The development of women's working time in 19th century in Great Britain

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The major contact points of regulating women's labor in the 19th century in Great Britain

1. Introduction

The leading role of the United Kingdom in the industrial revolution was the combined consequence of several factors. It should be noted that the volume of the industrial production increased all around Europe (including France and the Netherlands) during the second half of the 18th century due to increasing population, higher standards of living, foundation of new cities and building of new roads and canals. The significant development of England can be explained on one hand by the country's leading position in the battle between the colonizing states and on the other hand by the fact that the continent was a war zone at that time due to the French Revolution in 1789 and the Napoleonic wars.¹

The advancement of the factories and the manufacturing industry was essentially based on the appearance of four inventions. The "spinning jenny", (a multi-spindle spinning frame, invented by James Hargreaves) Richard Arkwright's water frame, Samuel Crompton's spinning mule (a machine that combined the two former technologies) and Cartwright's power loom made it possible that the new manufacturing processes gradually replaced the old methods.² These inventions however could not fully revolutionize the economical and technological development in themselves, but the use of the steam engine – patented by James Watt in 1769 – in a wool factory in 1785, after Arkwright's patent expired, permanently opened the way for the advancement of the manufacturing industry.³

The appearance of the steam engine increased the demand for iron ore and coal. Great Britain had significant stocks from both and the transportation of these raw materials were first solved through canals and then later by the use of the railway. The construction of the railway had a great impact on the iron – and machine industry and helped their improvement substantially.⁴

As can be seen, the industrial revolution was not a one-time event, but a process, at the beginning of which the old and the new mechanisms mingled with each other. In the 19th century the factories and plants employed more and more people year after year. From 1833 state supervision and regulation increased constantly which was rightly envied in the beginning by the employees of the still existing old fashioned workshops.⁵

The aim of the state's intervention was to repel some of the consequences of contractual liberalism which were typical in that era. Initially the employment relationship between the employer and the employee was completely established within the framework of private law, thus the principle of contractual liberty prevailed both in terms of working conditions and in wages. The unlimited nature of the agreement became the only control over the labor demand, since only the employer had the actual opportunity to realize the contractual will, therefore the employment contact was in fact against contractual liberalism. As a result of these, such miserable conditions evolved amongst the employees that were even endangering the commonwealth and therefore the process of creating and applying regulations in order to protect the workers had started, first in Great Britain and then almost all around Europe.

Dietz, Frederick C. (1927): *The industrial revolution*. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 23-24.

https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.223819 [2018. március. 31.]

^{□ □} Gibbins, H. de B. (1920): *The industrial history of England*. London, Methuen and Co., 159–160.

https://archive.org/details/industrialhistor00gibb [2018. március. 31.]

Toynbee, Arnold (1956): *The industrial revolution*. Boston, The Beacon Press, 63.

https://archive.org/details/industrialrevol00toyngoog [2018. március. 31.]

^{□□}Vadász Sándor (szerk.) (1998): 19. századi egyetemes történet 1789–1890. Budapest, Korona Kiadó, 137–138.

Trevelyan, G. M. (1926): *Illustrated history of England*. London, Longmans, Green and Company, 605.

https://archive.org/details/in.gov.ignca.5289 [2018. március. 31.]

Horváth Pál, Révész T. Mihály (szerk.) (1994): Általános jogtörténet I. Budapest, Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 238.

^{□ □} Kiss György (2000): *Munkajog*. Budapest, Osiris Kiadó, 44.

Ruszoly József (2006): *Európa jogtörténete*. Budapest, Püski Kiadó Kft., 372.

Before the creation of these laws – and often even after they came into effect – children employed in the factories and plants were made to work in shifts all day and night, and it is revealed from the parliamentary reports that there was a child worker who was beaten even ten times a day. However the situation of men and women over the age of eighteen was not any better. They were often made to work until the limit of their physical capacity, epidemics regularly occurred amongst them, and they often had physical distortions and developmental disorders.⁹

The first section of this study aims to show the major stations of how women's labor developed in the United Kingdom taking the most important legal provisions into account regarding to the so called *Factory Acts*. The second part gives a brief outlook on the Hungarian situation, focusing on two industrial laws that were created in the second half of the 19th century.

2. Working hours, meal breaks and night work

By way of introduction it is important to point out that the factory acts defined women as persons who already turned and are over the age of eighteen and to some extent – a different set of rules were applied to them, similarly to child workers. It is worth noting that when the legal framework of women's labor is being discussed, then – at least principally – the provisions created for factory workers under the age of eighteen should be examined too, since these two categories show strong correlation with one another.

