Politics of the 4th Duke of Newcastle
http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/mss/elearning/dukeofnewcastle

Theme 2 – Working class unrest
Subtheme 1 - Luddism
Transcripts for other primary sources

Where the commentary refers to only sections of letters, these passages are shown in red.

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Ne C 4919/2 - Copy letter from Reverend John T. Becher, Southwell, Nottinghamshire, to Richard Ryder [Home Secretary]; 12 Feb. 1812

A Copy
Private
A Letter to the Right Hon[ora]ble R. Ryder, G[reat] George Street
Southwell 12th February 1812

Sir,

As the attention of parliament will soon be directed to the outrages prevailing in the County of Nottingham, I shall not, I hope, be censured for intrusion if I venture to transmit such observations as have been suggested to me by the subject.

In bringing the state of our manufacturing concerns under your consideration I must beg leave to request your particular attention to the principle upon which the machinery employed in the fabrication of lace and stockings is supplied. The conditions are, I believe, almost peculiar to this branch of business; and to this origin, as I humbly conceive, the present grievances may in a great measure be imputed.

The Frames upon which Lace and Stockings are woven, are hired by the workmen at stipulated weekly rents amounting seldom to less than 12 percent and occasionally to 20 per cent upon the original cost. The prices of these frames vary from £16 to £50, without including additional machinery; and the interest arising from a capital so vested has induced Farmers, Servants, Labourers, and others totally unacquainted with the interests and management of the trade to become frame-owners and to emark their money in this speculation, which was artfully recommended by those, who were desirous of engaging in the Lace or hosiery business or of extending their concerns, without possessing sufficient pecuniary resources. [p. 2] The frames thus introduced are denominated 'Independents'.

Until the commencement of the present war the demand for the Nottinghamshire manufacturers exceeded the produce of the machinery and labour on the market. The frames were regarded by every workman as the
tutelary guardians of his house. To these the family were indebted for food and raiment, so that they became the objects of attentive care and most vigilant protection. Females and Children attained the art of using them; and those, who declined this exertion were occupied in seaming stocklings, or ornamenting clocks, or embroidering lace. - Abundance thus rapidly acquired by those who were ignorant of its proper application hastened the progress of luxury and licentiousness; and the lower orders were almost universally corrupted by profusion and depravity scarcely to be credited by those who were strangers to our district. Among the men, the discussion of politics, the destruction of game, or the dissipation of the alehouse was substituted for the duties of their occupation during the former part of the week; and in the remaining three or four days a sufficiency was earned for defraying the current expenses. These emoluments, contrasted with the wages of common labourers, presented inducements too powerful to be resisted; and the children of the poor were consequently withdrawn from agriculture to trade. The difficulty of procuring servants created general complaints, while the inconvenience was aggravated by want of diligence in the males and of virtue in the females. Such was the condition of the inferior classes, and if we examine the conduct and characters of the Hosiers or Masters much will appear deserving reprehension. Some were distinguished by liberality [p. 3] towards their workmen and by their firm attachment to the established government; but these were not the features of the majority. The bulk of the hosiers had commenced their pursuits without fortune or education; and were far more inclined to censure the conduct of administration, than to correct their own ignorance and inhumanity. Hence an incessant struggle arose between the high and the low party. This in the elections of members of parliament was signalized by flagrant outrages, which at length subverted entirely the freedom of election, and produced the act 43 Geo.3.C45, impowering the justices for the County to exercise a co-ordinate jurisdiction with the Mayor and Corporation of Nottingham within the precincts under their authority.

Keeping pace with these changes in the habits and characters of the middle and inferior ranks, an increasing population exhibited to every considerate mind a prospect at no great distance of complicated distress, whenever the manufactured articles should glut the markets. The policy of our enemies by prohibiting the introduction of British commodities upon the continent may have accelerated the crisis; but, altho' it might possibly have been postponed, it could not have been prevented; for nothing, except the down-fall of the structure, would have demonstrated to the artificers the impossiblity of sustaining it at the height to which it had been raised; and when the crash convinced them of their error, the subsistence of numbers was unavoidably overwhelmed by the event. The check imposed upon the trade of Nottinghamshire was, at first, but partially felt, because the stock on hand was comparatively of little value: but as the practice of multiplying Frames and Artificers was continued with unabated zeal long after the demand for them had ceased, [p.4] the period arrived when the warehouses were crowded with goods for which no vent could be found; and the Hosiers sensible of their difficulties began to devise arrangments for preventing their increase.

