Progress’ in the Industrial Revolution**

Text 2: Prince Albert on the Great Exhibition, *The Illustrated London News* (1849)

**Week 3 (29<sup>th</sup> September): ‘Progress’ in the Industrial Revolution**

Text 3: "The Railroad was in Progress", Charles Dickens (1847-1848)

**Week 4 (6<sup>th</sup> October): The Reform Acts**

Text 4: “A measure of conservation”, Thomas Babington Macaulay, 1831

**Week 5 (13<sup>th</sup> October): The Factory Acts**

Text 5: Accounts of women miners, report from the Parliamentary Papers, 1842

**Week 6 (20<sup>th</sup> October): Chartism**

Text 6: Barnsley Manifest (1838)

**Week 7 (3<sup>rd</sup> November): The Empire**

Text 7: “The Exiles’ Line”, Rudyard Kipling (1890)

**Week 8 (10<sup>th</sup> November): Online Session on Moodle for everyone**

**Week 9 (17<sup>th</sup> November): The Crisis of Victorian Values**

Text 8: Jack London in the East End, *The People of the Abyss*, 1903

**Week 10 (24<sup>th</sup> November): The Crisis of Victorian Values**

Text 9: Mrs Pankhurst’s *Own Story* (1914)

**Week 11 (1<sup>st</sup> December): The Rise of the Labour Party**

Text 10: “How I Became a Socialist”, William Morris (1894)

**Week 12 (8<sup>th</sup> December): The First World War**

Text 11: Speech by British Prime Minister David Lloyd George (June 1917)

**Week 13 (15<sup>th</sup> December): Devoir sur table: Commentaire en 1h30**

## **Text 1: Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire**

William Cooke Taylor, *Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire*, 1842

It would be absurd to speak of Factories as mere abstractions, and consider them apart from the manufacturing population: that population is a stern reality, and cannot be neglected with impunity. As a stranger passes through the masses of human beings which have been accumulated round the mills and print-works in this and the neighbouring towns, he cannot contemplate these “crowded hives” without feelings of anxiety and apprehension almost amounting to dismay. The population, like the system to which it belongs, is NEW; but it is hourly increasing in breadth and strength. It is an aggregate of masses, our conceptions of which clothe themselves in terms that express something portentous and fearful. We speak not of them indeed as of sudden convulsions, tempestuous seas, or furious hurricanes, but as of the slow rising and gradual swelling of an ocean which must, at some future and no distant time, bear all the elements of society aloft upon its bosom, and float them – Heaven knows whither. There are mighty energies slumbering in those masses: had our ancestors witnessed the assemblage of such a multitude as is poured forth every evening from the mills of Union Street, magistrates would have assembled, special constables would have been sworn, the riot act read, the military called out, and most probably some fatal collision would have taken place. The crowd now scarcely attracts the notice of a passing policeman, but it is, nevertheless, a crowd, and therefore susceptible of the passions which may animate a multitude.

The most striking phenomenon of the Factory system is, the amount of population which it has suddenly accumulated on certain points: there has been long a continuous influx of operatives into the manufacturing districts from other parts of Britain; these men have very speedily laid aside all their old habits and associations, to assume those of the mass in which they are mingled. The manufacturing population is not new in its formation alone: it is new in its habits of thought and action, which have been formed by the circumstances of its condition, with little instruction, and less guidance, from external sources. It may be matter of question whether the circumstances surrounding the manufacturing labourer are better or worse than those belonging to the agricultural condition, but there can be no doubt that the former are preferred by the operative. In the present severe pressure of commercial distress there are scores, and probably hundreds, of workmen, whom the authorities would gladly send back to their parishes if they could bring them legally under the designation of paupers, but these men submit to the pressure of hunger, and all its attendant sufferings, with an iron endurance, which nothing can bend, rather than be carried back to an agricultural district. [...] The Factory system is, therefore, preferred to the more usual conditions of labour by the population which it employs, and this at once ensures its permanence as a formative element of society, and at the same time renders its influence directly efficacious on character.

I have visited Manchester at seasons when trade was pre-eminently prosperous: I see it now suffering under severe and unprecedented distress; and I have been very forcibly struck by observing the little change which the altered circumstances have produced in the moral aspect of the population. Agricultural distress soon makes itself known; Swing at this side of the water, and Rock at the other, write the tales of their grievances in characters which no man can mistake, and seek redress by measures strongly marked with the insanity of despair. But suffering here has not loosened the bands of confidence; millions of property remain at the mercy of a rusty nail or the ashes of a tobacco-pipe, and yet no one feels alarm for the safety of his stock or machinery, though in case of an operative *Jacquerie* they could not be defended by all the military force of England. This very crisis has been a rigid test of the strength of the Factory system, and precludes the necessity of any further argument to show that it cannot be overthrown.

## Text n°2

### The Speech of H.R.H. The Prince Albert at The Lord Mayor's Banquet, in the City of London, October 1849.

*The Illustrated London News, 11 October 1849.*

5 I conceive it to be the duty of every educated person closely to study and watch the time in which he lives; and as far as in him lies, to add his mite of individual exertion to further the accomplishment of what he believes Providence to have ordained. Nobody, however, who has paid any attention to the features of our present era, will doubt for a moment that we are living at a period of most wonderful transition which tends rapidly to the accomplishment of  
10 that great end to which indeed, all history points - the realization of the unity of mankind. Not a unity which breaks down the limits and levels the peculiar characteristics of the different nations of the earth, but rather a unity, the result and product of those very national varieties and antagonistic qualities. The distances which separated the different nations and parts of the globe are gradually vanishing before the achievements of modern invention, and  
15 we can traverse them with incredible ease; the languages of all nations are known and their acquirements placed within the reach of everybody; thought is communicated with the rapidity and even by the power of lightning.

