

## 5.5 THEMATIC STUDY C: TRADE UNIONS AND WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENTS, C.1800 – C.1990

### ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVE 1: TRADE UNIONS AND WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENTS, C.1800 – C.1990

#### Questions

- 1 Describe the main features of New Model Unions. (4 marks)
  
- 2 Explain how unions for unskilled workers were able to help their members in the second half of the nineteenth century. (5 marks)
  
- 3 Why did trade unions for unskilled workers grow in the 1870s and 1880s? (6 marks)
  
- 4 The following are all reasons the Dockers' Strike was successful:
  - public opinion was on their side;
  - Ben Tillet was one of their leaders;
  - they received help from abroad.Are these reasons equally important for the success of the Dockers' Strike? (10 marks)

## Mark Scheme

### Question 1

**Target: Description of key feature of period.**

**One mark for each point** (4 marks)

e.g. *'Unions for skilled workers.'*

*'Charged subscriptions.'*

*'Gave members unemployment and sickness benefits.'*

### Question 2

**Target: Explanation of key feature.**

Level 1 **General answer.** (1 mark)

e.g. *'They represented their views.'*

Level 2 **Identifies impact.** (2-3 marks)

e.g. *'They would go on strike'. 'They tried to shorten working hours.'*

Level 3 **Explains impact.** (4-5 marks)

e.g. *'They would go on strike to gain an increase in wages.' 'They tried to shorten working hours for unskilled workers.'*

### Question 3

**Target: Explanation of changing attitudes.**

Level 1 **General answer.** (1 mark)

e.g. *'Because there was a need.'*

Level 2 **Identifies reasons.** (2-3 marks)

e.g. *'Because there was an increase in the number of unskilled workers.'*  
*'There was an agricultural depression.'*

Level 3 **Explains reasons.** (4-6 marks)

e.g. *'There was an increase in the number of unskilled workers due to the technical changes in industry and transport.'*  
*'During the 1870s there was a trade depression in agriculture and industry and many workers felt that trade unions were one way of fighting unemployment.'*

### Question 4

**Target: Description, explanation and analysis of characteristics of the period.**

Level 1 **Unsupported assertions.** (1 mark)

e.g. *'Yes because they are all reasons and are equally important.'*

Level 2 **Identifies reasons.** (2-3 marks)

e.g. *'They gained the support of the public.'* *'Ben Tillet was a good leader'*  
*'They received £30,000 from Australia.'*

- Level 3      **Explains importance.**      (4-7 marks)  
e.g. *'Due to the extremely hazardous working conditions of the Dockers they gained the sympathy of the public.'*  
*'Ben Tillet was a good leader who led the Dockers and demanded 6d an hour and a guaranteed minimum of four hours work for the Dockers.'*  
*'A grant of £30,000 from Australia meant that the Dockers had money to finance the strike.'*
- Level 4      **Considers equality of importance.**      (8-10 marks)  
*Using arguments about each, the candidate will discuss relative importance building on the Level 3 answer.*

## **ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVES 2 AND 3: THE CASE OF THE TOLPUDDLE MARTYRS**

This assignment is from material provided by Hemdean House School.

A source based investigation focusing on underlying social and economic causes, contemporary social attitudes to trade unions and whether or not an understanding of the case depends on a study of the wider context. You should answer the questions that follow using the sources and your own knowledge.

### **Questions**

**1 Study Sources A and B.**

What can you learn about farming and farmers in Dorset in the early 1830s from these sources? (5 marks)

**2 Study Sources B, C and D.**

Which of these sources offers the best explanation of why the farm labourers of Tolpuddle might have decided to form a Union? Explain your answer. (8 marks)

**3 Read Source E and use your own knowledge.**

Do these two articles in the same newspaper reveal different attitudes to the structure of society in agricultural counties like Dorset in this period? (6 marks)

**4 Study Sources F, G and H.**

What implications do these sources have for the success of a trade union in Dorset in the 1830s? Explain your answer. (6 marks)

**5 Study Sources H, I and J.**

Do these sources agree or disagree about the reasons why the case of the Tolpuddle farm labourers occurred? Explain your answer. (6 marks)

**6 Read Source K, and use your own knowledge and relevant sources.**

How far do you agree with George Loveless' interpretation of why the Tolpuddle labourers were convicted at their trial? Explain your answer. (8 marks)