In this emergency, if the Hosiers had acquainted the workmen with the true situation of the Trade; if they had retained those who, by long services or large families, possessed the best title to protection, the young men would have engaged in other employments or would have entered into the army or navy; and none of our present disturbances would have occurred. But, the workmen had in the season of prosperity dictated with insolence to their Masters; and an opportunity for retaliation now appeared, of which the latter indiscreetly and unfeelinly [sic] availed themselves.

The first attempt to abate the prices of labor originated, as I have been informed, with Mr Nun and Lace Manufacturer about seven years ago. As the
proposal was novel to the workmen they could not reconcile their minds to a reduction upon the compensation allowed for work; but, after many conferences, they tendered an increased rent for their frames to which the Agent of Mr Nunn acceded and all parties were perfectly satisfied. This agreement however was erroneous in its principle and injurious in its operation; since it assisted in concealing the redundancy of Labour in the Market, while it encouraged the introduction of 'independent' frames with which the Trade was then overstocked; and facilitated the projects of needy adventurers who carried on their business by means of the 'Independents'. About two years since the consequences were severely felt, and an endevour was made by many eminent lace Manufacturers to reduce the rents of the lace frames to such sums as might entirely preclude all profits upon the Machinery. The measure gave rise to much [p. 5] contentious discussion; but has now, I am told been carried completely into effect; with advantage, as I conceive to the trade, but with considerable loss to those who had ventured to furnish the independent machinery. This ferment, in which both Masters and workmen were involved, was followed by a diminution in the prices of work and by the fabrication of a very imperfect article called single pressed lace, which was highly disapproved and publickly reprobated by respectable tradesmen, as disgraceful to the general character of the business. Meanwhile the Hosiers were pursuing the same object by a different path. Knowing that the framework knitters would be little disposed to endure an abatement of prices, which had been sanctioned by uninterrupted usage, about two years ago the Masters determined to change the fashion and figure of the work and under this pretext to effect their purpose by deducting from the workmans prices more than a proportionate consideration. As soon as one change in the fashion and prices was established another was proposed. The quality of the manufactured goods was progressively deteriorated, and the workmen found their utmost industry incapable of securing a livelihood. Some Masters in addition to these arrangements delivered out only half the usual Weekly work to the Artificers and claimed the full rent of their frames while the means of employing them was denied.

Under these circumstances, representations were urged by the Workmen, and the example of many respectable tradesmen who discharged their supernumary men and continued the remainder [p. 6] on full work at equitable prices was urged as a model for imitation. A meeting of the Hosiers was convened and standard prices were fixed and published in the Newspapers. But the result was only a fresh source of irritation and disappointment to the Petitioners. When they looked for the operation of the advertisement they were mortified by the galling refusal of their application; while their claims were countenanced by those Masters who had from the commencement behaved with honour and humanity and, who now saw others enabled to undersell them in the Market by petty profits, oppressively extorted from the starving necessities of the poor. It is not to be supposed, that liberal men could long behold this surreptitious traffic without indignation and comment, neither could their sentiments remain long concealed from the objects of their commiseration. Pressed with hunger and exasperated by faithless promises of redress the Framework knitters denounced vengeance; and their threats has [sic] been amply fulfilled. They began their destructive work last spring by demolishing a few of the frames belonging to those who were most obnoxious; but, as this warning did not produce any advances on their favour, they recommenced their outrages in November last directing their fury against the machinery of every person by whom they conceived themselves to be aggrieved or oppressed. In one or two instances they have destroyed the property of their best employers, but this has been unintentional. The general tendency of their system is a proscription against persons and work of a [p. 7] specific description, and their designs have been generally accomplished by an understanding, if not a conspiracy between the frame breakers and Frame renters who mutually rejoice
in the event. The number of frames broken, is supposed to exceed 1000; and the value of them may be estimated at £10,000. By individuals the loss will be severely felt, but as far as the general interests of the trade are concerned, it is universally allowed that the machinery remaining is still abundantly more than sufficient for the market.

