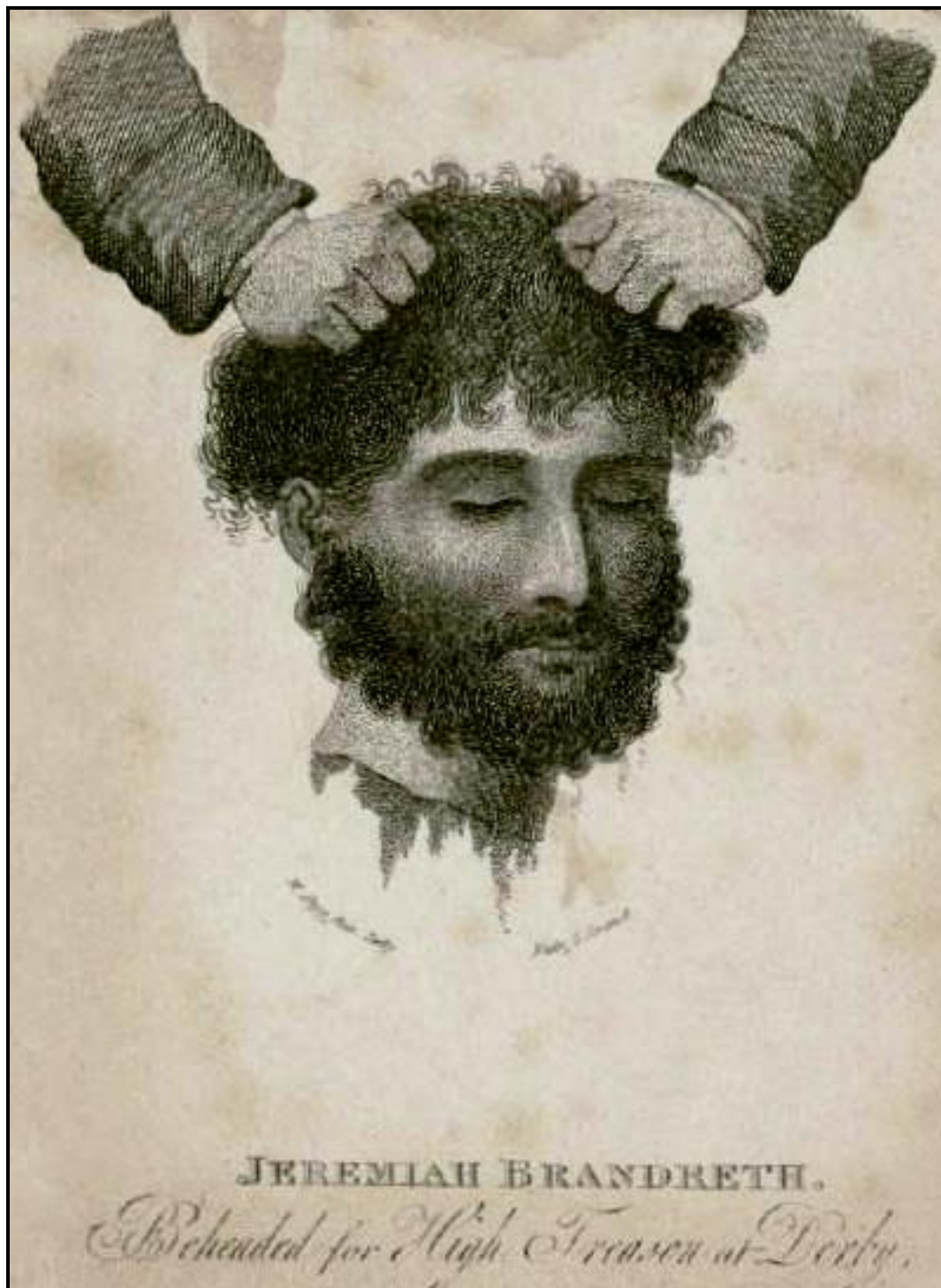


**THE LAST HANGING FOLLOWED BY  
BEHEADING WITH AN AXE CARRIED OUT IN  
BRITAIN AT DERBY FRIAR GATE GAOL IN 1817**



JEREMIAH BRANDRETH.

*Beheaded for High Treason at Derby.*

**BY SAMUEL T STEWART - MARCH 2022**

PERSONS HANGED IN DERBY,

*From 1732 to the present time.*

- 1) J. Howitt and R. Ollerenshaw, for poisoning H.
- 2) Hewitt, March 1732.
3. J. Smith for Burglary, 1735.
4. Richard Woodward for highway robbery, March 1738.
5. William Dolphin for highway robbery, April 1740.
6. George Ashmore for counterfeit guineas, Sept. 1740.
7. Robert Bowler for murder, 1741.
8. Mary Dilks for murder, 1754.
9. Ann Williamson for picking pockets, March 1755.
10. J. Ratcliff for horse stealing, 1756.
11. Thomas Hulley for returning from transportation, 1757.
12. Charles Kirkman for the murder of his infant child, March 1759.
13. J. Perry and Amos Mason for highway robbery,
- 14) 1763.
15. J. Lowe for housebreaking, 1768.
16. Charles Pleasant for forgery, 1768.
17. Matthew Cocklayne for murder, March 21st, 1776.
18. James Meadows for highway robbery, March 1780.
19. William Buxton for highway robbery, 1780.
20. James Williams for horse stealing, 1782.
21. John Shaw for breaking out of gaol, 1782.
22. Thomas Greensmith for a robbery at Walton, near Burton, 1784.
23. William Rose for horse stealing, 1784.
- 24) J. and Benj. Jones for house-breaking: these two
- 25) brothers hung themselves in gaol, 1784.
- 26) W. Grooby, G. Grooby, and J. Peat for a burglary,
- 27) 1785.
- 28)
- 29) J. Sheppard and William Stanley for housebreaking,
- 30) 1786.
31. James Halliburton for a rape, Aug. 1786.
32. John Porson for picking pockets, 1787.
33. Thomas Grundy for poisoning his brother, 1788.
34. Joseph Allen for shop breaking, 1790.
35. William Rider for a robbery, March 1791.
36. James Murray for housebreaking, March 1794.
37. Thomas Neville for robbing Mr. Morley, Mar. 1795.
38. James Preston for murder, March 1796.
39. Thomas Knowles for uttering a note, Aug. 1800.
40. George Lacey Powell and John Drummond for highway robbery; James Gratian for a burglary;
- 41) Evans and J. Dent for sheep stealing, August
- 42) 1801.
- 43)
- 44)
- 45) J. Mellor and J. Spencer—cousins—for a burglary,
- 46) August 1802.
47. William Wells for murder, March 1803.
- 48) R. Booth and J. Parker for horse stealing,
- 49) 1804.
50. William Webster for poisoning two people, March 1807.
51. Joseph West for forgery, 1807.
- 52) Percival Cook and James Tomlinson for burglary,
- 53) March 1812.
- 54) P. Mason, R. Hibbet, and P. Henshaw, for burglary,
- 55) 1813.
- 56)
57. Anthony Lingard for murder, 1815.
58. Joseph Wheeldon for murder, 1816.
- 59)
- 60) Brown, Booth, Jackson and King, for burning stacks
- 61) of corn, August 1817.
- 62)
- 63) Brandreth, Ludlam, and Turner, for high treason,
- 64) Nov. 7th, 1817.
- 65)
66. Hannah Bocking, aged 16, for poisoning J. Grant, 1819.
67. Thomas Hopkinson for highway robbery, 1819.
68. Hannah Halley for murdering her infant, 1822.
69. George Batty for a rape, April 1825.
70. John Leedham for bestiality, April 12, 1833.
- 71) Samuel Bonsall, William Bland, and John Holmes
- 72) alias Hulme alias Starbuck alias Jack the Sweep,
- 73) for the murder of Martha Goddard at Stanley, executed March 31st, 1843, on the New Drop at the top of the County Gaol.
74. John Platts for the murder of George Collis, Chesterfield, April 1st, 1847.