**7 Study Source L.**

How useful is this source for studying reactions to the sentence on the Tolpuddle Martyrs? Use your own knowledge to help you explain your answer. (6 marks)

**8 Study Source M.**

How reliable is this source for assessing any change in attitudes in agricultural areas in the 40 years since the case of the Tolpuddle farm labourers? Explain your answer. (7 marks)

**9 Read Sources N and O.**

These sources give different interpretations of the effects of the case of the Tolpuddle Martyrs. Can they both be reliable? Explain your answer. (8 marks)

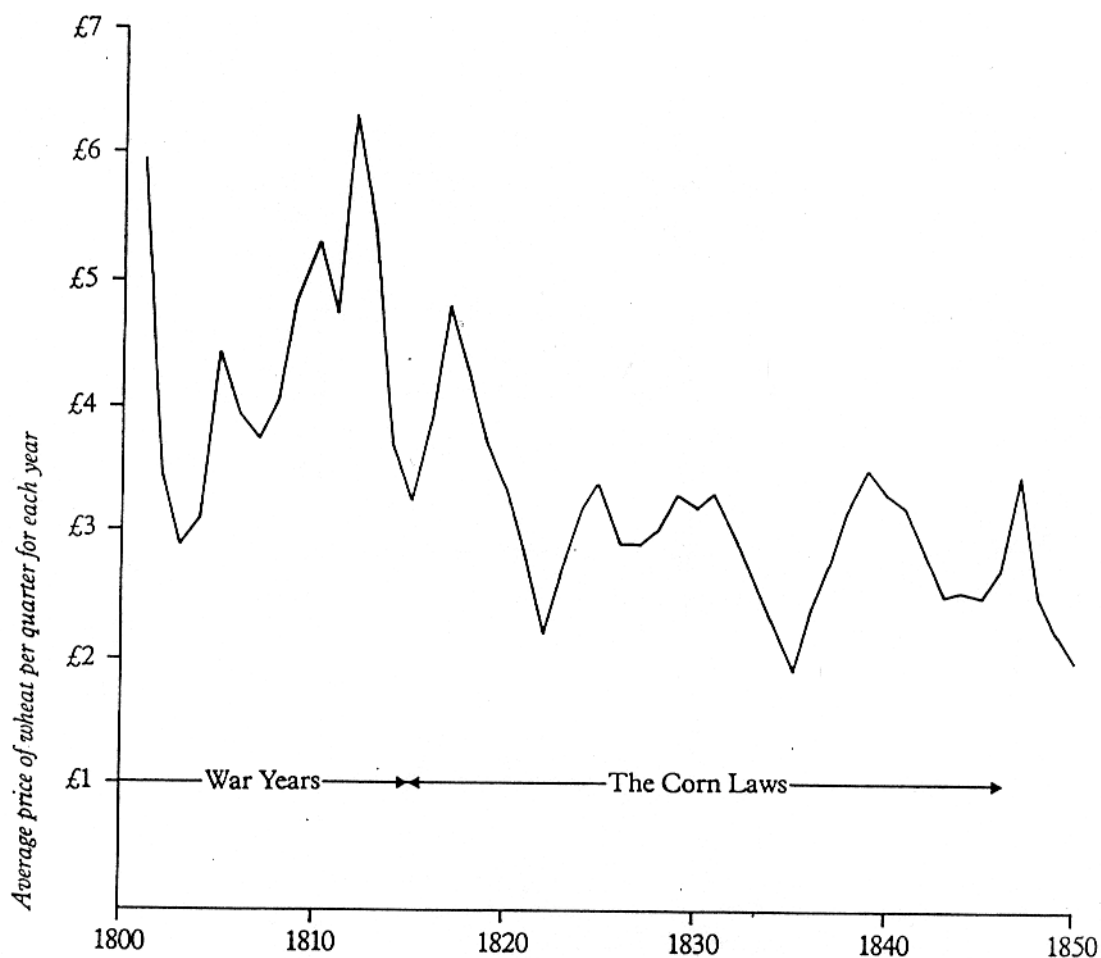
**10 Use ALL the sources and your own knowledge.**

Do these sources suggest that you have to look at the wider context to make sense of the case of the Tolpuddle Martyrs? Explain your answer. (15 marks)

## Sources

### SOURCE A

From 'Britain since 1700: The Rise of Industry' by Howard Martin, 1988.