In the commencement of the disturbances three hay stacks belonging to those who had assisted the civil powers were burned and some threatening letters were sent but no such crimes have been recently committed. So that altho I listened with attention to those who at first taught me to believe that the outrages were connected with political views, and that money might have been supplied thro' secret channels, I now am firmly persuaded from diligent enquiry and vigilant observation, that these opinions are not supported by facts. I ascribe the origin and progress of our present offences solely to internal animosities between the manufacturers themselves, and between the manufacturers and their workmen, acting upon the passions of a necessitous and dissolute class, who had been trained for insubordination by those who are now the objects of their vengeance; and who had been repeatedly told by many of their employers and by the licentious [p. 8] paper brooded under their patronage, that the sovereignty resided in the people and that it was their province as well as their duty to avenge their wrongs and to retaliate upon their oppressors.

Even at this juncture the Manufacturers, who have endangered the safety of the county by their misconducts, continue spectators of the mischief without having done to my knowledge a single act as a collective body to subdue the evil or to bring the offenders to punishment. Indeed they seem to be more occupied in murmuring against the executive government and in abusing the Magistracy of the county, than in vindicating their own proceedings or in recommending any plan for effecting reciprocal conciliation.

Possibly it may be asked how are the Frame breakers supported. To this enquiry I reply that they are not very numerous; that they receive contributions from the people in work; and that there is scarcely a Stockinger who will not give half his money or his victuals to these 'friends of the poor man' as they are styled, who beg in the evening from house to house; exposing, to sale the Framework-knitters act as a protection against the vagrant laws.

Upon a review of the circumstances which have been stated, the means of restoring the public peace and of preventing similar occurrences in future appears to demand attention.

[p. 9] The Bill now preparing for parliament, if the duties are executed by principals and not by substitutes with the cooperation of the Military force will, in all probability, inforce good order; especially as the distresses and opportunities peculiar to the winter season will soon have ceased. But if tranquility is to be permanently established, it will be necessary to adopt some plan for preventing the renewal of such alarming conflicts. I am aware of the delicacy attaching to any interference with the regulations of trade, yet I beg leave most respectfully to submit for your consideration the expediency of passing an act to prescribe by a regulated table, which would be easily drawn, the rents to be paid for every species of frames used in the lace or stocking trade, which might be so estimated as not to exceed 7½% upon the prime cost of each; and to prohibit any person not supplying a frame with full weekly work from demanding more than half the rent.

The advantages [sic] which I humbly conceive likely to result from such a measure are these. It would create a closer connection between the Manufacturers and the machinery and render them more circumspect in their conduct from a consciousness that they must by oppression endanger their own property, which under the present system in many instances is not the case. It would materially conduce to settle the minds of the workmen by evincing that parliament was not unmindful of their distress, and, as far as I can judge [p.10]
from the opinion of those to whom I have mentioned the plan it would prove acceptable to the substantial Hosiers. Since the late depredation of wages is the first that has occurred within the memory of man in the lace and stocking manufacturers the poor have been less prepared than in other districts for the situation to which they are now unexpectedly reduced; and may therefore have been incited to the perpetration of more flagrant excesses than would otherwise have occurred.

I have now Sir to apologise for having so extensively trespassed upon your attention and must rely upon the importance of the subject as my excuse.

I have the honor to be

Sir

with high respect
your most obedient & very humbler Servant

(signed)  J.T. Becher

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**Ne C 4917/2 - Return of Detachments from the Garrison of Nottingham; 9 Feb. 1812**

No. 2/ Return of Detachments from the Garrison of Nottingham 9th Feb[ruary] 1812

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Politics of the 4th Duke of Newcastle

At a Meeting of the Magistrates acting in and for the County of Nottingham nominated by the Lord Lieutenant of the same County to co-operate with the Sherif in preserving the peace during the Assizes, assembled at Red Hill on Thursday the Twelfth day of March 1812.