[DERBY REPORTER, April 2, 1847.]

Hangings carried out in Derby from 1732 to 1846.

Apparently, this was printed in the Derby Reporter (2 April 1847) to satisfy the interest of Derby residents following the occasion of the hanging of John Platts the previous day. [See numbers 63,64,65 which relate to this publication.](#)

During the period known as the Bloody Code (1770-1830) you could be hanged in England for a whole range of minor crimes. Capital offences included stealing cheeses, stealing geese and breaking into a weaving shop. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, a person could be hanged for over 200 crimes ranging from murder to destroying a bridge. However, particularly for less serious crimes, the death sentence was not always given, and there was an increasing reluctance to use it. By 1861 only four crimes warranted death (high treason, murder, piracy and arson in the Royal Dockyards). Initially, executions were a public event and often drew large crowds, but by 1868 they were carried out within the walls of the prison. John Platts was hanged in public outside Derby Gaol (Vernon Street) in April 1847 for the murder of George Collis in the Shambles in Chesterfield. 20,000 people apparently came to watch his execution.

## **PREFACE**

There is a good deal of fragmented research information available regarding the hanging and beheading of Jeremiah Brandreth, Isaac Ludlam and William Turner, known as the "Pentrich Martyrs". **This publication is significant in that it features a newspaper article written by someone who attended the actual hanging and subsequent beheading. This confirmed that none of the men were drawn and quartered which would have normally been the case.** The men were executed on the "New Drop", in front of the Friar Gate County Gaol, Derby on Friday, November 7th, 1817.

It is important that the reader gains some understanding of the so called "Luddite movement" which Jeremiah Brandreth was reportedly involved with around 1811, so the author has included an explanatory article in Part 6 taken from another of his publications.

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- PART 5 - PG 12 - Supplementary Information**
- PART 6 - PG 14 - The Luddite Movement**

## **COMPLIMENTARY READING**

"Death by Public Hanging of a Local Man for Horse Stealing" and "Transportation for Life - Hitchcock, Branston & Bull - For Crimes Committed" which are free to download and read on the author's website under the sub-heading, Law and Order.

<https://samuelstewart940.wixsite.com/mysite>

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## PART 1

**THE FOLLOWING TRANSCRIBED NEWSPAPER REPORT WAS WRITTEN FOR THE NOTTINGHAMSHIRE GUARDIAN ON SAT 08 APRIL 1893 BY J.WARD WHO ATTENDED THE HORRIBLE SPECTACLE. HE WAS RESIDING AT 113 CURSON STREET, LEICESTER AT THE TIME OF WRITING**



From a publication printed by Sutton and Son, Nottingham which covered the complete trial of Jeremiah Brandreth, (Alias's John Coke and the Nottingham Captain), Isaac Ludlam, the Elder and George Weightman

### (THE LUDITTE MOVEMENT - please refer to Part 4)

Shorty after the long— and as some people termed it— " the glorious French war"— the distress in the country was most appalling: At its termination, great rejoicings took place all over the country; inscriptions such as " Peace and plenty" were to be seen everywhere; the jugs and mugs in common use had these impressed upon them: but the result was " Peace and poverty". The country was groaning under a load of taxation and the population being very scanty, the weight of it was most oppressive. I can well remember my mother used to send me to the grocer's for 1 lb of sugar of the coarsest with a worn out shilling of the old coinage, and I would bring back 2d ?? Lump sugar was 1s. 2d. At this time my father purchased a bushel of wheat and gave one guinea for it. Tea was 7s. and 8s. per lb., and everything else in proportion. To add to this fearful state of things work was very scarce and wages low. One-pound notes were in circulation, and he was a clever workman who received one of these for a weeks work. A very general opinion prevailed that a revolution was inevitable, and Government shared in this opinion. A man named Oliver was sent by them (this

was afterwards admitted by Ministers in Parliament) in the country as a spy. He first made his appearance at Leicester and called upon several people, amongst them the late Mr. Thompson, and denounced the Government as the authors of all the distress. But he did not succeed in getting the people to revolt. He then went to Hinckley but could not succeed there. He next visited my native county Derby, and there he was more successful. He persuaded a few men to rise up and upset the Government, telling them it only wanted a start and then the whole country would follow. The poor fellows were therefore trapped into an attempt, and were immediately captured. They were tried at Derby and several were transported. The Three (Brandreth, Ludlow and Turner) were sentenced to be hanged and beheaded. **The axes manufactured for the beheading were made by the late Mr. Peter Bamford of Repton, near Derby, and I, residing at the time, near his workshop saw them when completed. There were three axes and three knives all painted black and ground very sharp. Mr. Bamford was related to the gaoler which may have been the account of him being the maker.** I, then, only a youth walked over to Derby to witness this horrible spectacle (7th November 1817), and arriving early, obtained a standing close to the scaffold. The day being market day, there was an immense crowd, and the poor fellows being brought out, the execrations from the multitude were tremendous, for they were looked upon as murdered men, but no attempt was made to rescue them. A strong military force was posted outside the town - it was said 7,000 men - and another strong body of javelin men, armed with pikes surrounded the scaffold. Everything being completed, I saw the men fall. After hanging some time, the body of Jeremiah Brandreth was first taken down, and a bench about six feet long, was brought onto the scaffold, having a piece of wood nailed on it to fit the neck. The dead body was laid on the bench face downwards, and everything being ready, a man with a mask on stepped forth with an axe in his hand and struck off the head. Another man picked it up, apparently by the ears, holding it up to the crowd shouted at the top of his voice - "Behold the head of Jeremiah Brandreth, the traitor". He commenced on the south side of the scaffold, then to the front and lastly to the north, repeating the same words each time. Torrents of blood flowed from the head, and, as I was close to this ghastly spectacle, I could distinctly see the throat of each man plainly. The same ceremony was gone through with the bodies of Turner and Ludlow. Their coffins were brought to the scaffold and their bodies placed in them as each was beheaded. A plentiful amount of sawdust was used. Each man when beheaded had his shoes off, for what purpose I do not know. The knives I did not see used, neither were they wanted, or whether the axes were changed or the same one used I am not able to say. No screen was used. Everything was as open as it possibly could be. Their execution took place in front of the old gaol at Friar-gate, which many of our readers will well remember.

[Continued on the next page](#)



ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE, TRIAL & BEHAVIOUR OF  
**Jeremiah Brandreth, William Turner**  
**and Isaac Ludlam,**  
 Who were Executed on the New Drop, in front of the County Gaol, Derby, on Friday November 7, 1817,  
**FOR HIGH TREASON.**

**JEREMIAH BRANDRETH**, alias John Cole, alias the Nottingham Captain, **WILLIAM TURNER**, **ISAAC LUDLAM**, the elder, and a number of others were brought to trial at the County Hall, in Derby, on Thursday the 10th of October, 1817.

It appeared on evidence, that a number of persons, from one to five hundred, assembled in the Parish of Southwingsfield, in the County of Derby, and with Guns, Pistols, Swords, Clubs, Bikes, Bludgeons, and other offensive Weapons, maliciously and seditiously did levy and make war against our Lord the King and his Laws; and after their trials, which lasted several days, were found GUILTY of HIGH TREASON, and the following sentence passed on them—

That you and each of you be taken to the jail from which you have been brought, and thence drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, where you shall be severally hanged by the neck till you be dead, and afterwards your heads be severed from your bodies, and your bodies be divided into four quarters, and placed at his Majesty's disposal; and may the Lord God of all mercy have compassion upon you.