On the other hand, the great principle of the division of labour which may be called the moving power of civilization, is being extended to all branches of science, industry and art.  
20 Whilst formerly the greatest mental energies strove at universal knowledge, and that knowledge was confined to a few, now they are directed to specialities, and in these again, even to the minutest points; but the knowledge acquired becomes at once the property of the community at large. Whilst formerly discovery was wrapt in secrecy, the publicity of the present day causes, that no sooner is a discovery or invention made, than it is already  
25 improved upon and surpassed by competing efforts: the products of all quarters of the globe are placed at our disposal, and we have only to choose what is the cheapest and best for our purposes, and the powers of production are entrusted to the stimulus of competition and capital.

So man is approaching a more complete fulfilment of that great and sacred mission which  
30 he has to perform in this world. His reason being created after the image of God, he has to use it to discover the laws by which the Almighty governs His creation, and, by making these laws his standard of action, to conquer nature to his use - himself a divine instrument. Science discovers these laws of power, motion and transformation; industry applies them to raw matter which the earth yields us in abundance, but which becomes valuable only by  
35 knowledge; art teaches us the immutable laws of beauty and symmetry, and gives to our productions forms in accordance with them.

Gentlemen, the Exhibition of 1851 is to give us a true test and a living picture of the point of development at which the whole of mankind has arrived in this great task, and a new starting point from which all nations will be able to direct their further exertions

### Text n°3

#### **“The Railroad was in Progress”** Charles DICKENS, *Dombey and Son, chap. 6 (1847-1848)*

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The first shock of a great earthquake had, just at that period, rent the whole neighbourhood to its centre. Traces of its course were visible on every side. Houses were knocked down; streets broken through and stopped; deep pits and trenches dug in the ground; enormous heaps of earth and clay thrown up; buildings that were undermined and shaking,  
10 propped by great beams of wood. Here, a chaos of carts, overthrown and jumbled together, lay topsy-turvy at the bottom of a steep unnatural hill; there, confused treasures of iron soaked and rusted in something that had accidentally become a pond. Everywhere were bridges that led nowhere; thoroughfares that were wholly impassable; Babel towers of chimneys, wanting half their height; temporary wooden houses and enclosures, in the most  
15 unlikely situations; carcases of ragged tenements, and fragments of unfinished walls and arches, and piles of scaffolding, and wildernesses of bricks, and giant forms of cranes, and tripods straddling above nothing. There were a hundred thousand shapes and substances of incompleteness, wildly mingled out of their places, upside down, burrowing in the earth, aspiring in the air, mouldering in the water, and unintelligible as any dream. Hot springs and  
20 fiery eruptions, the usual attendants upon earthquakes, lent their contributions of confusion to the scene. Boiling water hissed and heaved within dilapidated walls; whence, also, the glare and roar of flames came issuing forth; and mounds of ashes blocked up rights of way, and wholly changed the law and custom of the neighbourhood.

In short, the yet unfinished and unopened Railroad was in progress; and, from the very core of all this dire disorder, trailed smoothly away, upon its mighty course of Civilisation and improvement.

## Text 4: “A measure of conservation”, Thomas Babington Macaulay

Parliamentary speech on the Reform Bill by Thomas Babington Macaulay, March 2, 1831

I believe that there are societies in which every man may safely be admitted to vote.... I say, sir, that there are countries in which the condition of the labouring-classes is such that they may safely be intrusted with the right of electing members of the Legislature. If the labourers of England were in that state in which I, from my soul, wish to see them – if employment were always plentiful, wages  
5 always high, food always cheap – If a large family were considered not as an incumbrance but as a blessing – the principal objections to universal suffrage would, I think, be removed. Universal suffrage exists in the United States without producing any very frightful consequences; and I do not believe that the people of those States, or of any part of the world, are in any good quality naturally superior to our own countrymen. But, unhappily, the lower orders in England, and in all old countries,  
10 are occasionally in a state of great distress [...]

For the sake, therefore, of the whole society, for the sake of the labouring-classes themselves, I hold it to be clearly expedient that, in a country like this, the right of suffrage should depend on a pecuniary qualification. Every argument, sir, which would induce me to oppose universal suffrage, induces me to support the measure which is now before us. I oppose universal suffrage, because I  
15 think that it would produce a destructive revolution. I support this measure, because I am sure that it is our best security against a revolution. [...] I support this measure as a measure of reform; but I support it still more as a measure of conservation. That we may exclude those whom it is necessary to exclude, we must admit those whom it may be safe to admit [...]

My hon. friend the member of the University of Oxford tells us that, if we pass this law,  
20 England will soon be a Republic. The reformed House of Commons will, according to him, before it has sat ten years, depose the King, and expel the Lords from their House. Sir, if my hon. friend could prove this, he would have succeeded in bringing an argument for democracy infinitely stronger than any that is to be found in the works of Paine. His proposition is, in fact, this – that our monarchical and aristocratical institutions have no hold on the public mind of England; that these institutions are  
25 regarded with aversion by a decided majority of the middle class.... Now, sir, if I were convinced that the great body of the middle class in England look with aversion on monarchy and aristocracy, I should be forced, much against my will, to come to this conclusion, that monarchical and aristocratical institutions are unsuited to this country. Monarchy and aristocracy, valuable and useful as I think them, are still valuable and useful as means, and not as ends. The end of government is the happiness of the people; and I do not conceive that, in a country like this, the happiness of the people  
30 can be promoted by a form of government in which the middle classes place no confidence, and which exists only because the middle classes have no organ by which to make their sentiments known. But, sir, I am fully convinced that the middle classes sincerely wish to uphold the royal prerogatives, and the constitutional rights of the Peers. [...]