Present

The Honorable Henry Sealey.
William Sherbrooke Esq.
John Chaworth Esq.
Admiral Sotheron
Rev[eren]d John Thomas Becher
William Wylde Esq.

It was unanimously Resolved

That the following Resolutions be submitted for the approbation of the Sheriff for the County of Nottingham.

That the judicious and effective measures devised and proposed by the Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of this County for preserving the peace during the continuation of the Assizes be adopted and enforced.

That fifty resolute and orderly Men, not being Soldiers shall be nominated to officiate as Special Constables under the control of the Magistrates nominated by the Lord Lieutenant to organize and direct them.

That the Special Constables shall in the first instance endeavor to preserve the peace without any weapons except the ordinary Constables staves. That if these should appear to the Magistrates insufficient for the purpose of keeping the peace they shall then be permitted to carry pistols or side arms but with as little...
display of terror as possible. And that in case of imminent and alarming disturbances they be allowed to bear firelocks.

That a dépôt of arms and ammunition to be delivered immediately in any pressing and dangerous emergency shall be established.

That Mr Stevens of Mansfield be requested to accept the appointment of Chief Constable in testimony of our approbation of his commendable zeal and indefatigable exertions in apprehending offenders and suppressing disturbance.

That the Military force be not required to act until the Civil power has been fruitlessly exerted to the utmost.

That a Special Sessions be held every morning at nine o'clock at the Blackmoors Head Inn in Nottingham to receive the reports of the Chief Special Constable and to carry the instructions of the Lord Lieutenant into complete execution. That the Special Sessions be thence adjourned to the Magistrates Gallery in the Shire Hall to sit constantly and that not less than one of the Magistrates nominated by the Lord Lieutenant to remain in Nottingham during the whole Assizes.

That every Special Constable be allowed during his continuance on duty the sum of Four shillings daily and the further sum of three shillings daily when discharged.

That the Resolutions of this Meeting be communicated to the Mayor and Corporation of Nottingham.

(Signed)
Hen<r>ry Sealey
Chairman

Ne C 4921 - Letter from Reverend John T. Becher, Southwell, to Henry, 4th Duke of Newcastle under Lyne; 27 Mar. 1812

Southwell 27 March 1812

My Lord Duke

In compliance with the desire of the Judge of Assize I visited the convicts in the County Gaol, sentenced to transportation for frame-breaking. Carnell persists in declaring his innocence - Hancock admits some of the evidence delivered against him to be true, but much of it he contends is false. Both these prisoners express their firm determination not to make any disclosures. Indeed their deportment seems to indicate the virulence of resentment rather than the contrition of remorse. Marshall & Maples avow their innocence - but Pooley & Peck as soon as they saw me, tendered a voluntary statement of every circumstance within their knowledge connected with the prevailing outrages. These Boys the one 16 the other 17 years of age acknowledge the justice of their sentence but they have been intimidated during their [p. 2] confinement by menaces and regular weekly remittances have been sent to them as the price of silence. If any of the convicts are entitled to mercy these Boys appear to possess the most substantial claim, but even in this case I humbly conceive that they should be required to enlist in some regiment upon foreign service. Did your Grace know the extent of that shameless profligacy which prevails at the Hulks I am convinced that would not censure the Secretary of State if he should propose for the consideration of your Grace some means for satisfying the claims of Justice without consigning these youths to such inevitable perdition. Whatever the judge, who has again written to me, may eventually recommend I shall of course abstain from venturing to act upon it until I have submitted the arrangements to the determination of [p. 3]
your Grace. Having learned that the Prisoners had prepared a petition which was deposited at various places for signatures, I took an opportunity of examining it & found some highly objectionable expressions, directed against the oppressive conduct of the Hosiers, which in conformity with my advice will I trust be withdrawn. The signatures required were exclusively framework knitters' - and the title of these men to mercy has been discussed by the irritable inhabitants of Nottingham with an earnestness bordering upon acrimony.