### SOURCE B

From 'The Tolpuddle Martyrs' by Joyce Marlow, 1972.

Highest wages in Dorset (Beaminster district):	11 shillings 6 pence per week
Average wages of farm labourers in Dorset:	10 shillings per week
Agricultural wages in Tolpuddle:	
1830	9 shillings
end 1832	8 shillings
mid-1833	7 shillings
1834	6 shillings

"The whole county is so purely agricultural, except in the town of Bridport, Poole and one or two other smaller places concerned with the coast, there is no employment for women and children but in the fields."

## SOURCE C

*From "Reports of Assistant Commissioners", 1834, vol. 28. Assistant Poor Law Commissioner D.O.P. Okeden investigated Dorset, Wiltshire and Oxfordshire in 1832 and 1833.*

A district having been allotted to me, in the greater part of which the relief of able-bodied men (in the employ of the parish or individuals) by the Scale of Head money system is universal, I can speak with some confidence of the dreadful effects produced by it. About 25 years ago, Wiltshire and Oxfordshire adopted this system, which originated in Berkshire; and its organisation, as well as all its evils, are now complete.

The relief of able-bodied men by the scale system commenced in Dorsetshire about the year 1798; at that time wheat had risen to an immense price, which the farmers did not meet by a proportionate rise of wages. The result was the scale system, which has continued to this day; it saves the magistrates and overseers trouble, and enables the farmers who could not raise their wages with the price of corn, to lower them on the diminution of prices.

In Dorsetshire, some vigorous efforts have been made, and successfully made, to get rid of the Scale; and, except in one or two districts it has disappeared. But it never can be said to be got rid of until the labourer's wages are equal to his own support and that of two children; for, if relief be afforded him for a large family, it will be done according to the price of bread, which then becomes the actual scale, though a printed one may not exist.

The magistrates have been forced to see the monstrous evils they have created. The farmer finds his labourers idle and insolent, and regardless of him and his orders and his work. They openly say, "We care not, the scale and pay-table are ours." The better class of poor feel deeply the degradation of their state.

All these classes look forward with anxiety to a Government measure which may arrest the evil system.

**SOURCE D**

*“The Home of the Rick-Burner”, a cartoon about the Swing Riots of 1830. This was published in Punch in 1844. Punch was a satirical magazine of the time.*





## SOURCE E

*Dorset was one of the counties affected by the Swing Riots in 1830.*

*The Times, 17<sup>th</sup> November 1830*

“The ‘Swing’ insurrection is a dangerous precedent.”

*The Times, 6<sup>th</sup> December 1830, during the Swing trials before the Special Commission*

“Let the rich be taught that Providence will not suffer them to oppress their fellow creatures with impunity. Here are tens of thousands of Englishmen, industrious, kind-hearted but broken-hearted beings, exasperated into madness by insufficient food and clothing, by utter want of the necessaries for themselves and their unfortunate families.”

## SOURCE F

*A cartoon of 1830 showing the Tory Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington, dealing with trade unionists.*



## SOURCE G

*From letters written by Lord Melbourne to a friend late in 1830 and 1831. Lord Melbourne was the Whig Home Secretary, 1831-35, involved in the case of the Tolpuddle Martyrs. The Home Secretary is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the country.*

- a) The unions of trades in the North of England and in other parts of the country for the purpose of raising wages, and the general union for the same purpose, were pointed out to me by Sir Robert Peel (his Tory predecessor), in a conversation I had with him upon the state of the country, as the most formidable difficulty and danger with which we had to contend and it struck me in the same light.
- b) The resolution and acts of the trades unions frequently amount to a conspiracy to control their masters.

SOURCE H

*A warning issued by the Dorset magistrates immediately before the arrest of the Tolpuddle Martyrs on 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1834.*

# CAUTION.

WHEREAS it has been represented to us from several quarters, that mischievous and designing Persons have been for some time past, endeavouring to induce, and have induced, many Labourers in various Parishes in this County, to attend Meetings, and to enter into Illegal Societies or Unions, to which they bind themselves by unlawful oaths, administered secretly by Persons concealed, who artfully deceive the ignorant and unwary,—WE, the undersigned Justices think it our duty to give this PUBLIC NOTICE and CAUTION, that all Persons may know the danger they incur by entering into such Societies.