Employers under the age of eighteen were usually divided into two age groups (children and young persons) by the factory acts and workers were differentiated based on their age by these regulations. Based on the definition that governs most of the legislation of the era a child is an employee under the age of thirteen, while a young person was defined as a worker who already turned thirteen, but were under the age of eighteen. (Later this lower age limit was raised to the age of fourteen.) In these above outlined categories the workers were not divided by genders, so part of the female employees (not under the rule of the above detailed act) definitely came from the children employed in factories and plants. However the regulations (and therefore the analysis of these laws) regarding to children is the subject of child labor. Nevertheless the fact that the regulations that were applied to women over the age of eighteen were usually quite similar to those that were applied to young persons (as it will be shown in this study) cannot be ignored.

2.1. The turning point: Factory Act of 1844

Initially the factory acts were only regulating children's working hours. In this regard the first act to be noted is *The Health and Morals of Apprentices Act 1802: Act for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and others, employed in cotton and other mills, and cotton and other factories* that is served to protect the mental and physical health of the workers mentioned in its title.¹³

In 1843 the reports of the factory inspectors drew attention to the likewise extraordinarily long labor-time of women in the textile factories (plants in which steam, water or other mechanical energy was used to drive the machines were considered as such – with certain exceptions¹⁴), which often lasted from 5 AM to 8.30 PM, and the fact of terrible accidents that had happened in the factories was also reviled. Women were much more "vulnerable" in such accidents due to their clothes which could easily get stuck in the machines. (The occupational health and safety provisions of the factory acts are not subjects of this essay.)¹⁵

Beard, Charles (1919): *The industrial revolution*. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 60. https://archive.org/details/cu31924002235673 [2018. március. 31.]

For example: 41 & 42 Victoria c. 16. 96. In *The Public General Statutes passed in the forty-first and forty-second years of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, 1878: with a copious index, tables &c.* (1878) London, The Queen's Printing Office https://archive.org/details/statutesatlarge15unkngoog 137–189. [2018. március 31.]

¹ ² ³ & 8 Victoria c. 15. LXXIII. In *The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*, 7 & 8 Victoria. 1844. (1844) London, Her Majesty`s Printers

https://archive.org/stream/statutesunitedk41britgoog#page/n0/mode/2up 82-117. [2018. március 31.]

⁴¹ & 42 Victoria c. 16. 96.

⁴² George III. c. 73. http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/acts/1802-factory-act.pdf [2018. március 31.]

^{3 &}amp; 4 William IV. c. 103. Preamble http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/acts/1833-factories-act.pdf [2018. március 31.]

Hutchins, B. L., Harrison, A. (1911): *A history of factory legislation*. London, P. S. King & Son, 84-85. https://archive.org/details/historyoffactory014402mbp [2018. március 31.]

The significance of the *Factory Act of 1844: Act to amend the laws relating to labour in factories* was given by the fact that it extended the regulations that were applied to the employment of young persons to women in the age group already analyzed above. ¹⁶ Essentially this meant that in terms of working hours the same standards that were specified in the *Factory Act of 1833* (which was formerly applied in plants and factories in the United Kingdom to regulate work rules for children and young persons) prevailed. Based on that Act it was for instance illegal to make young persons work in textile factories from 8.30 PM to 5.30 AM. The daily working time in the above mentioned plants – usually – could not be more than twelve hours while the weekly limit could not exceed sixty-nine hours ¹⁷ (in this case meal break could not be less than one and a half hours ¹⁸). According to the Factory Act of 1844 it was forbidden to make women work on Saturdays after 4.30 PM.

It is apparent that initially the legislation did not pay enough attention to the working hours of women working in factories and this situation did not improve for almost half a century. With the Factory Act of 1844 favorable changes occurred – comparing to the era's conditions at least. The daily limit of working hours was adjusted to the standard that was applied to young persons. This could mean up to three hours decrease in working time, and it was expanded by mandatory meal breaks that were defined in terms of time length. Due to these concessions the conditions of female workers were better than male workers over eighteen years old. From my point of view the prohibition of night work was also momentous, because before this Act came into effect nothing had retained factory owners from ordering night work and applying it on a regular basis. From 1844 however night work was considered as an illegal form of employment, although for the time being it only applied to textile factories.