- Tantae ne animis caelestibus irae? [Can heav'nly minds such high resentment show? From Virgil's Aeneid]

I beg leave to inclose for the perusal of your Grace a letter from the Secretary of the Committe to one of the Delegates who is in my employment. In addition to my personal enquiries at Nottingham I have prevailed upon two gentlemen well acquainted with the business to explore the actual intentions of the workmen & to ascertain how far [p. 4] they are compatible with the opinions of the Masters; so that in case your Grace should be pleased to notice the business I shall have taken the soundings with accuracy. The Workmen are very desirous of accepting any terms, provided they could but obtain a hearing. When they have returned to implicit obedience such a wish scarcely seems unreasonable. I learn from all quarters that the confederacy is giving way & that the citizens are recovering from their panic.

When I contemplate the temperate & dignified firmness of your Grace I am convinced that by imitating your example we shall be able to stand in the evil day and having done all to stand,

I have the honor to be
With high respect
My Lord Duke
Your Graces most obedient
and very faithful servant
J.T. Becher

Ne C 4968/2 Copy of the confession of James Towle; n.d. [c.Nov. 1816]

Towle never took any oath of secrecy or indeed of any kind nor ever heard of any being made use of among the gang - that they have no particular fund of money, but that when Job is intended, or money wanted for any purpose - it is collected among the Stockingers or Lacehands who happen to be in work - that the sum required of each is so small that it is never refused, the frames would be sure to be broken if it were refused -

they have no Depot of Arms, that many of the Gang have a Pistol or two concealed in their houses - and that when a Job is intended they borrow them of each other- He believes that Savage bought a brace of Pistols at Derby for the Loughbro' Job. He knows of no persons in the higher ranks of life that are connected with them. That when any Job is intended, three or four of the principal people go about to collect hands for it ...

Says that there are plenty of People in and about Nottingham that know of their goings on, that some are friendly towards them and others are afraid to speak. That generally speaking the Hosiers and Master Manufacturers are so much disliked among the Common People that they would sooner see their property destroyed than not. That if any of the Stockingers are suspected of not being friendly to the Luddites they take every means of injuring them and
plaguing them by destroying their Potatoe and Onion beds in the night, cutting up their Gooseberry and Currant bushes if they have any - and so forth -

Ne C 4968/3 - Statement by James Towle to Mr. Pochin and Mr. Mundy; 20 Nov. 1816

Towle said that he knew nothing of any plan to destroy Heathcote's Lace Factory at Loughbro' until a few days or a week before it took place - . . . - That the first he heard of an intended Job at Loughbro' was from Mitchell who came to him a few days previous to the above Job and told him it was intended to go to Loughbro' and destroy Heathcote's Factory and that he (Towle) must make one of the party - Towle replied he thought he could not go as he had some work in his frame to finish - Mitchell said he must go as it might be a strong Job and they were afraid of being short of hands and could not do without him - Towle then consented to go.

Towle came by himself from Basford by way of Leek [East Leake] to Loughbro'- . . . he only arrived at Loughbro' just as the attack on the Factory commenced; does not know whether the gang assembled in Morley's Barn or not; they were all in the Street going down to the Factory when he arrived - Towle knows none of the Loughbro' men- but understood that Badder had been over to Loughbro' to settle the bus. with some of Heathcote's hands and collect money and that all Laceys hands subscribed ...  

Saw Mitchell, Savage, Slater, Peter Green, 2 Blackburns, Hill, Amos, Crowther, Wm. Towle, a man who goes by the name of Sheepshead Joe and a man who has been a Soldier and goes by the name of the Dragoon neither of whose real names he knows - all these persons came from the neighbourhood of Nott'.

Slater carried an axe - As the party ent. the gates of the Factory a large dog barked - He (Towle) fired his pistol at the Dog - That they made their way to the Casting House where the Factory watch was - He was not one of the foremost of the gang at entering the Casting House - A pistol went off in the Casting House before he entered - that when he ent. 3 or 4 men were lying in a Heap under the workbench with their faces close to the ground and two of the gang he does not know which standing guard and pointing their pistols at them - He went on with the greater part of the gang into the ground floor or Setting Up Shop and from thence up the Stairs to the next Story but positively declares he never went up to the top Shop at all ...