ANY PERSON who shall become a Member of such a Society, or take any Oath, or assent to any Test or Declaration not authorized by Law—

Any Person who shall administer, or be present at, or consenting to the administering or taking any Unlawful Oath, or who shall cause such Oath to be administered, although not actually present at the time—

Any Person who shall not reveal or discover any Illegal Oath which may have been administered, or any Illegal Act done or to be done—

Any Person who shall induce, or endeavour to persuade any other Person to become a Member of such Societies,  
WILL BECOME

## Guilty of Felony, AND BE LIABLE TO BE Transported for Seven Years.

ANY PERSON who shall be compelled to take such an Oath, unless he shall declare the same within four days, together with the whole of what he shall know touching the same, will be liable to the same Penalty.

Any Person who shall directly or indirectly maintain correspondence or intercourse with such Society, will be deemed Guilty of an Unlawful Combination and Confederacy, and on Conviction before one Justice, on the Oath of one Witness, be liable to a Penalty of TWENTY POUNDS, or to be committed to the Common Gaol or House of Correction, for THREE CALENDAR MONTHS; or if proceeded against by Indictment, may be CONVICTED OF FELONY, and be TRANSPORTED FOR SEVEN YEARS.

Any Person who shall knowingly permit any Meeting of any such Society to be held in any House, Building, or other Place, shall for the first offence be liable to the Penalty of FIVE POUNDS; and for every other offence committed after Conviction, be deemed Guilty of such Unlawful Combination and Confederacy, and on Conviction before one Justice, on the Oath of one Witness, be liable to a Penalty of TWENTY POUNDS, or to Commitment in the Common Gaol or House of Correction, FOR THREE CALENDAR MONTHS; or if proceeded against by Indictment may be

## CONVICTED OF FELONY, And Transported for SEVEN YEARS.

COUNTY OF DORSET,  
*Dorchester Division*

February 22<sup>d</sup>. 1834.

C. B. WOLLASTON,  
JAMES FRAMPTON,  
WILLIAM ENGLAND,  
THOS. DADE,  
JNO. MORTON COLSON.

HENRY FRAMPTON,  
RICHD. TUCKER STEWARD,  
WILLIAM R. CHURCHILL,  
AUGUSTUS FOSTER.

## SOURCE I

*The charge against the Tolpuddle labourers at their trial (taken from The Martyrs of Tolpuddle edited by Walter Citrine for the TUC in 1934).*

George Loveless late of the Parish of Tolpuddle otherwise known as Tolpuddle in the County of Dorset, labourer, and others, on the 24<sup>th</sup> day of February (actually the day of their arrest; the day the oath was taken was in December 1833) in the 4<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of our sovereign Lord William IV feloniously and unlawfully did administer and cause to administered unto one Edward Legg a certain Oath and engagement purporting and then and there intended to bind the said Edward Legg not to inform or give evidence against any associate confederate or other person of and belonging to a certain unlawful combination and confederacy before that time formed and entered into by the said George Loveless, James Loveless, James Brine, James Hammett, Thomas Stanfield and John Stanfield and divers other ill disposed persons and which said oath and engagement was then and there taken by the said Edward Legg against the peace of our said Lord the King his Crown and dignity against the Statute (law) in that case made and provided.

## SOURCE J

*From the closing speech and judgement of Mr Baron Williams as reported in the Dorset County Chronicle, 20<sup>th</sup> March 1834, the day after the trial of the Tolpuddle farm labourers ended.*

The object of all legal punishment is not altogether with the view of operating on the offenders themselves; it is also for the sake of offering an example and a warning. It is adjudged that each of you be transported to such places beyond the seas at His Majesty's Council in their discretion shall see fit for the term of seven years.