2.2. Legislative advancements between 1844 and 1878

The limit of daily working hours continued to develop positively in the rest of the era. For example from 1 May 1848 it was forbidden to make any female worker work more than ten hours daily²¹; this was a two hour decrease compared to the previous state. Then in 1850 there was also a change in Saturday working hours: the legislator ordained that work cannot be ordered after 2 PM.²² The same legislation restricted night work for the benefit of women, because it deemed employment before 6 AM and after 6 PM against the law.²³

The importance of the *Factories Act Extension Act of 1867* was given by the fact that it extended the existing regulations to more industries, such as blast furnaces, copper plants, iron factories, tobacco factories, paper mills, letterpresses and binderies. The provisions of the Act furthermore were applicable in any premises in which more than fifty people were employed during any manufacturing process. However textile factories – among others – defined in the Factory Acts of 1844 did not fall within this Act's scope. It should be noted that the Act of 1867 also contained some adverse provisions too, for example it allowed women to work up to fourteen hours a day in binderies, in compliance with a special set of conditions.

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□□□ 7 & 8 Victoria c. 15. XXXII.
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^{□ □ □ 3 &}amp; 4 William IV. c. 103. Preamble-II.

^{□ □ □ □ 3 &}amp; 4 William IV. c. 103. VI.

^{□□□ 7 &}amp; 8 Victoria c. 15. XXXV.

From 1833 the legal working day lasts from 5. 30 AM to 8.30 PM and this was not changed by the Factory Act of 1844 either. Hutchins-Harrsion (1911), 100.

^{10 &}amp; 11 Victoria c. 29. II-III. In A Collection of the Public General Statutes passed in the Tenth and Eleventh Year of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, 1847. (1847) London, W. Benning and Co., Law Booksellers and Publishers https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=O6BKAAAAMAAJ 326–327. [2018. március 31.]

^{13 &}amp; 14 Victoria c. 54. Preambulum, In *The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 13 & 14 Victoria. 1850.* (1850) London, Her Majesty's Printers

https://archive.org/stream/statutesunitedk33britgoog#page/n0/mode/2up 328-332. [2018. március 31.]

^{13 &}amp; 14 Victoria c. 54. Preamble

[&]quot;" 30 & 31 Victoria c. 103. 3. In The Public General Statutes with a List of the Local and Private Acts passed in the Thirtieth and Thirty-first years of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria: being the second session of the nineteenth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol II. (1867) London, William Clowes and Sons https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=j1ZDAAAACAAJ 1115–1127. [2018. március 31.]

^{□□□□30 &}amp; 31 Victoria c. 103. 5.1.

^{□ □ □ □ □ 30 &}amp; 31 Victoria c. 103. Schedule 14.

The legislation that was applicable to workshops also came into effect in the same year. It regulated the working hours of children, women and young persons who were employed in workshops. As it was stated by the Act that women could not be employed for more than twelve hours based on 24 hour long periods, between 5 AM to 9 PM. Meal break could not last less than one and a half hours.²⁷

According to the Act a workshop is such a place – either covered or open-air – where handicraft activity was done by women, children and young persons. Their employer was free to enter here and could exercise a right of management.²⁸

2.3. Factory and Workshop Act of 1878

The Factory and Workshop Act 1878: Act to consolidate and amend the law relating to factories and workshops did not bring any substantive change in regulating daily working hours. Its significance in my opinion was that it unified all the legislation – as its title also suggests – that were applicable to textile and other industrial factories and also workshops that were so far defined in many different acts.²⁹

Women in textile factories could be employed from 6 AM to 6 PM or from 7 AM to 7 PM, which meant (calculating at least with a two hour long meal break³⁰) an average of ten hours worked per day.³¹

On Saturdays work could be started either at 6 AM or at 7 AM and the manufacturing processes were finished (depending on the previous intervals and the duration of meal breaks) for example either at 1 PM or 1.30 PM.³² As you can see in regards of Saturday work the law applied more favorable rules (if only to a minimal extent) than before, when the work ended at 2 PM.