35 Turn where we may – within, around – the voice of great events is proclaiming to us, "Reform, that you may preserve." Now, therefore, while everything at home and abroad forebodes ruin to those who persist in a hopeless struggle against the spirit of the age; now, while the crash of the proudest throne of the Continent is still resounding in our ears; ... now, while the heart of England is still sound; now, while the old feelings and the old associations retain a power and a charm which  
40 may too soon pass away; now, in this your accepted time; now, in this your day of salvation, take counsel, not of prejudice, not of party spirit, not of the ignominious pride of a fatal consistency, but of history, of reason, of the ages which are past, of the signs of this most portentous time. Pronounce in a manner worthy of the expectation with which this great debate has been anticipated, and of the long remembrance which it will leave behind. Renew the youth of the State. [...] Save the greatest, and  
45 fairest, and most highly, civilised community that ever existed, from calamities which may in a few days sweep away all the rich heritage of so many ages of wisdom and glory.

## Text 5: Accounts of women miners

Accounts from *The First Report of Commissioners for Enquiring into the Employment and Conditions of Children in Mines and Manufactories 1842*, published in the series of Parliamentary Papers for 1842

**Betty Harris, age 37:** I was married at 23, and went into a colliery when I was married. I used to weave when about 12 years old; can neither read nor write. I work for Andrew Knowles, of Little Bolton (Lancs), and make sometimes 7s a week, sometimes not so much. I am a drawer, and work from 6 in the morning to 6 at night. Stop about an hour at noon to eat

5 my dinner; have bread and butter for dinner; I get no drink. I have two children, but they are too young to work. I worked at drawing when I was in the family way. I know a woman who has gone home and washed herself, taken to her bed, delivered of a child, and gone to work again under the week.

I have a belt round my waist, and a chain passing between my legs, and I go on my hands and feet. The road is very steep, and we have to hold by a rope; and when there is no rope, by anything we can catch hold of. There are six women and about six boys and girls in the pit I work in; it is very hard work for a woman. The pit is very wet where I work, and the water comes over our clog-tops always, and I have seen it up to my thighs; it rains in at the roof terribly. My clothes are wet through almost all day long. I never was ill in my life, but when I

15 was lying in.

My cousin looks after my children in the day time. I am very tired when I get home at night; I fall asleep sometimes before I get washed. I am not so strong as I was, and cannot stand my work so well as I used to. I have drawn till I have bathe skin off me; the belt and chain is worse when we are in the family way. My feller (husband) has beaten me many a times for

20 not being ready. I were not used to it at first, and he had little patience.

I have known many a man beat his drawer. I have known men take liberties with the drawers, and some of the women have bastards.

**Patience Kershaw, age 17, Halifax:** All my sisters have been hurriers, but three went to the mill. Alice went because her legs swelled from hurrying in cold water when she was hot. I

25 never went to day-school; I go to Sunday-school, but I cannot read or write; I go to pit at five o'clock in the morning and come out at five in the evening; I get my breakfast of porridge and milk first; I take my dinner with me, a cake, and eat it as I go; I do not stop or rest any time for the purpose; I get nothing else until I get home, and then have potatoes and meat, not every day meat. I hurry in the clothes I have now got on, trousers and ragged jacket; the bald

30 place upon my head is made by thrusting the corves; my legs have never swelled, but sisters' did when they went to mill; I hurry the corves a mile and more under ground and back; they weigh 300 cwt.; I hurry 11 a-day; I wear a belt and chain at the workings, to get the corves out; the getters that I work for are naked except their caps; they pull off all their clothes; I see them at work when I go up; sometimes they beat me, if I am not quick enough, with their hands; they strike me upon my back; the boys take liberties with me sometimes they pull me about; I am the only girl in the pit; there are about 20 boys and 15 men; all the men are naked; I would rather work in mill than in coal-pit.

## Text 6: Barnsley Manifest (1838)

The Committee appointed to carry into effect the resolutions which were unanimously and triumphantly passed at a very large public meeting held in Barnsley on the 10th of June, 1838, have thought it advisable to address the following observations to the labouring people of Barnsley and its neighbourhood, for the information of those who were not at the meeting:

5 Fellow workmen, - We need not tell you that your condition in life has gradually deteriorated or grown worse, year by year, as sure as time has passed on, almost ever since the memory of the present generation: we need not tell you that, with all your labour, frugality, and industry, you are unable to procure even the necessities of life, much less those comforts which every industrious man and his family ought to enjoy. These things you know by sad experience;  
10 and you know also, that while you, with all your toil, cannot procure the necessities of life, one portion of society are enjoying all the good things that this world can produce, and that portion of society which are enjoying all the good things are they who produce nothing and, if left to themselves, they would be the most pitiable objects that ever existed; and this state of things will continue, and the condition of the working people will grow worse and worse,  
15 as sure as cause produces effect, until labour has no other reward than a bare animal subsistence (and in many cases not that), unless the working people themselves remove the cause. [...]

At this present time, while the people are starving for food, the granaries are filled with corn, and the Government will not let the famishing poor have a morsel of it; the owners of the  
20 corn have petitioned Parliament to let them grind it into flour, and send it into foreign countries to feed foreigners. The starving poor of this country have begged and prayed time after time that the law-makers would allow them to have the food which is over and above what they (the law-makers) can possibly consume, and which may be very properly designated the crumbs that fall from their tables; but the law-makers have invariably declared  
25 by their treatment of the prayers of the people, that, before they who produce all the food or corn, shall have what there is to spare after they and their children, and cattle, and hunting dogs, and wild beasts, and fancy birds. and every other animal that they keep for their profit or pleasure, have been well fed, the surplus food shall rot in their granaries, and be thrown on the dunghill for muck. Oh! ye poor degraded, despised, and insulted people, have you never  
30 enquired, and will you never enquire, who gave your callous-hearted law-makers the power thus to oppress you? Their power lies in your sufferance; you allow them to do so; and this is all the power they have; and will you continue to allow them to do so? Have you no love or feeling for yourselves? If you have none for yourselves, let me place before you your pined, naked, ignorant, and despised children. Can you think on the degradation that awaits them  
35 without being cut to the very heart? [...]