## SOURCE K

*G Loveless, The Victims of Whiggery, 1838.*

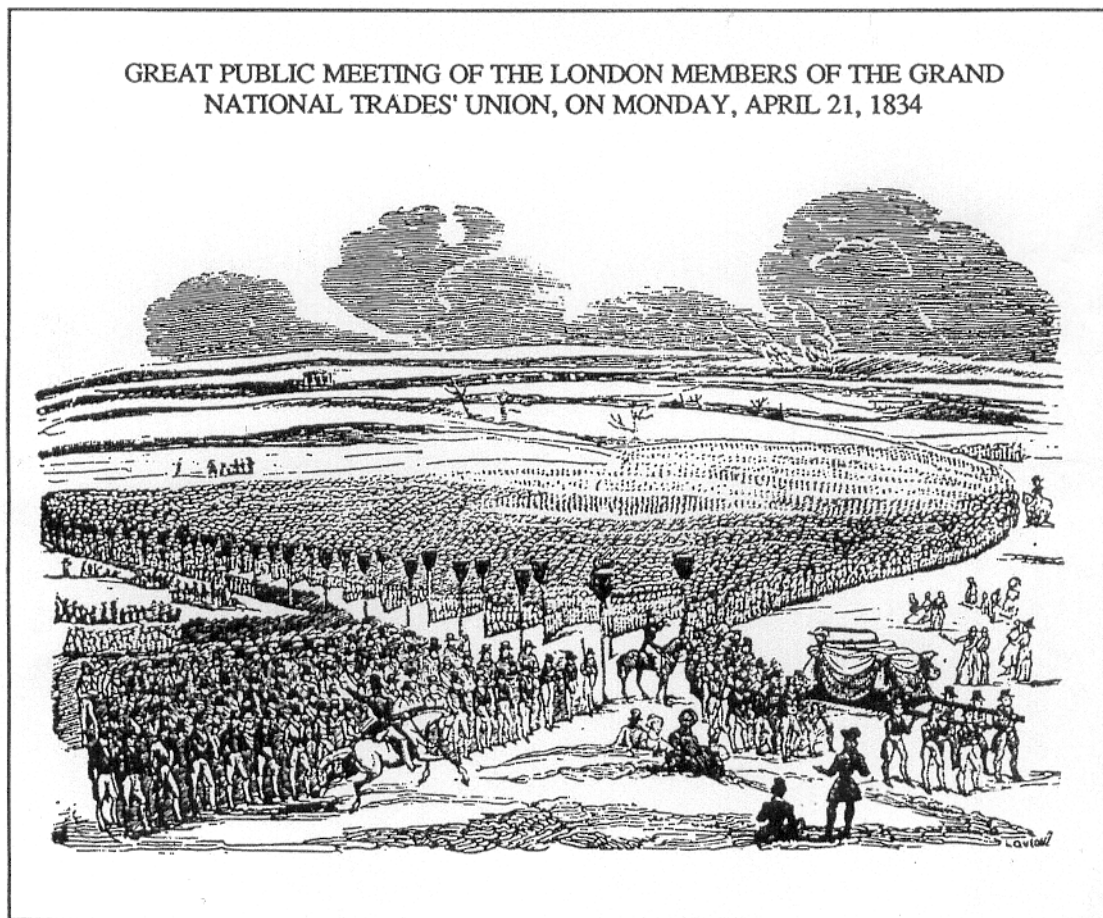
I shall not soon forget his (the judge's) address to the jury, in summing up the evidence; among other things he told them, that if such Societies were allowed to exist, it would ruin masters, cause a stagnation in trade, destroy property, and if they should not find us guilty, he was certain they would forfeit the opinion of the grand jury. I thought to myself, there is no danger but we shall be found guilty, as we have a special jury for the purpose, selected from those who are most unfriendly towards us – the grand jury, landowners, the petty jury, land-renters. Under such a charge, from such a quarter, self interest alone would induce them to say "Guilty".

I instantly forwarded the following short defence, in writing, to him: "My Lord, if we have violated any law, it was not done intentionally: we have injured no man's reputation, character, person, or property: we were uniting together to preserve ourselves, our wives, and our children, from utter degradation and starvation. We challenge any man, or number of men, to prove that we have acted, or intend to act, different from the above statement."

The judge asked if I wished it to be read in court. I answered, "Yes." It was then mumbled over to a part of the jury, in such an inaudible manner, that although I knew what was there, I could not comprehend it. And here one of the counsel prevented sentence being passed, by declaring that not one charge brought against any of the prisoners at the bar was proved, and that if we were found guilty a great number of persons would be dissatisfied; "and I shall for one," he said.

#### **SOURCE L**

*An engraving of the demonstration organised by the GNCTU against the sentence on the Tolpuddle Martyrs, Copenhagen Fields, London, in 'The Pioneer' (the GNCTU paper), 1834.*



## **SOURCE M**

*A traditional song dating from 1875 referring to Joseph Arch's new agricultural trade union.*

### **My master and I**

Says the master to me, 'Is it true? I am told  
Your name on the books of the Union's enroll'd;  
I never can allow that a workman of mine,  
With wicked disturbers of peace should combine.