As for those female workers who were not employed in textile but in other factories (and also the young persons who were employed in workshops) the following rules were applied: women could be employed from 6 AM to 6 PM or from 7 AM to 7 PM. On Saturdays work could be started either at 6 or at 7 AM and it must be ended at 2 PM. Every day not less than one and a half hours long meal break had to be provided (so the time spent with working was generally ten and a half hours a day). On Saturdays meal break was not less than a half an hour.³³

In the regulation of working time the specification that forbade employing women (children and young persons) – with certain exceptions – on Sundays in factories and workshops was quite remarkable.³⁴

As for the employment of women in workshops, it was regulated in the following provisions. In workshops where children and young persons were also employed women were subject to the same rules and conditions of employment as young persons.³⁵ In workshops that were not employing children and young persons, women started working – with the exception of Saturdays – from 6 AM to 9 PM. On Saturdays work started at 6 AM and ended at 4 PM.³⁶ On Saturdays meal breaks (and time spent away from work) could not be less than two and a half hours, on other days not less than four and a half hours.³⁷

3. Overtime

The factory acts recognized the institution of overtime (extraordinary working hours). Initially overtime was necessary to order, in order to compensate for the lost working time caused by the outage of the water powered machines (that occurred because of accidents, water shortage or water surplus) or partial outage (due to floods or drought).

^{30 &}amp; 31 Victoria c. 146. 6.3.

[&]quot;" 30 & 31 Victoria c. 146. 4. In *The Public General Statutes with a List of the Local and Private Acts passed in the Thirtieth and Thirty-first Years of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria: being the second session of the nineteenth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.*, Vol II. (1867) London, William Clowes and Sons, megtalálható: Sons https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=j1ZDAAAAcAAJ 1470–1483. [2018. március 31.]

^{41 &}amp; 42 Victoria c. 16. 93.

⁴¹ & 42 Victoria c. 16. 11.5.

^{□ □ □ □ 41 &}amp; 42 Victoria c. 16. 11.1.

⁴1 & 42 Victoria c. 16. 11.2–4.

^{□□□□41 &}amp; 42 Victoria c. 16. 13.1–3.

⁴1 & 42 Victoria c. 16. 21.

^{□□□ 41 &}amp; 42 Victoria c. 16. 15.1.

^{□□□ 41 &}amp; 42 Victoria c. 16. 15.2.a)

⁴¹ & 42 Victoria c. 16. 15.2.b)

According to the Factory Act of 1844 in the first case working time could be increased by one hour (compared to the daily working hours required by the act), except for Saturday³⁸, while in the second case overtime (which was subjected to strict time limits in that matter) had to be done in the night of the day following the outage (except for Saturday).³⁹

After the state regulated the working conditions in plants outside the textile industry, the following rule had been added to the Factory Act of 1867: if in iron factories, foundries, or paper mills the manufacturing process had not been finished before the hour by which work had to be stopped according to the act, then it was allowed to the manufacturer to make employees (including women) work for another thirty minutes.⁴⁰

The Factory Act of 1878 contained a number of provisions relating to the ordering of overtime. For instance there was a rule that was applicable to plants and workshops in which seasonal production activity was carried out (like creating Christmas gifts). According to this rule in such units, workers (including women among others) could be employed for up to fourteen hours – within certain limits. (It is important to point out that this provision on overtime of the act was later modified by the Factory and Workshop Act of 1895 that was intended to regulate the conditions, safety, health and wages of people working in factories. This act restricted ordering overtime in regard to female workers.)⁴¹

There was a special provision that was only applicable to women working in facilities that were producing perishable products. In this case women could be employed up to fourteen hours a day (from 6 AM to 8 PM or from 7 AM to 9 PM). Under this special circumstance however not less than a two hour long meal break had to be provided and women couldn't be employed in such work schedule more than five days (based on a one-week period) and not more than ninety-six days (based on a twelve month long period).⁴²

Taking the above mentioned facts into consideration it can be stated that initially the institution of overtime was mostly applied in water powered textile factories in order to compensate for the lost working time caused by the outage of the machines. When the legislation applicable to young persons were extended to female workers the provisions of overtime were also applied to them as well. These norms were general in the era, although the legislator was able to strictly limit their application. After regulations concerning non-textile factories and workshops came into effect, rules for overtime also differentiated. The degree of differentiation varied by the type of factories and workshops, which meant that overtime could not be ordered based solely on loss of working time (usually due to a cause other than the employer), but due to the nature of the industry and the properties of the goods (seasonality, perishable products).