**JEREMIAH BRANDRETH**, aged 27, Framewick-knitter, was born at Exeter, he has left a wife and two children, who now reside at Sutton in Ashfield, in the County of Nottingham. A short time before his execution Brandreth's wife visited him in prison, and asked him some particulars as to his shooting Mrs. Hepworth's man, but he declined giving her any information on the subject: and being asked the reason why he had not been alarmed during his imprisonment, he replied, "It was not to disguise himself, but that it appeared to him more natural in that state." He was not much affected at seeing her, and she was less distressed than might have been expected.

When Brandreth was asked by the Clerk of Arraigns, what he had to say, why sentence to die should not be passed upon him, according to law, he replied,

"I would ask for mercy, if it were possible, that mercy could be extended towards me, and would address you in the words of our Saviour—If it be possible, let this cup pass from me, yet not my will, but the will of the Lord be done."

**WILLIAM TURNER**, aged 46, Stone Mason, was a tall man, and had been a soldier, was born at Southwingsfield, in this County, and a single man. Several persons gave Turner a good character, who said they had known him for many years, and always considered him a loyal and humane man till this happened.

On Wednesday Turner took a final leave of his brothers and relations. He was at once visited by eleven persons, who left him calm, but were themselves in the greatest possible affliction.

**ISAAC LUDLAM**, aged 52, Stone Mason, was born at Southwingsfield, in this County, has left a wife and seven children to lament his untimely end. A short time before his execution he wrote an affectionate letter to his wife, in which he recommends her to live in the fear of God, and to bring up his children in the ways of religion, which will always prove ways of pleasantness, and the end will be a peaceful life. It having been ascertained in some of the public papers that he was a Dissenting Teacher, and in others that he was a Methodist Preacher: we have good authority for stating, that he never was a Methodist Preacher, nor did he ever hold any office in that body.

On Tuesday Isaac Ludlam received a visit from his wife and daughter. Mrs. Ludlam is a very respectable looking woman. Her distress on account of the situation of her husband was great in the extreme. His doom seemed death to her. Words cannot adequately describe the mournfully affecting interview. The parting moments when the husband and father gazed on the wife and child for the last time was terrible. Darning tears mingled with final embraces, were often repeated, and the mother and the daughter left the prison in all the horrors of despair.

Since condemnation they have been regularly attended by the Rev. J. Pickering, Chaplain of the Gaol, and have for the last few days comforted themselves in a manner becoming their awful situation.—This was the first execution for "a levying of war against the King" that ever took place in Derby. We trust in God that it will also be the last.

On the morning of execution the prisoners partook of the Lord's Supper, and joined the Chaplain in fervent prayer, and we hope that their prayers were heard.

About twelve o'clock the unhappy sufferers were brought out in front of the County Gaol, and after a short time spent in prayer, were lambed with solemnity, in the presence of a vast concourse of spectators, and after hanging the usual time, their bodies were taken down and their heads cut off and held up for public view, while the executioner exclaimed, "Behold the Head of a Traitor."

The untimely end of these unhappy men is an awful warning of the sad effects of walking in the way of transgressors, and of the bitter consequences of neglecting serious religion. Ludlam once in his life for a short time was connected with a religious body, but fell from his profession. Brandreth nine years ago had some religious impressions, though he unfortunately suffered them to die away; but he never connected himself with any body of professing christians. Had they in sincerity followed Religion they would have found among either the serious dissenters or the methodists, those who would have been their helpers in the way to heaven, and they might now have been loyal subjects and useful and respected christians.

WILKINS, PRINTER, DERBY, of whom the Tracts may be had.—Price 2s.

A broadside summarizing the trial of Brandreth, Turner and Ludlam "For High Treason." The above can be read by enlarging to 200%

## PART 2

### BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON JEREMIAH BRANDRETH

Jeremiah Brandreth (1790 – 7 November 1817) was an out-of-work stocking maker (commonly known as a "stockinger", from which the saying "poor as a stockinger came), He lived in Sutton-in-Ashfield, Nottinghamshire, and was hanged and beheaded along with his compatriots in crime Isaac Ludlam and George Weightman for treason. He was colloquially known as "The Nottingham Captain". These three men were the last people to be beheaded with an axe following hanging in Britain

Brandreth was born in Wilford, Nottingham and married Ann Bridget at Sutton on the 29th of September, 1811. They later moved to Sutton-in-Ashfield where he and his wife Ann lived with their three children.

It is believed that Brandreth first became involved in early Luddite activities in 1811 and was involved in a Luddite raid in 1811 when a fellow Luddite was shot dead (**see Part 6 for further details of this and the Luddite movement**).

It is well recorded that he met with William J. Oliver ("Oliver the Spy") in May 1817 and agreed to cooperate in a plan in which he would join 50,000 men in London to storm the Tower. Again, there are several records suggesting that Brandreth was a victim of the Home Secretary, Lord Sidmouth, who resorted to handing out severe punishments against Luddite rioters.

This particular "Luddite revolution" began on 9 June 1817. A meeting had been held in a pub called the "White Horse" in Pentridge, or Pentrich. It had been agreed that Brandreth and his fellow conspirators would lead a march on Nottingham for which "they would receive 100 guineas, bread, meat and ale." This subsequently resulted in an attack on the local barracks, with the intention of defeating the government and "ending poverty for ever". They were thought to have been a lightly armed bunch with pikes, scythes and a few guns and only had a set of rather unfocused revolutionary demands, including the wiping out of the National Debt.<sup>1</sup>

At 10 pm on 9 June, around 50 men assembled at Hunt's Barn in South Wingfield and for four hours ranged around the neighbourhood for weapons and extra men. At one house a widow, Mary Hepworth, lived with her two sons. When she refused to open up, the rioters broke a window and Brandreth fired a shot through it, killing a servant. Some of the party were appalled at this act but Brandreth threatened to shoot anyone who tried to leave.

Eventually the group set out for the works of the Butterley Company outside Ripley, Derbyshire. When they arrived they were confronted by George Goodwin, the factory agent, who was with a few constables. After a stand off, several of the rebel party left. Increasingly demoralised, Brandreth and the remainder headed into the town where they forced some of the townsfolk to join them. The rebels continued their march through Codnor and Langley Mill where they awoke publicans for beer, bread and cheese. When it started to rain heavily, apparently more men slipped away.

Outside the village of Giltbrook they were met by 20 mounted troops from the 15th Regiment of Light Dragoons. The appearance of regulars prompted the revolutionaries to scatter. While forty men were captured at the scene, Brandreth and

some of the other leaders managed to escape only to be arrested in the next few months. A total of 35 people were brought to trial at the Old Bailey in London for their role in the Pentrich rising. Brandreth and two others, William Turner and Isaac Ludlam, were convicted of High Treason and sentenced to execution by being hanged, drawn and quartered. The quartering (ie the dissection of the living condemned person) was commuted by George, the Prince Regent. Brandreth's execution took place with the others outside Derby Gaol on 7 November 1817. Once they were dead the three men's heads were cut off with an axe. When Brandreth's head was shown to the crowd and they did not cheer the death of a traitor, the cavalry prepared to charge at the first sign of trouble. The board used to hold the bodies during beheading is kept in Derby Museum.

On the scaffold, one of the men claimed that they had been set up by Lord Sidmouth and "Oliver the spy". The claim was investigated by Edward Baines of the *Leeds Mercury* who found sufficient evidence to justify publishing the story.