I give you fair warning, mind what you're about,  
I shall put my foot on it and trample it out;  
On which side your bread's buttered, now sure you can see,  
So decide now at once for the Union or me.'

Says I to the master, 'It's perfectly true  
That I am in the Union and I'll stick to it too;  
And if between Union and you I must choose  
I have plenty to win, and little to lose.  
For twenty years mostly my bread has been dry,  
And to butter it now I shall certainly try:  
And though I respect you, remember I'm free –  
No master in England shall trample on me.'

## SOURCE N

*From 'British Working Class Movements' by G D H Cole & A W Filson, 1951.*

The sentence passed on the Tolpuddle Martyrs was a severe blow to the Trade Union Movement. Although the 'Grand National' at once discontinued all ceremonies of initiation, the fear of the law drove many workers out of the movement and helped to ensure its collapse.

## SOURCE O

*From 'The Tolpuddle Martyrs' by Joyce Marlow, 1972.*

As important as their martyrdom, for English trade unionism and the overseas movements it influenced, was the character and later life of the six men...By going to Canada and making a moderate success of their lives, by proving that they were decent, honest, hard-working and respectable citizens, they rendered as great a service to trade unionism as by their transportation and emergence as 'martyrs'.

It remains ironical that it should have been six agricultural workers, members of the last basic community to form itself into unions and one of the least militant, who gave to this urban trade union movement one of their strongest symbols and propaganda weapons.

Without doubt the Western or British-influenced trade unions have reason to be grateful to Lord Melbourne for selecting, or rather alighting upon, with the assistance of James Frampton, the six men he did. The excellent use which the union leaders have made of this gift over the years can be judged by people's reactions when the Tolpuddle Martyrs, of whom many have heard, however vaguely, are mentioned. It is felt that the men were unjustly treated because they were decent, ordinary citizens, and it is a view held even by people who, in 1834, would have been as disturbed by their activities as were James Frampton and Lord Melbourne.

## Mark Scheme

### Study Sources A and B.

#### **Question 1: What can you learn about farming and farmers in Dorset in the early 1830s from these sources?**

- Level 1            Simple comprehension relating to wheat prices, wages and general employment. (1-3 marks)
- Level 2            Makes inferences, e.g. suggest connections between prices, profits and wages in 1830s, change from war years, or specific comments on Tolpuddle or employment in Dorset. (2-3 marks)
- Level 3            Supported inferences. (3-5 marks)

#### **Question 2: Study Sources B, C and D. Which of these sources offers the best explanation of why the farm labourers of Tolpuddle might have decided to form a Union? Explain your answer.**

- Level 1            Basic references to contents of each source e.g. low wages, especially in Tolpuddle, worry over the Allowance System, poverty of farm labourers. (1-2 marks)
- Level 2            Fuller analysis of sources making clear connection with the formation of a union. (3-4 marks)
- Level 3            As Level 2, recognising some inter-relationship and offering reasons for choice of the best explanation e.g. difference in wages, bad living conditions. (5-6 marks)
- Level 4            As Level 3, evaluating the sources, using own knowledge and nature or origin of the source. (7-8 marks)

#### **Question 3: Read source E and use your own knowledge. Do these two articles in the same newspaper reveal different attitudes to the structure of society in agricultural counties like Dorset in this period?**

- Level 1            Simple statement explaining content of sources or seeming differences. (1-2 marks)
- Level 2            Develops explanations as to why attitudes to the riots are similar rather than different, but not addressing the issue of 'the structure of society' clearly. (3-4 marks)

- Level 3 Refers to structure of society and purpose of the articles without clear or direct reference to similarity of both sources. (4-5 marks)
- Level 4 Explains reasons for the similarity of attitudes to the riots using both sources, referring explicitly to 'the structure of society in agricultural counties' and inferring the real purpose behind the articles. (5-6 marks)

**Question 4: Study sources F, G and H. What implications do these sources have for the success of a trade union in Dorset in the 1830s? Explain your answer.**

- Level 1 Comprehension of sources for attitudes to unions. (1-2 marks)
- Level 2 Identifies implications of the attitudes with limited reason, e.g. using the origin of the views (govt., JP's etc). (3-4 marks)
- Level 3 Analysis of implications with multiple reasons e.g. reference to the origins of the views, significance of both political parties, power and fear of the ruling classes, specific situation of the Tolpuddle men, Lord Melbourne's position in 1834. (5-6 marks)