4. Free time (holiday) and public holidays

From the first half of the 19th century legislation in the United Kingdom already applied the framework of *half holidays*, usually extended with Christmas and Good Friday. This structure remained almost unabated during the era. 43

The Factory Act of 1878 ordained factories and workshops to provide the following holidays – non working days – for women according to the general rule:

- a) The whole day of Christmas and also the day of Good Friday (or any coming holiday that was determined in the Factory Act of 1847, also known as the Ten Hours Act, which restricted the working hours of women and young persons) and in addition to this
- b) eight half holidays every year or instead of any two half holidays a whole day (and at least half of that had to be provided between 15 March and 1 October)⁴⁴, and it was also set that
- c) a half holiday had to equal to at least half of the female worker's daily working time (except for Saturday). 45

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□□□ 7 & 8 Victoria c. 15. XXXIII.
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https://archive.org/stream/factoryacts00redgrich#page/196/mode/2up_197-242. [2018. március 31.]

^{□□□□7 &}amp; 8 Victoria c. 15. XXXIV.

^{□ □ □ □ □ 30 &}amp; 31 Victoria c. 103. Schedule 18.

^{41 &}amp; 42 Victoria c. 16. 53., 58 & 59 Victoria c. 37. 14.2. In Redgrave, Alexander, Redgrave, Jasper A. and Scrivener,

H. S. (1895): The factory acts, including the Act of 1895., London, Shaw & Sons

⁴¹ & 42 Victoria c. 16. 56.

For example: 7 & 8 Victoria c. 15. XXXVII.

^{□ □ □ □ 41 &}amp; 42 Victoria c. 16. 22.1-3.

⁴1 & 42 Victoria c. 16. 22.5.

As a major innovation the Factory Act of 1981 forbade to employ women in factories and workshops within four weeks of giving birth (naturally only if the employer was aware of the fact of the delivery). 46

II. The development of regulation of women's labor in Hungary in the 19th century

1. Introduction

The feudal economic conditions that still existed in Hungary in the first part of the 19th century have become a barrier to the production of goods (heavy labor service, tallage) which affected mostly the petty nobility and the gentries, who became the representatives of the civic national aspirations.⁴⁷

Another reason for the slow pace of the industrial development is to be found in the guild system, which used obsolete technology, and also the division of labor within the guild was also under-developed, as guild craftsmen do the manufacturing processes instinctively and mechanically. 48

Hungary could be mostly considered as an agricultural country, as 75-80 percent of the population worked in this sector. In 1870 only 5.7 percent of the total population worked in non-agricultural sectors, while in the United Kingdom this rate was already 28.5 percent at that time.⁴⁹ The development of the Hungarian economy did not even reach the level of West European countries by the time they embarked on the path of industrial revolution. The facts that were mentioned above not necessarily meant that Hungary's economy would have stagnated, since the modernization already had started in the first half of the century; for instance the Revolution of 1848 abolished the structure of the feudal order.⁵⁰ Moreover legislation that helped the development of the economy were created even in the early 1840s. Among others, the XVII article of law in 1840 (about the "legal status of factories") and the XVI article of law in 1840 (about trade) were adopted at that time, and most of these were considered being of European standard.⁵¹

The Hungarian Industrial Revolution was a step-by-step process in which the connection between the construction of railways, crude iron production and coal mining was one of the main factors. ⁵² The pace of the expansion of the Hungarian economy increased gradually. The political stability after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise had a positive impact on the development of the industry. The degree of mechanization had increased – first steam engines and then by the end of the century internal combustion engines appeared. ⁵³

2. Regulation of women's work in the industrial laws of the 19th century

The XVII article of law in 1840 about "the legal status of factories" made no mention about the employment of women past the age of eighteen, it regulated however the working time for children.⁵⁴

The Industrial Act "merely" pointed out (the VIII article of law in 1872) that in workshops a working schedule must be placed, which must contain the grades and occupation of the working staff, namely the ways of employing women and children, regarding the physical strength of the former and the compulsory schooling of the latter. ⁵⁵

For factory workers (regardless of gender) the Act ordained half an hour "free time" in the morning and half an hour in the afternoon, while at noon an hour long "pause" had to be provided.

torveny?docid=87200008.TV&searchUrl=/ezer-ev-torvenyei%3Fkeyword%3D1872, 2018. 03. 31.

^{54 &}amp; 55 Victoria c. 75. 17. In Redgrave, Alexander and Redgrave, Jasper A. (1893): The factory & workshop acts, 1878 to 1891, with introduction, copious notes, and an elaborate index. London, Shaw & Sons https://archive.org/stream/b21731238#page/n0/mode/2up 165–194. [2018. március 31.]