But dost thou think, O Christian! that it requires the great, the noble, and the learned, with all the eloquence of oratory and wisdom of words; dost thou think that it requires all the pomp, parade, and pageantry of state, and din of war to make the universal love of God acceptable to man; look in thy Bible and see if it is so. No they are like ten thousand anchors, holding  
40 the majestic ark of God's eternal benevolence. Sever the anchor and let it float on the sea of its own intrinsic worth, and it will shine like the lamp that burneth, and go forth in all the majesty of conquering love, and spread and never cease until the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of God end his Christ. Amen, and Amen.

These are the Radical principles and Radical opinions; do not hastily condemn them; read  
45 your Bibles, and ponder them in your minds before you come to your decisions.

## Text n°7

### Rudyard Kipling, The Exiles' Line, 1890

- 5    1° Now the New Year reviving old desires,  
The restless soul to open sea aspires,  
Where the Blue Peter flickers from the fore,  
And the grimed stoker feeds the engine-fires.
- 10   2° Coupons, alas, depart with all their rows,  
And last year's sea-met loves where Grindlay knows;  
But still the wild wind wakes off Gardafui,  
And hearts turn eastward with the P.& O's.
- 15   3° Twelve knots an hour, be they more or less –  
Oh, slothful mother of much idleness,  
Whom neither rivals spur nor contracts speed !  
Nay, bear us gently ! Wherefore need we press?
- 20   4° The Tragedy of all our East is laid  
On those white decks beneath the awning shade  
Birth, absence, longing, laughter, love and tears,  
And death unmaking ere the land is made.
- 25   5° And midnight madnesses of souls distraught  
Whom the cool seas call through the open port,  
So that the table lacks one pace next morn,  
And for one forenoon men forgo their sport.
- 30   6° The shadow of the rigging to and fro  
Sways, shifts, and flickers on the spar-deck's snow,  
And like a giant trampling in his chains,  
The screw-blades gasp and thunder deep below;
- 35   7° And, leagued to watch one flying-fish's wings,  
Heaven stoops to sea, and sea to Heaven clings;  
While, bent upon the ending of his toil,  
The hot sun strides, regarding not these things:
- 40   8° For the same wave that meets our stem in spray  
Bore Smith of Asia eastward yesterday,  
And Delhi Jones and Brown of Midnapore  
To-morrow follow oil the self-same way.
- 45   9° Linked in the chain of Empire one by one,  
Flushed with long leave, or tinned with many a sun.  
The Exiles' Line brings out the exiles' line,  
And ships them homeward when their work is done.
- 50   10° Yea, heedless of the shuttle through the loom,  
The flying keels fulfil the web of doom.  
Sorrow or shouting - what is that to them ?  
Make out the cheque that pays for cabin-room !
- 55   11° And how so many score of times ye flit  
With wife and babe and caravan of kit,  
Not all thy travels past shall lower one fare,  
Not all thy tears abate one pound of it.
- 60   12° And how so high thine earth-born dignity,  
Honour and state, go sink it in the sea,  
Till that great one upon the quarter-deck,  
Brow-bound with gold, shall give thee leave to be.
- 65   13° Indeed, indeed from that same line we swear  
Off for all time, and mean it when we swear;  
And then, and then we meet the Quartered Flag,
- 70   14° And, surely for the last time, pay the fare.
- 75   15° Indeed from that same line we swear  
Off for all time, and mean it when we swear;  
And then, and then we meet the Quartered Flag,
- 80   16° And Green of Kensington, estrayed to view  
In three short months the world lie never knew,  
Stares with blind eyes upon the Quartered Flag
- 85   17° And sees no more than yellow, red and blue.
- 80   15° But we, the gypsies of the East, but we  
Waifs of the land and wastrels of the sea  
Come nearer home beneath the Quartered Flag
- 85   16° The camp is struck, the bungalow decays,  
Dead friends and houses desert mark our ways,  
Till sickness send us down to Prince's Dock
- 90   17° Bound in the wheel of Empire, one by one,  
The chain-gangs of the East from sire to son,  
The Exiles' Line takes out the exiles' line
- 90   18° And ships them homeward when their work is done.

## Text 08: Jack London in the East End

Jack London, *The People of the Abyss*, MacMillan, 1903

AT one time the nations of Europe confined the undesirable Jews in city ghettos. But to-day the dominant economic class, by less arbitrary but none the less rigorous methods, has confined the undesirable yet necessary workers into ghettos of remarkable meanness and vastness. East London is such a ghetto, where the rich and the powerful do not dwell, and the

5 traveller cometh not, and where two million workers swarm, procreate, and die. It must not be supposed that all the workers of London are crowded into the East End, but the tide is setting strongly in that direction. The poor quarters of the city proper are constantly being destroyed, and the main stream of the unhoused is toward the east. In the last twelve years, one district, "London over the Border," as it is called, which lies well beyond Aldgate,

10 Whitechapel, and Mile End, has increased 260,000 or over sixty percent. The churches in this district, by the way, can seat but one in every thirty-seven of the added population. The City of Dreadful Monotony the East End is often called, especially by well-fed, optimistic sightseers, who look over the surface of things and are merely shocked by the intolerable sameness and meanness of it all. If the East End is worthy of no worse title than The City of

15 Dreadful Monotony, and if working people are unworthy of variety and beauty and surprise, it would not be such a bad place in which to live. But the East End does merit a worse title. It should be called The City of Degradation. While it is not a city of slums, as some people imagine, it may well be said to be one gigantic slum. From the standpoint of simple decency and clean manhood and womanhood, any mean street, of all its mean streets, is a slum.