During the trial and subsequent execution, Brandreth's family were removed to his birthplace, Wilford, where they were cared for by John Hazard, Overseer of the Township of Wilford.



## PART 3

### DERBY FRIAR GATE COUNTY GAOL



**Derby Friar Gate Gaol c. 1756 - Copyright Derby City Council**

The plain, brick building of Friar Gate Gaol, designed by architect Mr. Irons of Warwick, was incredibly overcrowded. The gaol had seven cells, each measuring 7 ft by 7 ft, 4 inches wide and 8 ft 3 inches high, with precious little ventilation.

In 1774, an advertisement was placed in the Derby Mercury looking for "persons willing to make a bath and two rooms" for prisoners at the gaol. The walls were now whitewashed once a year and a surgeon was employed. However, gaol fever and overcrowding continued. In 1819, records show that these seven cells housed 69 prisoners, a level of overcrowding that was all too common.

In 1782, before fixed gaoler salaries were introduced, Friar Gate gaoler Blyth Simpson managed to take home a profit equal to double his salary by the sale of liquor to prisoners, resulting in a staggering level of drunkenness! The day room saw convicted murderers mixing with those awaiting trial for petty crimes, and communicating over walls with those held at the House of Correction.



## PART 4

### DERBY VERNON STREET COUNTY GAOL



**The retained facade of Vernon Street Gaol**

The New county gaol was situated off Vernon Street with 6 acres of land backing onto Uttoxeter Old Road from the Vernon Street and South Gate junction and was designed by Francis Goodwin. The prison took five years to build.

In 1833, John Leedham was the first person to be executed at Derby's new County Gaol on Vernon Street. He was also the last person to hang in Derbyshire for a crime other than murder. Convicted of bestiality, he was hanged on April 12th in front of a crowd of over 6,000.

Derby's final execution took place on Tuesday the 16th of July 1907 at Vernon Street Gaol when 47 year old William (also given as Wilfred) Slack was hanged by Henry Pierrepont for the murder of 40 year old Lucy Wilson at Highfield Road Chesterfield on the 18th of March. She was attacked with a hatchet in the street by Slack, because he said she would not leave him alone after he had broken off their affair. William Slack was a 47-year-old painter by trade but was already known as a violent man. He had served seven years of hard labour for attempting to murder a police constable. His wife had also left him, as she could not handle his violent outbursts. He found another woman – 40-year-old Lucy Wilson, who was a married barmaid in Chesterfield. The two had an affair for an "extended period of time" – possibly having a child together – but she had broken it off shortly before her murder. William spotted her in the street one day, shortly after the break-up. The two came face-to-face on Highfield Road in Chesterfield. Lucy was out on a walk, with her baby son in a pram – the son that was possibly William's. William later told the trial that he said these words: "I told her at dinnertime today against the theatre, that if she came up I should cut her head off and that I should have no more to do with her." William claimed that she then "provoked" him, and the two had a heated argument in the middle of the

street. He then took his hatchet and struck her down in broad daylight, in front of their alleged son, and then took the pram and tried to leave. A postman saw the attack and followed him, managing to persuade William to stop running and give himself up. He was arrested shortly afterwards. William would be hanged before the summer was out. At his trial, he pleaded not guilty – he had claimed that Lucy Wilson had provoked him in the street on the day of the murder, and that he should not be executed because of it. The jury found him guilty. The details of the case were widely reported in newspapers at the time, going as far as The Newry Reporter in Northern Ireland. They reported that “when the black cap was produced” – judges used to put on a black cap when handing out a death sentence – “the prisoner made use of an offensive expression”. He also “used filthy and violent language, and refused to face the Bench while the death sentence was being carried out, struggling with the wardens meanwhile”. Three weeks after his trial, William was taken to the Vernon Gate gaol in Derby. The most senior executioner in the country, Henry Pierrepont, was brought in to carry out the hanging. On July 16, 1907, William Slack was executed, ridding Chesterfield and Derbyshire of a violent murderer. And while nobody knew it at the time, he would have the dubious honour of being the county’s last hanged man (Derby Telegraph 30 Oct 2021)

In 1886 Vernon Street Gaol was renamed HMP Derby and lasted until 1919 when demolition of most of the building took place.

Until 1929, the remaining part of the prison was used as a military prison and by 1930 the area behind the frontage had been converted into a greyhound stadium which lasted until the 7th of December 1988.

Today the site contains offices and apartment buildings, the magnificent frontage remaining with the words VERNON GATE worked into the brickwork above the archway.

## PART 5

### SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

**With special thanks to John Grainger for providing the following information, which appears in the public domain on the internet under [www.capitalpunishmentuk.org](http://www.capitalpunishmentuk.org) without any reference to copyright.**

*Derby did not have a gaol until 1652 when the Corn market Gaol was erected slap bang in the centre of the town. Prior to that Derbyshire's criminals were taken to Nottingham Castle. Following the part demolition of Derby's last gaol in 1919, Vernon Street Gaol, convicted prisoners have been taken back to Nottingham, these times to the Victorian prison's 'C' Wing, nicknamed 'Beirut' by the residents. Nothing of the Corn market Gaol remains today, the site now completely pedestrianised, which was part of the old A6 through road, and it was decided that a building sited in a less busy area would be better so plans were made to relocate to Nuns Green, three-quarters of a mile west of the town.*

*Nuns Green ran alongside and to the north of the superbly maintained Friar Gate, one side of which has today virtually avoided the ravages of time. Within just over half a mile, three of Derby's gaols were located in what is now known as the Friar Gate Conservation Area. Nuns Green had been one of the traditional execution places in Derby, various substantial trees being used before a tri corn wooden gallows despatched victims. By 1756 Nuns Green Gaol had been erected, mostly from stone from the Corn market Gaol, to house 29 prisoners, but this was extended as time went on.*

*As Friar Gate rapidly became 'the' place to live while visiting Derby, the gentry's town houses went up alongside Nuns Green and the old gaol was incorporated into the street, now known as Friar Gate Gaol. There were 58 hangings here between 1756 and 1825. By 1843 a much grander building was in use as a gaol in Vernon Street, just south of Friar Gate and the old gaol only lasted another three years, although it did maintain some cells for use as condemned accommodation prior to public hanging at the nearby Vernon Street Gaol. The last hanging at Friar Gate was that of George Batty for the rape of Martha Hawksley, a ten-year old girl. It later became the Howard Hotel and various other commercial uses before being maintained and today is part of a museum of Derby gaols below street level in the old building at 50-51 Friar Gate.*

*At number 44 lived a surgeon whom, it was alleged, practised his skills on hanged criminals and to this day footsteps can be heard on the top floor and, mysteriously, a cat, which is seen to walk towards a room with no outlet but cannot be seen inside.*

*In 1886 Vernon Street Gaol was renamed HMP Derby and lasted until 1919 when demolition of most of the building took place. Until 1929 the remaining part of the prison was used as a military prison and by 1930 the area behind the frontage had been converted into a greyhound stadium which lasted until the 7th of December 1988. Today the site contains offices and apartment buildings, the magnificent frontage remaining with the words VERNON GATE worked into the brickwork above the archway.*

*The most famous of Derby executions were those of the 'Pentrich Martyrs', who, led by Jeremiah Brandreth, had attempted a badly planned revolution against the Tory government which, amongst other aims, was to 'release the national debt'. The government at the time were waiting for such an incident in order to make an example of participants as riots, uprisings and revolutions were becoming too popular for the downtrodden and easily led proletariat. The military had rounded up the remnants of a disbanded march on Nottingham which had started on 9 June 1817 and 35 men were consequently tried in Derby for High Treason in October. From that Brandreth, aged 27 (unemployed Frame Work Knitter from Sutton-in-Ashfield), Isaac Ludlam, aged 52 (Stonegetter from South Wingfield), George Weightman, aged 48 (Sawyer from Pentrich) and William Turner, aged 46 (Stonemason from*

South Wingfield) were sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered (Weightman's sentence later commuted to transportation). However, the Prince Regent gave them clemency and they were hanged and beheaded. Of the remaining 32, six were jailed with sentences ranging from six months to two years and 14 were transported, 11 for life and three for 14 years. Twelve men were tried and released.