Nagy László (1993): Magyarország Európában. Budapest, Honffy Kiadó, 201.

Mérei Gyula (1948): A magyar céhrendszer 1848 előtt. Századok. 1–4. 67–68.

Katus László (2009): A modern Magyarország születése. Magyarország története 1711–1914. Pécs, Pécsi Történettudományért Kulturális Egyesület, 402.

Katus (2009), 402.

Mezey Barna (szerk.) (2007): Magyar jogtörténet. Budapest, Osiris Kiadó, 193.

Csorba László (2000): A tizenkilencedik század története. Budapest, Pannonica Kiadó, 231.

Bertényi Iván, Gyapay Gábor (1992): Magyarország rövid története. Budapest, Maecenas Könykiadó, 446.

Bertényi Iván, Gyapay Gábor (1992): Magyarország rövid története. Budapest, Maecenas Könykiadó, 446.

Bertényi Iván, Gyapay Gábor (1992): Magyarország rövid története. Budapest, Maecenas Könykiadó, 446.

Bertényi Iván, Gyapay Gábor (1992): Magyarország rövid története. Budapest, Maecenas Könykiadó, 446.

In factories where work was carried out day and night the factory owner was obliged to ensure that the workers employed for the night work were duly relieved. Daytime work was not to be started before 5 AM and had to be finished by 9 PM. ⁵⁶

The XVII article of law in 1884 (the Industrial Act) reiterated the above mentioned provisions⁵⁷ and included a new rule: from then on women were released from their contractual work for four weeks after giving birth, without the termination of their contract.⁵⁸

The regulation on the pause of industrial work on Sundays (XIII article of law in 1981) can be set as an example of the ban on working on Sundays. This legislation within certain limits and with certain exceptions prohibits Sunday work and declares King St. Stephen's day as a public holiday.⁵⁹

III. Summary

In summary we may say that in the most part of the 19th century women's labor in the United Kingdom was extensively regulated. After reviewing the most important legislation it can be established, that the employment of workers under the age of eighteen, i.e. children (initially only apprentices) and young persons – regardless of gender – was already regulated by the beginning of the century. As for the employment of women over the age of eighteen, the factory acts only contained relevant provisions from the middle of the era, which intended to provide them more favorable working conditions compared to other employees in the same age group and started treating them as a separate employment class.

The maximum daily working time of women shows a decreasing trend during this period (first in the textile factories, and then in a constantly expanding circle in non-textile factories too). As for the meal breaks, both their duration and the order of their issuance subjected to detailed regulation.

Night work – and from the second half of the century – Saturday work were generally prohibited (restricted) by the legislator. Standards concerning ordering overtime and methods of issuing holidays could already be found in the factory acts.

Hungarian industrial laws did not contain detailed regulations on the working hours of women over the age of eighteen; rather we can find sporadic rules regarding the employment of factory workers. In the fact that the regulation of women's labor in the 19th century had not been emphasized by the Hungarian industrial laws – that were discussed in this study – the sectoral structure of the early stages of industrial development may played a great role, because it was not favorable regarding the employment of women (e.g. skilled labor-demanding heavy industry and seasonal sectors). Consequently the demand for women's labor only increased significantly at the turn of the century. My opinion is that the fact that women were exempted from work for four weeks after giving birth can be considered as a great achievement in the subject discussed in this essay.

^{1872.} évi VIII. törvénycikk az ipartörvény 71. §

^{1884.} évi XVII. törvénycikk az ipartörvény 113. § a) és 117. § https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-evtorveny?docid=88400017.TV&searchUrl=/ezer-ev-torvenyei%3Fkeyword%3D1884, 2018. 03. 31.

^{1884.} évi XVII. törvénycikk az ipartörvény 116. §

^{1891.} évi XIII. törvénycikk az ipari munkának vasárnapi szüneteléséről 1-2. §, https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-ev-torveny?docid=89100013.TV&searchUrl=/ezer-ev-torvenyei%3Fkeyword%3D1891, 2018. 03. 31.

[&]quot;" Koncz Katalin (1991): A nők foglalkoztatásának demográfiai, gazdasági körülményei Magyarországon az ipari forradalom kibontakozásától az első világháborúig. In Léderer Pál (szerk.) (1991): A magyar ugar. A kiegyezéstől a második világháborúig (Társadalomtörténeti háttérinformációk), Budapest, T-Twins Kiadói és Tipográfiai Kft., 318.

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