20 Where sights and sounds abound which neither you nor I would care to have our children see and hear is a place where no man's children should live, and see and hear. Where you and I would not care to have our wives pass their lives is a place where no other man's wife should have to pass her life. For here, in the East End, the obscenities and brute vulgarities of life are rampant. There is no privacy. The bad corrupts the good, and all fester together. Innocent

25 childhood is sweet and beautiful; but in East London innocence is a fleeting thing, and you must catch them before they crawl out of the cradle, or you will find the very babes as unholily wise as you. The application of the Golden Rule determines that East London is an unfit place in which to live. Where you would not have your own babe live, and develop, and gather to itself knowledge of life and the things of life, is not a fit place for the babes of other

30 men to live, and develop, and gather to themselves knowledge of life and the things of life. It is a simple thing, this Golden Rule, and all that is required. Political economy and the survival of the fittest can go hang if they say otherwise. What is not good enough for you is not good enough for other men, and there's no more to be said. There are 300,000 people in London, divided into families, that live in one-room tenements. Far, far more live in two and

35 three rooms and are as badly crowded, regardless of sex, as those that live in one room. The law demands 400 cubic feet of space for each person. In army barracks each soldier is allowed 600 cubic feet. Professor Huxley, at one time himself a medical officer in East London, always held that each person should have 800 cubic feet of space, and that it should be well ventilated with pure air. Yet in London there are 900,000 People living in less than

40 the 400 cubic feet prescribed by the law. Mr. Charles Booth, who engaged in a systematic work of years in charting and classifying the toiling city population, estimates that there are 1,800,000 people in London who are poor and very poor It is of interest to mark what he terms poor. By poor he means families which have a total weekly income of from \$4.50 to \$5.25. The very poor fall greatly below this standard. The workers, as a class, are being more and more segregated by their economic masters; and this process, with its jamming and overcrowding, tends not so much toward immorality as unmorality.

45

### Text n°9: Mrs Pankhurst's Own Story (1914)

This, then [1907], was our situation: the Government all-powerful and consistently hostile; the rank and file of legislators impotent; the country apathetic; the women divided in their interests. The Women's Social and Political Union was established to meet this situation, and to overcome it. Moreover we had a policy which, if persisted in long enough, could not possibly fail to overcome it. Do you wonder that we gained new members at every meeting we held?

There was little formality about joining the Union. Any woman could become a member by paying a shilling, but at the same time she was required to sign a declaration of loyal adherence to our policy and a pledge not to work for any political party until the women's vote was won.

10 This is still our inflexible custom. Moreover, if at any time a member, or a group of members, loses faith in our policy; if any one begins to suggest that some other policy ought to be substituted, or if she tries to confuse the issue by adding other policies, she ceases at once to be a member. Autocratic? Quite so. But, you may object, a suffrage organisation ought to be democratic. Well the members of the W. S. P. U. do not agree with you. We do not believe in the effectiveness of the ordinary suffrage organisation. The W. S. P. U. is not hampered by a complexity of rules. We have no constitution and by-laws; nothing to be amended or tinkered with or quarrelled over at an annual meeting. In fact, we have no annual meeting, no business sessions, no elections of officers. The W. S. P. U. is simply a suffrage army in the field. It is purely a volunteer army, and no one is obliged to remain in it. Indeed we don't want anybody to remain in it who does not ardently believe in the policy of the army.

15

20 The foundation of our policy is opposition to a Government who refuse votes to women. To support by word or deed a Government hostile to woman suffrage is simply to invite them to go on being hostile. We oppose the Liberal party because it is in power. We would oppose a Unionist government, if it were in power and were opposed to woman suffrage. We say to women that as long as they remain in the ranks of the Liberal party they give their tacit approval to the Government's anti-suffrage policy. We say to members of Parliament that as long as they support any of the Government's policies they give their tacit approval to the anti-suffrage policy. We call upon all sincere suffragists to leave the Liberal party until women are given votes on equal terms with men. We call upon all voters to vote against Liberal candidates until the Liberal Government

25

30 does justice to women. [...]

The contention of the old-fashioned suffragists, and of the politicians as well, has always been that an educated public opinion will ultimately give votes to women without any great force being exerted in behalf of the reform. We agree that public opinion must be educated, but we contend that even an educated public opinion is useless unless it is vigorously utilised. The keenest weapon is powerless unless it is courageously wielded. In the year 1906 there was an immensely large public opinion in favour of woman suffrage. But what good did that do the

35 cause? We called upon the public for a great deal more than sympathy. We called upon it to demand of the Government to yield to public opinion and give women votes. And we declared that we would wage war, not only on all anti-suffrage forces, but on all neutral and non-active forces. Every man with a vote was considered a foe to woman suffrage unless he was prepared to be actively a friend.

Not that we believed that the campaign of education ought to be given up. On the contrary, we knew that education must go on, and in much more vigorous fashion than ever before. The first thing we did was to enter upon a sensational campaign to arouse the public to the importance of woman suffrage, and to interest it in our plans for forcing the Government's hands. I think we can claim that our success in this regard was instant, and that it has proved permanent. From the very first, in those early London days, when we were few in numbers and very poor in purse, we made the public aware of the woman suffrage movement as it had never been before. We adopted Salvation Army methods and went out into the highways and the byways after converts. We threw away all our conventional notions of what was "ladylike" and "good form," and we applied to our methods the one test question, Will it help? Just as the Booths and their followers took religion to the street crowds in such fashion that the church people were horrified, so we took suffrage to the general public in a manner that amazed and scandalised the other suffragists.

## Text n°10

### William Morris: "How I became a Socialist"

*Justice : the Organ of Social Democracy, 16 June 1894*

5 First, I will say what I mean by being a Socialist, since I am told that the word no longer expresses definitely and with certainty what it did ten years ago. Well, what I mean by Socialism is a condition of society in which there should be neither rich nor poor, neither master nor master's man, neither idle nor overworked, neither brain-sick brain workers, nor heart-sick hand workers, in a word, in which all men would be living in equality of condition, and would manage 10 their affairs unwastefully, and with the full consciousness that harm to one would mean harm to all-the realisation at last of the meaning of the word Commonwealth. [...]