None of those transported ever came back to England but George Weightman, who accompanied the three condemned on their way to the gallows before being transported, whose brother was sentenced to one year in prison and had two cousins involved, died in Kiama, New South Wales in 1865 aged 68 and is commemorated in a plaque, presented to the Kiama Family History Centre by his great, great, great grandson, Paul Weightman and four other descendants, in 2001.

These executions are remembered as being the last time an axe was used in an official execution. They paid the ultimate price on the 7th of November 1817 at Friar Gate Gaol, a gallows being built at the front of the prison in Friar Gate on the same morning. Having emerged from the chapel each of the condemned placed themselves on the one hurdle and were driven individually along the prison passage, Brandreth asking if he could take another turn back along the passage, but was refused. Now all standing at the foot of the gallows on Friar Gate, they could not help but notice the bench and block on which the last part of their sentence was to be carried out.

Three nooses were placed over the beam as ordered and Brandreth came up first, but the noose was too high to reach him so a hasty adjustment was made and the noose tightened, with the knot placed behind the left ear. Turner went up next followed by Ludlam and with the noosing completed the chaplain read separate prayers with the men, then they all joined him in the Lord's Prayer, after which the chaplain took his leave. The two executioners pulled the hoods over the men's faces when the prisoners exclaimed, "Into thy hands, O God! I commit my spirit." They continued to call on their Creator and Redeemer for mercy and Ludlam was once more giving utterance to the last part of the prayer when the trap dropped at 12:45pm. They were left hanging for 30 minutes then cut down, Brandreth's body was laid on the block with the face downwards and the head pointing towards the street, in full view of the crowd. The masses watched in horror as the head was cut off by the axe and the executioner held it up by the hair and shouted: 'Behold the head of Jeremiah Brandreth, the Traitor!' The heads of Turner and Ludlam were exhibited in the same way. The heads and bodies were then thrown into the coffins and interred at dusk in St. Werburgh's Church Yard, number 1 Friar Gate, Derby.

Old place of execution	Derby Gaol (Friar Gate) 18 executions in public		Derby Gaol (Vernon St.) 8 executions in public	
Derby - Nuns Green	First	10/04/1812	First	12/04/1833
Last used 03/04/1807	Last	08/04/1825	Last	11/04/1862
			Derby Gaol (Vernon St.) 12 executions in private	
			First	04/08/1873
			Last	16/07/1907

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## PART 6

### THE LUDDITE MOVEMENT

For those unfamiliar with the "Luddite" movement there follows a transcription of the trial of 16 men who were involved in the "Luddite Movement" around the same time as the aforementioned issues involving Jeremiah Brandreth and others.

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William Nunn, a Nottingham lace manufacturer, reported to the Home Office in London on 6 December 1811 that '*many hundreds of letters have been sent signed "Ludd", threatening lives and to burn and destroy the houses, frames and property of most of the principal manufacturers*'. There are many stories relating to how the name of Ned Ludd originated but the general conclusion reached is that he was never thought to be a single real person. The term referred to a leader, and could be assumed by anyone leading a group of frame breakers. Contemporaries often used fictitious names like this to ensure that they retained anonymity. So, letters or visits in the name of Ludd were used to indicate where they had come from without giving away any particular people

The Luddite rebellion erupted in 1811. In Nottingham the hosiery workers took action, and the authorities, local and national, feared open revolution and every measure was taken against this group of people.

On 10th November 1811 the movement took a sinister turn when John Westley of Arnold was shot dead during a disturbance in Bulwell. This resulted in an increase in the ferocity of the breakers and troops were summoned, together with the militia and yeomanry cavalry to try to establish order, apparently without a great deal of success.

On 15 December 1811 the Prince Regent issued a proclamation offering a reward of £50 to any party instrumental in the conviction of a frame breaker, and notices to this effect were quickly distributed through the country.

The movement spread rapidly through Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lancashire, Cheshire and Yorkshire. It has been estimated (Durvall) that the Luddites destroyed between 1300 and 1400 frames, which amounted to some 4% of the total in the UK. In Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, where most frame breaking occurred, the destruction amounted to 12% of the two counties frames.

On the 28th of December, an agreement was signed between the hosiers and the knitters designed to ensure that average wages would rise. The Duke of Newcastle, the lord lieutenant of the county, hoped this would be the end of the unrest. Unfortunately, some Nottingham knitters remained dissatisfied and some hosiers refused to be bound by the terms of the agreement.

A new law was rushed through Parliament as an "emergency measure". The Destruction of Stocking Frames, etc. Act of 1812 was passed with an overwhelming majority and received royal assent on the 20th of March: frame-breaking became a capital felony (a crime punishable by death). All measures included in the Act were only to be applied temporarily, and were duly set to expire on 1 March 1814.

## **LUDDITES ARRIVE IN OSGATHORPE**

This account has been compiled from the depositions of witnesses and accused which can be found at HO 42/119.

### **5th December 1811: Luddites soliciting contributions in Osgathorpe, Leicestershire**

On Thursday the 5th December, framework-knitters in Leicestershire received visits from Luddites soliciting contributions for the cause. William Brown Junior of Osgathorpe was making his way through the village near to the home of a Joseph Woodcock when a fellow framework-knitter Thomas Maton Harris beckoned him inside to meet three strangers. Harris explained that he wanted Brown to gather together the head stockings and bring them back to Woodcock's house, with a veiled threat that if he did not he "would be worse for it."

Brown collected his father, William Brown Senior, as well as William Hardy and William Davenport Senior and headed back to Woodcock's house for 5 p.m. to find others from the neighbourhood gathered there, including a Hosier, Thomas Gilbert. When there, Thomas Maton Harris took the three men into the parlour and presented them with a letter from Ned Lud, which read:

*"Gentleman all — Ned Lud's compliments unto you and hope you will give a trifle towards supporting his army as he well understands the act of breaking up not just frames: if you comply with this it will be well, if not, I shall call upon you myself. Edward Lud"*

Hardy had no money on him, and had to borrow a shilling from Maton Harris, contributing sixpence. Davenport had a number of frames in his workshop, and fearing they would be broken by Ned Lud's army if he refused contributed 1 shilling sixpence for himself and another shilling for his son. William Brown Senior gave 2 shillings. Hardy noticed that in total, 7 shillings and 6 pence had been laid upon the table by those present. Maton Harris asked Gilbert if he would like to contribute as well, but Gilbert said nothing and promptly left the house.

Hardy returned home and never saw the 3 strangers again. Gilbert however, returned later to Woodcock's house to find Maton Harris still present. Maton Harris told him 'in an apparent friendly way' that his frames, along with those of Messrs Johnson were to be broken by the Luddites.