**Question 5: Study Sources H, I and J. Do these sources agree or disagree about the reasons why the case of the Tolpuddle farm labourers occurred? Explain your answer.**

- Level 1 Comprehension of each source at face value. (1-2 marks)
- Level 2 Shows clear recognition of similar underlying reasons, evaluating each source by reference to origin and purpose or own knowledge. (3-4 marks)
- Level 3 Explicit recognition that the underlying reasons are the same, evaluating sources using origin, purpose and own knowledge, recognising the special significance of J. (5-6 marks)

**Question 6: Read source K, and use your own knowledge and relevant sources. How far do you agree with George Loveless' interpretation of why the Tolpuddle labourers were convicted at their trial? Explain your answer.**

- Level 1 Identifies certain points e.g. the judge's summing up, the jury, the behaviour of the judge. (1-2 marks)
- Level 2 Elements in Level 1 tested against one or more relevant sources, or own knowledge, or the origin of Source K. (3-5 marks)
- Level 3 Makes a judgement of his comments with reference to the origin of Source K using own knowledge and cross-referencing and evaluating at least one other relevant source. (6-8 marks)



**Question 7: Study Source L. How useful is this source for studying reactions to the sentence on the Tolpuddle Martyrs? Use your own knowledge to help you explain your answer.**

- |          |   |             |
|----------|---|-------------|
| Level 1  | Simple description of reactions.  | (1-2 marks) |
| Level 2a | Concentrates explicitly on positive use, ignoring or discounting possible bias.   | (2-3 marks) |
| Level 2b | Identifies reaction and discusses limitations referring to the source's origin or purpose as a limit to its usefulness.                               | (3-4 marks) |
| Level 3  | Draws conclusion; refers to positive use and explains all limitations using content of poster as evidence, the origin of the sources and its purpose. | (4-6 marks) |

**Question 8: Study Source M. How reliable is this source for assessing any change in attitudes in agricultural areas in the 40 years since the case of the Tolpuddle farm labourers? Explain your answer.**

- |         |   |             |
|---------|---|-------------|
| Level 1 | Identifies attitudes of employers or workers AND/OR identifies attitudes of both.   | (1-2 marks) |
| Level 2 | As Level 1 and assesses changes, if any, in attitudes using own knowledge or other relevant sources, or simple comment on the bias of the source.   | (3-4 marks) |
| Level 3 | Assesses the degree of change using own knowledge (which may include attitudes of the government, comparisons with the treatment of the Tolpuddle Martyrs, circumstances of the employers and workers), and discusses reliability using own knowledge, other sources, origin or nature of source M. | (5-7 marks) |

**Question 9: Read Sources N and O. These sources give different interpretations of the effects of the case of the Tolpuddle Martyrs. Can they both be reliable? Explain your answer.**

- |         |  |             |
|---------|--|-------------|
| Level 1 | Comprehension of sources at face value.  | (1-2 marks) |
| Level 2 | Identifies effects and offers valid explanation of why they are different, or makes some assessment of reliability of the interpretations, commenting on bias or using own knowledge, or tone or purpose of the sources. | (3-5 marks) |
| Level 3 | Draws conclusion; identifies effects and show understanding that source N refers to short-term effects and source O to long-term effects; assesses reliability of each interpretation in more than one way.              | (6-8 marks) |

**Question 10: Use ALL the sources and your own knowledge. Do these sources suggest that you have to look at the wider context to make sense of the case of the Tolpuddle Martyrs? Explain your answer.**

Level 1	Superficial answer, agreeing or disagreeing, with unsupported comments.	(1-2 marks)
Level 2a	Agrees or disagrees referring to a few relevant sources only.	(3-6 marks)
Level 2b	Agrees or disagrees using own knowledge only in support.	(3-6 marks)
Level 3	Agrees or disagrees, supported by several sources and using some limited own knowledge.	(7-9 marks)
Level 4	Reasoned explanation clearly involving discussion and explanation of the wider context, supported by cross-referencing or inter-connecting a range of sources.	(10-12 marks)
Level 5	As Level 4; evaluates selected sources and their evidence and making some assessment of their origin, purpose, importance or usefulness, to reach a well-considered conclusion.	(13-15 marks)