Before the uprising of modern Socialism almost all intelligent people either were, or professed 15 themselves to be, quite contented with the civilisation of this century. Again, almost all of these really were thus contented, and saw nothing to do but to perfect the said civilisation by getting rid of a few ridiculous survivals of the barbarous ages. To be short, this was the Whig frame of mind, natural to the modern prosperous middle-class men, who in fact as far as mechanical progress is concerned, have nothing to ask for, if only Socialism would leave them alone to enjoy their plentiful style.

But besides these contented ones there were others who were not really contented, but had a 20 vague sentiment of repulsion to the triumph of civilisation, but were coerced into silence by the measureless power of Whiggery. Lastly there were a few who were in open rebellion against the said Whiggery - a few, say two, Carlyle and Ruskin. The latter, before my days of practical Socialism, was my master towards the ideal aforesaid, and, looking backward, I cannot help saying, by the way, how deadly dull the world would have been twenty years ago but for Ruskin! 25 It was through him that I learned to give form to my discontent, which I must say was not by any means vague. Apart from the desire to produce beautiful things, the leading passion of my life has been and is hatred of modern civilisation. What shall I say of it now, when the words are put into my mouth, my hope of its destruction - what shall I say of its supplanting by Socialism?

What shall I say concerning its mastery of, and its waste of mechanical power, its commonwealth so poor, its enemies of the commonwealth so rich, its stupendous organisation - for the misery of life! Its contempt of simple pleasures which everyone could enjoy but for its folly? Its eyeless vulgarity which has destroyed art, the one certain solace of labour? All this I felt then as now, but I did not know why it was so. The hope of the past times was gone, the struggles of mankind for many ages had produced nothing but this sordid, aimless, ugly confusion; the immediate future seemed to me likely to intensify all the present evils by sweeping away the last survivals of the days before the dull squalor of civilisation had settled down on the world. This was a bad look out indeed, and, if I may mention myself as a personality and not as a mere type, especially so to a man of my disposition, careless of metaphysics and religion, as well as of scientific analysis, but with a deep love of the earth and the life on it, and a passion for the history of the past of mankind. Think of it. Was it all to end in a counting-house on the top of a cinder-heap, with Podsnap's drawing-room in the office, and a Whig committee dealing out champagne to the rich and margarine to the poor in such convenient proportions as would make all men contented together, though the pleasure of the eyes was gone from the world, and the place of Homer was to be taken by Huxley. Yet, believe me, in my heart when I really forced myself to look towards the future, that is what I saw in it, and as far as I could tell scarce anyone seemed to think it worthwhile to struggle against such a consummation of civilisation. So there I was in for a fine pessimistic end of life, if it had not somehow dawned on me, that amidst all this filth of civilisation the seeds of a great change, what we others call Social Revolution, were beginning to germinate.

## Text n°11

### Speech by British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, June 1917

- 5 It is a satisfaction for Britain in these terrible times that no share of the responsibility for these events rests on her.

She is not the Jonah in this storm. The part taken by our country in this conflict, in its origin, and in its conduct, has been as honourable and chivalrous as any part ever taken in any country in any operation.

- 10 We might imagine from declarations which were made by the Germans, aye! and even by a few people in this country, who are constantly referring to our German comrades, that this terrible war was wantonly and wickedly provoked by England - never Scotland - never Wales - and never Ireland.

- 15 Wantonly provoked by England to increase her possessions, and to destroy the influence, the power, and the prosperity of a dangerous rival.

- There never was a more foolish travesty of the actual facts. It happened three years ago, or less, but there have been so many bewildering events crowded into those intervening years that some people might have forgotten, perhaps, some of the essential facts, and it is essential that we should now and again restate them, not merely to refute the calumniators of our  
20 native land, but in order to sustain the hearts of her people by the unswerving conviction that no part of the guilt of this terrible bloodshed rests on the conscience of their native land.

What are the main facts? There were six countries which entered the war at the beginning. Britain was last, and not the first.

- Before she entered the war Britain made every effort to avoid it; begged, supplicated, and entreated that there should be no conflict.  
25

I was a member of the Cabinet at the time, and I remember the earnest endeavours we made to persuade Germany and Austria not to precipitate Europe into this welter of blood. We begged them to summon a European conference to consider.

- Had that conference met arguments against provoking such a catastrophe were so  
30 overwhelming that there would never have been a war. Germany knew that, so she rejected the conference, although Austria was prepared to accept it. She suddenly declared war, and yet we are the people who wantonly provoked this war, in order to attack Germany.

- We begged Germany not to attack Belgium, and produced a treaty, signed by the King of Prussia, as well as the King of England, pledging himself to protect Belgium against an invader, and we said, "If you invade Belgium we shall have no alternative but to defend it."  
35

The enemy invaded Belgium, and now they say, "Why, forsooth, you, England, provoked this war."

It is not quite the story of the wolf and the lamb. I will tell you why - because Germany expected to find a lamb and found a lion.