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### **THE FINAL EXECUTION OF LUDDITES IN LEICESTER AT THE NEW BRIDEWELL DROP NEAR THE INFIRMARY**

**The Leicester Chronicle - Friday 18th April 1817:**

#### **EXECUTION OF**

*Thomas Savage, Joshua Mitchell, John Amos, Wm. Towle, John Crowder and Wm. Withers, for entering Messrs. Heathcote and Co's factory, at Loughborough, and aiding and abetting the shooting at John Asher; Thomas Babington, for setting fire to a stack of oats belonging to Mr. John Moore, of Newbold Verdon.*

About half past five o'clock on Thursday morning, the above unfortunate men were removed from the County Gaol in a covered cart, escorted by a squadron of Hussars, to the New Bridewell, adjoining the Infirmary, where they immediately proceeded to

prayer and continued very devoutly engaged the greater part of the morning. About twelve o'clock, they made their appearance on the platform, chained together by the wrist. Savage was placed first; Mitchell, second; Amos, third; Towle, fourth; Crowder, fifth; Withers, sixth; and Babington, seventh.

After bowing to the vast numbers of persons assembled, Savage shortly addressed them as follows:—

"My dear Brethren, I am now addressing you as a criminal. I shall not say a great deal. I hope you will take warning by our untimely fate, and not regard Man, but God. I feel confident of meeting my saviour hereafter and hope to be forgiven. I did intend to say more, but I have since declined the idea. In behalf of myself and fellow sufferers, I beg to return thanks to Mr. Vaughan & Mr. Hayton, for the attention they have shewn to us.— Farewell!"

Amos addressed the spectators—"Friends and Fellow-Countrymen—You now see six young men going to suffer for a crime they are not guilty of, (alluding, we presume, to the firing at Asher) for the man who committed the crime will soon be at large. I would have you take warning by our fate, and be careful what company you keep. Farewell!"

Babington said, "Gentlemen—I am as innocent as God is true, and [looking up,] God will witness it.—Farewell!"

Mitchell wished to read a paper, but was not permitted. Amos then invited the crowd to join them in singing the following Hymn, which he gave out, two lines at a time, in a most audible and distinct manner, and was joined therein by Savage, Mitchel, Towle, &c. with equally firm voices.

#### HYMN

How sad our state by nature is!  
Our sin, how deep it stains!  
And SATAN binds our captive minds  
Fast in his slavish chains.  
But there's a voice of Sovereign Grace  
Sounds from the sacred word;  
Ho! ye despairing sinners come,  
And trust upon the Lord.  
O may we hear th' Almighty call,  
And run to this relief!  
We would believe thy promise Lord;  
O help our unbelief!  
To the blest fountain of thy blood,  
Teach us, O Lord, to fly!  
There may we wash our spotted souls  
From sins of deepest dye!  
Stretch out thine arm, victorious King,  
Our reigning sins subdue;  
Drive the old dragon from this seat,  
And form our souls anew.  
Poor, guilty, weak, and helpless worms,  
On thy kind arm we fall;  
Be thou our strength our righteousness,  
Our JESUS and our all!



The last short offices of devotion being concluded, Mr. Musson and the Executioner proceeded to adjust the ropes about the culprits' necks, during which the prisoners shook hands with each other, and bade a last farewell to several of their friends whom they recognized before them, throwing to each some oranges, with a request that they might be given to their children, &c.

Having shook hands with the High Sheriff, Clergyman, the Gaoler, &c. one of the unfortunate men (Amos) at about half past twelve, gave a signal by stamping his foot, when the fatal board fell and they were launched into eternity without much struggling, with the exception of Mitchell, who appeared strongly convulsed for several minutes.

Almost throughout the whole of the awful ceremony they conducted themselves with a degree of firmness seldom witnessed on such a melancholy occasion. Though not insensible to religious impression, they appeared to await their approaching end with a composure we scarcely know how to express. Savage, who was a fine, tall, well-dressed, sensible looking man, appeared to be offering up his prayers with great earnestness when he was tied up. Mitchell, a well-made, bold-looking, well-dressed man, did not appear quite so devout. He assisted in adjusting Savage's rope, as well as his own, with an unexampled coolness, worthy of a better fate. Amos, a tall, strong, decently dressed man, witnessed his fate with a smile upon his countenance, and seemed to be a man possessing great strength of mind. Towle, a fresh looking youth, betrayed no symptoms of agitation, until towards the close of the tragic scene, when, on the cap being pulled over his face, he evidently seemed much affected. Crowder also seemed much agitated towards the last, as did Withers a little, which he evinced by a restlessness in standing.

It is to be hoped that the dreadful example now made, here and at Nottingham, will operate in putting an end to a system which has caused so much terror and alarm in this and a neighbouring county, and that Justice will now be satisfied. For ourselves, we are of opinion, with a celebrated writer, that "It is not the intenseness of the pain that has the greatest effect on the mind, but its continuance; for our sensibility is more easily and more powerfully affected by weak but repeated impressions, than by a violent, but momentary, impulse;" and consider we that "the death of a criminal is a terrible but momentary spectacle, and therefore a less efficacious method of deterring others, than the continued example of a man deprived of his liberty, condemned, as a beast of burthen, to repair, by his labour, the injury done to society. *If I commit such a crime, says the spectator to himself, I shall be reduced to that miserable condition for the rest of my life.* A much more powerful preventative than the fear of death, which men always behold in distant obscurity."

A troop of Huzzars were in attendance on the above occasion, and we understand the Yeomanry Cavalry were also in readiness in case any attempt to rescue or disorder should have been made.—happily, however, the whole passed over without any interruption, the unfortunate malefactors having experienced every accommodation which the humanity of the High Sheriff and the Gaoler, was capable of affording under such circumstances.

The execution being generally understood to take place on Monday, thousands of persons from all parts of this and adjoining counties thronged the town on that day. The postponement of the execution, it seems, was in consequence of the County Sessions commencing the early part of the week. It is computed not less than 15,000 persons were present on Thursday.

**THE TRIAL OF THE REMAINING "LOUGHBOROUGH JOB" LUDDITES, AT  
LEICESTER ASSIZES 1st APRIL 1817**

***Trial of Thomas Savidge, Joshua Mitchell, Wm. Withers, William Towle, John Amos, John Crowder, and James Watson, the firing a gun at John Asher.***

James Watson, 21  
William Towle, 22  
John Clarke, 28 (Little Same)  
Samuel Caldwell, 29 (Little Sam)  
Joshua Mitchell, 29  
John Amos, 30  
William Withers, 33  
Thomas Savage, 39  
John Crowther, 40

On Tuesday morning, about eight o'clock, the above prisoners were put to the bar, along with Samuel Caldwell, otherwise Big Sam, the Jury were called and sworn, without any difficulty, consisting of the following gentleman:—

Humphrey Cartwright,  
William Perceval,  
John Eames,  
William Flint,  
Thomas Simms,  
Saville Charles Hardy,  
William Southernwood,  
William Cooper,  
Alpheus King,  
Henry Ogden,  
Thomas Penford,  
John Earpe.

The indictment was read over to the Jury, which charged the prisoners with having, on the 28th day of June last, unlawfully and maliciously shot at John Asher, with intent to kill and murder. Another count of the indictment stated that John Blackborne shot Asher, and the prisoners were aiding, abetting, and assisting, and there were other variations.

Sergeant Vaughan addressed the Court at great length, and then called Mr. John Bowden, who gave evidence to the same purport as on the day before.

In the midst of his examination, the Court was told into some confusion, by Samuel Caldwell, one of the prisoners at the bar, falling down, in strong convulsions. He was carried out, and bled, and in about an hour, during which time the proceedings were staid, was again placed at the bar in a chair. About two minutes he appeared as though he was asleep, with his head inclined against Crowder, who sat next him. Some cordials were administered to him, and the opinion of Mr. Palmer and Dr. Frere taken, as to whether he was able to take his trial, and make his defence. The latter gentleman was sworn, and stated that the prisoner, Caldwell, had been in a state of convulsion, arising from agitation of mind, which had extended to a state of insensibility. It was probable that at intervals he might be able to attend to what was going forward, but the convulsions were likely to return, and be followed by a state of syncope. It was possible that he might not be able to take his trial any better at a future day, for the same circumstances might produce the same effect.