Towle thinks it must have been one of the Blackburns that fired the Pistol in the Casting house and wounded Asher as he heard some of the gang on their road home say they should have nobody to thank but Blackburn if any of them got hanged ...

Sheepshead Joe guided the party on their return home over the fields by Garrington Beck - . . . - they crossed the Derby Road and made the best of their way some walking some running to Aram's Ferry: crossed the Trent in Aram's Boat - He heard one of gang ... say the Boatman was to have 10s. to hold his Tongue. - On getting out of the Boat he saw Morris / a Butcher of Chilwell / . . . Morris could not know him as he had a handkerchief all over his face.

He, Mitchell, Wm. Towle and one other he is not sure which, stopped for some refreshment at Chilwell ... after they had had some Ale they all set off together on their way home - that he being lame and tired, owing to a pair of
tight shoes which had pinched him the whole journey, the other 3 outwalked
him, which caused him to be alone when Barnes met him - says he is sure
Barnes must know Mitchell as well as he knew him, but that there is not a
Police officer in Nott™, that dare bring Mitchell into Trouble as he is so great
a favourite among the Luddites ... that if the Police Officers chose they might
detect the Luddites very shortly but that they know if ludding were put down
there would be no occasion for so many of them.

Says that Mitchell and Savage appeared to be head Men of the Loughbro' Job -
Believes that Savage had been over to Loughbro' as well as Badder to settle
about it - the gang came in separate small parties into ... Loughbro' in the
course of the day preceding the Attack. Some came by the coaches from Nott
, others took a large Circuit and came into Loughboro' on the Leicester
side to avoid suspicion ... Says Mitchell has been a leading Man amongst the
Luddites ever since the Ludding business began which is about 5 years ago,
that Slater and Savage have also been old hands at it -

Believes that Slater has broken more Frames in his life than any man in the
County of Nottingham - that if the hammer which was produced in Court could
speak it would tell terrible tales - Slater told him in Gaol he thought he broke
more than 20 of Heathcoate's Machines himself - that a worse man than Slater
cannot exist - that he talks with the greatest pleasure of all the Mischief he
has ever done - Towle said 'If you 2 Gent™, who have never kept bad company
could hear how Slater goes on in his talk it would make your hair stand on an
end, he neither fears God nor devil.'

Ne C 4966 - Letter from Lancelot Rolleston, Watnall, Nottinghamshire, to
Henry, 4th Duke of Newcastle under Lyne; 16 Feb. 1817

My Lord Duke,

I have the honour to acquaint your Grave, that a confession made to me, by one
John Blackburn, of the Town of Nottingham, Frameworkknitter, who was
apprehended in the night of the 2nd of Jan[uar]y last, in a daring attack upon the
house of William Cook, gamekeeper to Lord Middleton, has led to the
apprehension of most of those individuals, who have for so many years infested
this County, under the name of Luddites. Among the various depredations
brought to light by this circumstance, I have come to the knowledge [p. 2] of the
persons, who so wantonly attempted the life of George Kerry, of the parish of
Radford, which it may be in your Grace's recollection, took place the Sunday
night before Christmas day; the attack was made by four in number, two of
whom are in custody, & I have every reason to hope the others shortly will be. I
am sure your Grace will agree with me, as to the necessity of prosecuting these
men; but Kerry is merely a working stockinger, without the means; under these
circumstance, & more particularly as he is a tenant of your Grace's, I have taken
the liberty (and I request you will believe it is with infinite respect to your Grace
that I venture) [p. 3] to submit, whether it may be agreeable to your Grace, to
afford Kerry, the assistance necessary for that purpose. I shall have much
satisfaction, at any time it suits your Grace's convenience, in laying before you
the extensive communications made to me, which with some confidence I
express as my opinion, will be the means of entirely suppressing that system of
outrage, which has hitherto defied the utmost vigilance of the Magistracy.

Waiting your Grace's commands,

I have the honour to be,
My Lord Duke,
Your Graces
Most obedient,
Humble Servant,
Lanc\(^2\) Rolleston

Watnall
Feb[ruar]y 16th 1817