Documents supplémentaires :



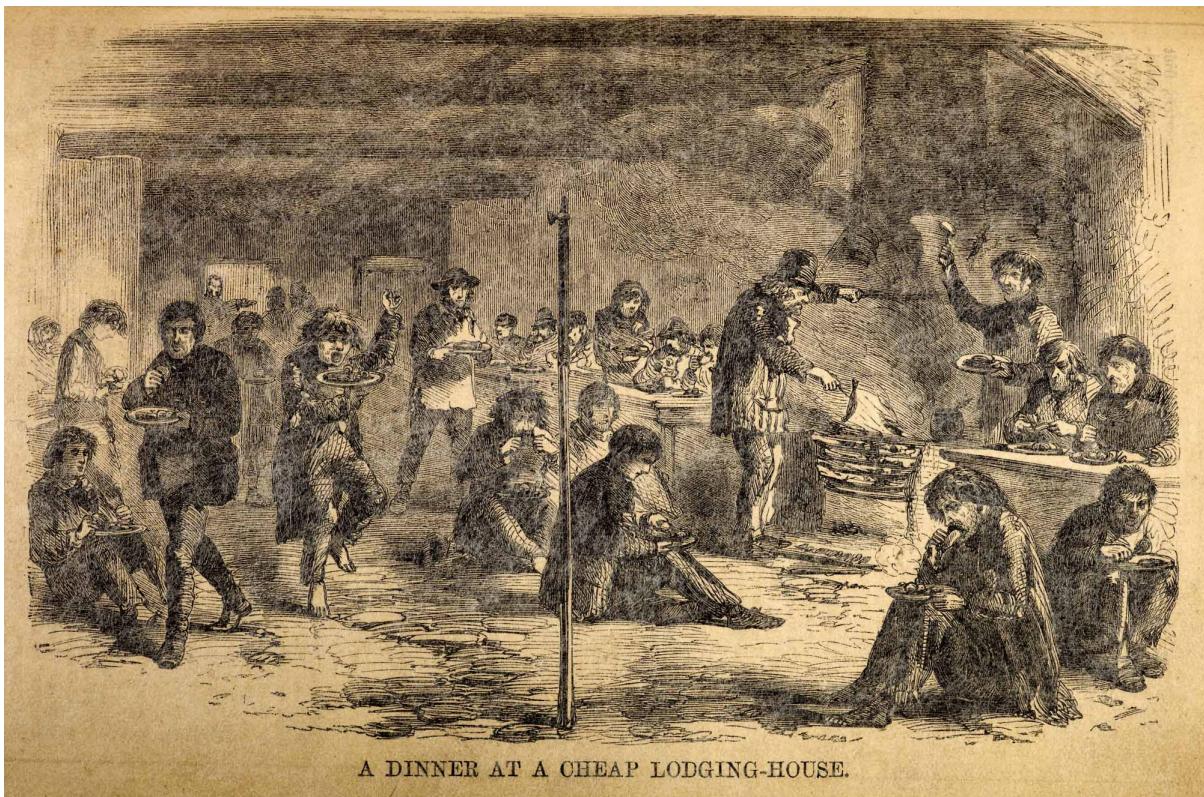
THOUGH AT TIMES THE ENERGY MAY BE A LITTLE MISAPPLIED, THE CAUSE IS A GOOD ONE, AS ANY WHO SUFFER SHOULD REMEMBER  
AN ANTI-CHOLERA SPECIFIC: WASHING THE STREETS ROUND COVENT GARDEN  
DRAWN BY HENRI LANOS

- 5 An Anti-Cholera Specific: Washing the Streets Round Covent Garden', 1894 - See more at:  
<https://www.bl.uk/victorian-britain/articles/health-and-hygiene-in-the-19th-century#sthash.dUq8zYP7.dpuf>



*Old Vennel off High Street,*  
1868.

The Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow, photos from 1868, published in 1900. BL shelfmark L.R.404.g.8