Caldwell was ordered to be taken away from the bar and the trial of the other prisoners to be proceeded in.

The examination of Mr Boden was then concluded.

John Asher, the man who was shot at, and Mr. Palmer, the surgeon, gave in their evidence to the Court; this was necessarily the same as that detailed in the trial of Clarke on the previous day, and there is no necessity of a repetition of it.

John Blackborne, was examined by Mr. Sergeant Vaughan, as on the day before, and deposed much to the same purport.

William Burton deposed that in June last he worked at Arnold. On Sunday the 23d of that month, he went to see his parents at Old Basford, where he saw William Towle, who asked him if he had any notion of making one in a bit of a job. Witness asked him what sort of a job it was, he told him it was the same as that done at Radford. Witness asked where it was to be, but Towle would not tell him; he asked him when it was to take place, and Towle said on the Friday following, about thirteen or fourteen miles from Nottingham. Witness said he had not money enough to take him so far and back again, but Towle told there would be 5l. a man and all expenses paid. Witness said as he had never been in any thing of the sort, he did not care if he did go. Towle asked him where he might get another, he answered he might take some of them that were at Radford with him, Diggle, or Barker, or Henfrey. He said he did not like to take Diggle or Henfrey, because they drank the money for the Radford job in the middle of the week, and that led to suspicion; and as to the other, he was apprentice, and his master and him might fall out if he were away so long. Just then witness saw Watson coming up, and said, there's Watson yonder, he has been a soldier, and perhaps he'll stand. When Watson came up to them, Towle asked him if he had any objection to make one in a bit of a job. Watson said no, and asked what it was, at the same time offering to find another man if he wanted him. Towle said he did not want another; it was not going to be a poaching, nor nothing of that kind. Witness told him no, it was a very serious job, and not to be laughed at. Towle added that it was using a bit of a hammer. Watson agreed to go and they parted, but they were to meet again on the Thursday night following. Witness got to Basford about dark hour on Thursday evening, and saw William Towle, and they appointed to meet the next morning in Damme's meadow, between five and six o'clock. He went there accordingly, and saw Watson and Towle, when the latter informed them both that the job was to be done at Loughborough. The three went down the larkdale and met a man whom witness did not know, but he seemed to know Towle, and gave him four pistols. Witness does not know that he has ever seen the man since. They went to the Peach Tree public house, but it was not open. Hill, Mitchel, Amos, Crowder, and Slater joined them. They all went down Shaw's-lane together. Soon after the Peach Tree was opened, and they all went in. Himself, Wm. Towle, Watson, Hill, Mitchel, Amos, Crowder, Slater, and C. Blackborne were present, and they had some ale and penny bread and bacon. The landlady, landlord, and servant waited. Witness, Towle, Watson, Mitchel, and C. Blackborne went out, intending to go by the coach to Loughborough. They went some place under the Long-row, he did not know what the place was called, the coach was just going, and none went by it. They then went to the White Lion, but that coach was just gone. They went back to the Peach Tree, and it was agreed that some of them should walk, and others go by the coach. Witness, W. Towle, C. Blackborne, and Watson were to walk. Witness and Watson went one way, and Blackborne and Towle another; they were to meet at the canal bridge. Those left at the Peach Tree, to come by the coach in the afternoon, were Slater, Hill, Amos, Crowder, and Mitchel. They joined together at the canal bridge, and after having passed the Trent, they went along the fields, when Towle produced two large

pistols, which were loaded with black cartridges, and fired them off. C. Blackborne put on Towle's great coat, for he had a blue waistcoat and sleeves on, and he was afraid without that was covered he might be suspected. Blackborne put the pistols into the inside pockets of the great coat. Towle had a corduroy jacket and pantaloons on. Witness had a velveteen jacket and corduroy breeches. Blackborne said it would not do to be altogether; he therefore gave witness and Watson 5s. and they divided two and two. Blackborne and Towle went first, and they were to join again at Bunny. He and Watson got there first, and called for some ale and cheese, and while there the other two came. When they left that place, Towle said he Blackborne were old hands, and the others were young ones, and therefore they would divide differently, Towle and he went together, and Blackborne took Watson. They were to join again at Hoton. They went to the Bell, at Hoton, he and Towle got there first, and called for something to drink; in about ten minutes the other two came. They did not claim acquaintance just then, but appeared to be strangers. Watson had a smock frock on. A man of the name of Spencer, a gardener, was there, and there was a disturbance between him and his wife; he had been out all week drinking, and she wanted him to go home. They all sung, but had not joined parties then. Towle sung a song, the chorus of which was—

"Damn such laws, and so say I."

A skinner came in, and had a biggish rough dog with him, which was taken a good deal of notice of. Towle complained that he had had nothing to eat that day, and he wanted something. The skinner replied, the landlord was a butcher, and they might have something he dare say. Some mutton chops were therefore ordered and cooked. Towle said to Blackborne and Watson, you may as well join us, we are all on the tramp, and we'll go together. Upon this they all joined at the mutton chops. They staid four or five hours, and all went away together. This was about half past four o'clock, they went on the road to Loughborough. As they were going, a coach passed them, of which were Hill and Mitchell, coming from Nottingham. When the coach first appeared in sight, Blackborne and Towle went over a gate into a close, but when it was gone they came out again, and altogether went forwards to Loughborough. When they drew near, one person in a green coat met them, whom we did not know, but the man knew Towle and Blackborne, and turned back with them. Witness and Towle went to the Seven Stars, the man in a green coat went with them, drank once and then went away; several other persons were drinking in the room at the time. Blackborne and Watson came to the Seven Stars in about two hours; it was a hot day; they drank by themselves apart. C. Blackborne kept his top coat buttoned on purpose that persons might not see his pistols, for he said he was afraid the people of Hoton had seen them. They sung at this house, Towle sung the same song as at Hoton. It was about six o'clock when they got there, and they staid till ten, when the landlord wished them to go, as he made a common rule to shut up his house at that hour. They accordingly left the house, and strolled about the town, and loaded the pistols with powder and ball; there were four pistols, Towle loaded one, Blackborne another, and Watson another; did not know who loaded the fourth, but all four were loaded. None of them went to any other public house. C. Blackborne said they were to have gone to the Pack Horse, to have lighted on some more chaps there, but they did not go.—They met with a man who knew Blackborne, and took them up two or three streets, and shewed them the road to the factory. They went into a lane near the factory, and found some of the party, and were soon joined by more to the number of seventeen. The witness then went through the circumstances of the case from that period till they separated after crossing Aram's ferry, nearly in the same words as on the day before.

And Woodward, Thomas Seymour, Ann Blatherwick, Mary Sanson, John Handford, appeared separately in the witness box. For their evidence, see Clarke's trial.

John Keighley keeps the Peach Tree public-house at Nottingham. On the morning before the destruction of the frames in Heathcoate's factory last summer, a number of persons came to his house in company, about five or six o'clock. Slater was one of the party he has no doubt; believes he has never seen the man since. They had some penny bread and bacon, or cheese, perhaps they had both. They drank all out of one tankard.

John Allsopp lives at Hoton, is a butcher now, but at the time of the breaking of the frames at Heathcoate's factory, he kept the sign of the Bell. About half past two o'clock in the afternoon of that day, two men came into his house, and called for a cup of ale, one of them had a pair of trowsers on, and a sleeve waistcoat or fustain, or what they call velveteen; the other had a corduroy jacket on. In about ten minutes, two more men came in, one had a blue smock frock and a furred hat, the other had a big coat on. They drank separately, and he did not think they knew each other at first. In a little time they joined company. They asked for a mutton chop, it was cooked for them and they ate it. Young, a fellmonger or skinner was in the house, as well as Spencer, a gardener, Spencer's wife came in, and jarred with her husband, because he had been drinking. Witness asked the men where they were going, and they said they were stocking-makers seeking work. In consequence of something said to him by Young, he went to one side of the house, and looked at the man with the big coat, and he had a pistol in his pocket: he went on the contrary side of the room, and saw another pistol in the other inside pocket; soon after he buttoned up his coat, so that witness could not see the pistols. The two men that came in first ordered the mutton chop; they all partook of it. The Sunday after Leicester assizes, which ended on a Saturday night, he saw two of those men coming along the road. It was Towle and Watson; he asked them how they did, and enquired of W. Towle whether he had been to Leicester, and how they have gone on at the assizes: he did not know Towle's name then Towle said he heard that a man of the name of Towle was to suffer, but he seemed to wish to avoid the conversation; they walked on sharpish, saying they wanted to get to Nottingham by six o'clock. These two men did not come into his house the night the frames were broken, together; they came in separately. Towle had a corduroy jacket and trowsers on.—Burton was shewn to witness, and he declared that he was one of the four men who came to his house that afternoon.

\_\_\_\_\_ Young, a fellmonger, remembers the frame-breaking at Loughborough, and was at the Blue Bell, at Hoton, the afternoon previous thereto. Four men were there, and a gardener, who had an altercation with his wife. This witness pointed out Towle and Watson from amongst the prisoners, as being two of the four men. They sat in different parts of the house, and appeared to be strangers to each other. Watson had a blue smock frock on, and one of them, whom he did not see amongst the prisoners, had a large great coat, which was unbuttoned and he observed a pistol in each inside pocket. One pistol was with the muzzle upwards, the other downwards. Witness pointed this circumstance out to the landlord, and after he had been into the room to view them, the man buttoned up his coat. This witness identified Burton as having been Towle's companion at that time. He had a large dog within which was much noticed. Towle sung a song, and some part of it was in these words "Damn such laws, and so say I."

Henry Staples kept the Seven Stars, at Loughborough, in June last. About half past five o'clock on the night when Heathcoat's factory was demolished, four strangers came into his house. One had a light coloured top coat on; another a velveteen jacket and corded small clothes, the third had a smock frock on, and the fourth and

jacket and trowsers. The man with the great coat on, kept it buttoned all the time, though it was a hot day. They sung, and one of their songs had a chorus "Damn such laws, and so say I." They went away about half past nine, in consequence of his telling them that he made a point of closing his house at ten o'clock.

Jane Tyler, whose husband keeps the White Lion, in Loughborough, proved the same circumstances as on Clarke's trial.

Richard Woolley is a soldier in the 3d or King's Dragoons. He saw Hudson and Disney together in Loughborough, on Thursday. Hudson goes by the name of Aaron Daykin, but Hudson is his proper name. Witness spoke to him in the street, but as he did not answer, supposed he did not hear him. The same afternoon about three o'clock, he saw these two, and another man (Blackborne) at Tyler's. In the course of an hour, some man brought some beef-steaks on a scower, and desired they might be cooked, there was about six pounds of them, and Mrs. Tyler cooked a part. Witness assisted in cooking and taking in the things, and was invited to partake, he did so; there were four men present, Sheepshead Jack, Hudson, Blackborne, and another. Some of them went out without eating any of the meat, none of them slept there that night, but next morning, about six o'clock, Disney and Hudson came, and they along with witness, finished them.

George Wilson, was employed by Mr. Hadderley, who occupies a small quarry at Mountsorrel. On the night previous to the breaking of Messrs Heathcoat and Boden's frames, he lost some tools from the quarry; three hammers, one 30lb. one about ten, and the other smaller; an iron bar, four feet long, was also missing.

Thomas Phipps was a labourer employed on the road between Loughborough and Mountsorrel. On Friday he found the above tools in a ditch amongst some nettles and weeds; he lodged them at the turnpike house, where they were afterwards claimed by Mr. Hadderley.

George Hutchinson, the landlord of the Duke of York, in Loughborough, proved that Savidge, Mitchell, and Blackborne frequently came to his house during the few days previous to the breaking of his Heathcoat's frames.

Isaac Beeby, Charles Young, and John North, gave a testimony the same in substance as that on Clarke's trial.

Ann Mackay lived in Mill-street, in Loughborough, near the factory at the time the machines were broken; the house in which she lived joins the factory. Hearing a noise and the talking of men, she was induced to go out of her house to see what was the matter; her husband was employed at the factory. As she was proceeding to the factory, one man came up, and clapped a pistol to her head, and then another man with a pistol on the other side; they soon delivered her into the custody of somebody else, whom she swore to as being Savidge.—He had an handkerchief on his face but it fell off several times; she was in fear for her life every moment. Mitchell and Crowder were there; they came up to shake hands with her before she was set at liberty.

On cross-examination she said she did not see Mitchell and Crowder above a minute; she cannot tell whether it was a moon light night or not, but yet she can swear to them.

Benjamin Silvester, William Walton, and Thomas Foreman, gave the same evidence concerning the musket as on the former trial.

Joseph Shepherd was also placed in the witness box to repeat his testimony.

John Bowering was in the service of Wethering and Co. at Derby, and proved that Withers purchased a pair of pistols of him, for 30s. on the 25th of June last.

James Lawson, a constable of Nottingham, saw Crowder on the morning after the attack on the factory, asleep, and apparently very dirty and fatigued, at the Goat in the Meadow-platts.

Benjamin Barns met Cordwell on Lenton sands a little after seven o'clock on Saturday morning. Soon after he met Mitchell, and in a while after met James Towle.

This closed the case for the prosecution, and

Mr. Balguy renewed his legal objection, and stated it at considerable length, Mr. Denman followed on the same side.

Sergeant Vaughan was going to reply, but the Learned Judge over-ruled it. The prisoners were then called upon for their defence.

Thomas Savidge addressed the Court, but did not attempt to deny his participation in this transaction. He particularly urged on the attention of the jury the characters of Blackborne and Barker; and told them he had a wife and six children. If they decided according to their consciences, and in the sight of God, he should be satisfied.

William Towle said he was not capable of saying any thing.

John Crowder dwelt on the characters of the two men brought as evidences against them; he had a wife and five children.

John Amos—"I have nothing to say, my Lord."

William Withers, have you anything to say your defence? "No, my Lord."

James Watson—"I have nothing to say, my Lord."

A number of witnesses were called, who bore testimony to the general good character of the prisoners.

His Lordship employed full two hours in summing up the evidence and giving his charge to the Jury, who without hesitation, returned a verdict of *guilty* against all the prisoners.

John Clarke was brought up and placed beside them, and Sir Richard passed the awful sentence of death upon the eight prisoners, in very impressive terms.

John Slater was then put to the bar, and pleaded *guilty* to an indictment for frame breaking. There was an indictment for a capital offence, to which he pleaded *not guilty*, and the Counsel for the Crown declined offering any evidence, and of course he was acquitted of that charge. For the crime of frame breaking, his Lordship ordered him to be transported for life.

Samuel Caldwell was once more brought to the bar, but Dr. Frere pronounced that he was absolutely insensible, and the Jury were discharged without giving any verdict in his case. He is remanded to prison till the next assizes.

Before Sir Richard Richards left the town, he was pleased to reprieve two of the unhappy men, Clarke and Watson; the other six, Savidge, Withers, Mitchell, Towle, Amos, and Crowder, are left execution, on the 14th instant.