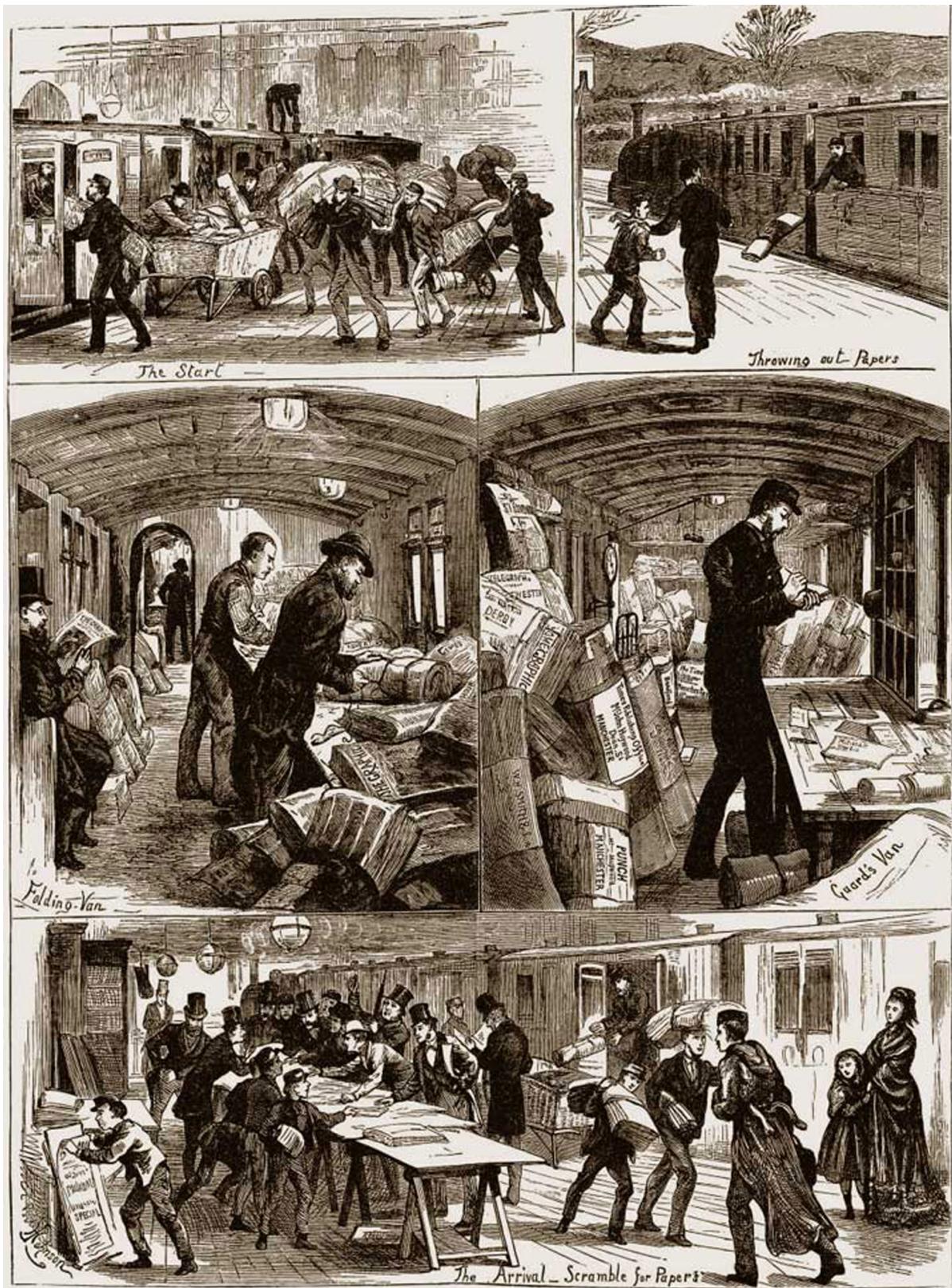


A DINNER AT A CHEAP LODGING-HOUSE.

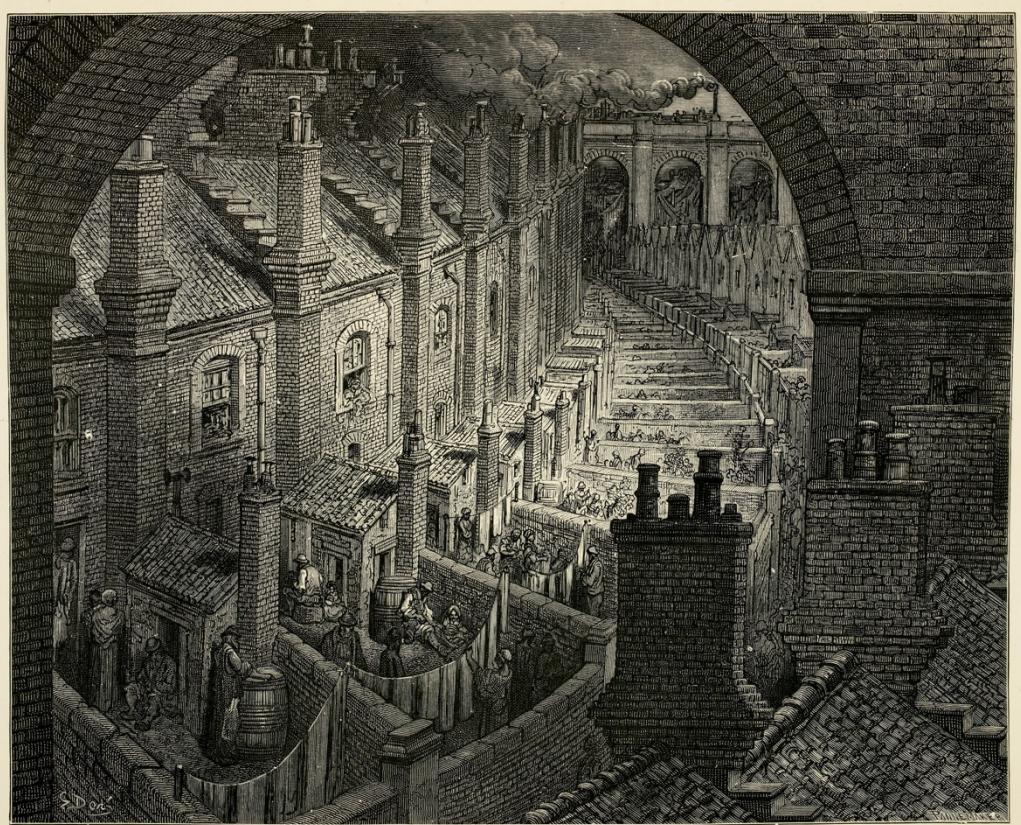
Dinner at a cheap lodging-house, 1859.



*Close No 8 High Street.*  
1868.



'The Newspaper Train' Published: 15 May 1875 , London- See more at:  
<https://www.bl.uk/victorian-britain/articles/travel-transport-and-communications#sthash.0iaC5LtG.dpuf>



- Full title: [London: A Pilgrimage. With illustrations by Gustave Dore](#)
- Published: 1872 , London- See more at: <https://www.bl.uk/victorian-britain/articles/the-built-environment#sthash.bCWop3Kd.dpuf>



THE CHARTIST ROW.



# **CHARTIST DEMONSTRATION !!**

**"PEACE and ORDER" is our MOTTO!**

## **TO THE WORKING MEN OF LONDON.**

Fellow Men,—The Press having misrepresented and vilified us and our intentions, the Demonstration Committee therefore consider it to be their duty to state that the grievances of us (the Working Classes) are deep and our demands just. We and our families are pining in misery, want, and starvation! We demand a fair day's wages for a fair day's work! We are the slaves of capital—we demand protection to our labour. We are political serfs—we demand to be free. We therefore invite all well disposed to join in our peaceful procession on

**MONDAY NEXT, April 10,**  
*As it is for the good of all that we seek to remove the evils under which we groan.*

*The following are the places of Meeting of THE CHARTISTS, THE TRADES, THE IRISH CONFEDERATE & REPEAL BODIES:*

**East Division on Stepney Green at 8 o'clock;  
City and Finsbury Division on Clerkenwell Green at 9 o'clock; West Division in Russell Square at 9 o'clock; and the South Division in Peckham Fields at 9 o'clock, and proceed from thence to Kennington Common.**

*Signed on behalf of the Committee, JOHN ARNOTT, Sec.*

[See Writter, Printer, 5, Edward Street, Hampstead Road.]

