TULLE

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The Journal of Australian Society of the Lacemakers of Calais Inc.

Australian Society of the Lacemakers of Calais Inc.

Meeting Times & Place:

ASLC meets at Don Bank Cottage, 6 Napier Street, North Sydney, NSW, on the third Saturday in February (AGM), May, August & November each year. All meetings commence at 1.00pm. You are invited to bring a plate to share with other members at afternoon tea and fellowship which follows.

Future Meetings: Saturday, 16 May 2015

Saturday, 15 August 2015

Mrs Carolyn Broadhead

Saturday, 21 November 2015 AGM Saturday, 20 February 2016

Find Us on the Internet: www.angelfire.com/al/aslc

Want to Join or Membership Contact The Hon. Secretary

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Cover: Joseph Marie Jacquard, who recognized that although weaving was intricate, it was repetitive, and who saw that a mechanism could be developed for the production of sophisticated patterns just as it had been done for the production of simple patterns. Rear: ASLC Office Bearers 1982 – 2015.

This Coming Meeting: Saturday, 16 May 2015, 1.00pm

Guest Speaker Gillian Kelly, our Research Officer, will tell some of

the stories of the "unknown" Harpley families. She

will also share with us what documents and

information she has in the society research archives.

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President's Message

It is an absolute pleasure to be writing this message to you.

As a relatively new member, I was saddened when reading that serious consideration to winding up the Society was happening. So, I attended the AGM and was encouraged that so many members were there and appeared to want to see ASLC continue too. After a lengthy discussion on the options for the future of ASLC, including immediate winding up, gradual winding up or a continuation I agreed to nominate as the President so that together we can explore our future through 2015 and hopefully beyond.

Thank you to the other Executive Committee members, Carolyn, Robbie and Richard, who agreed to continue for another year. We also welcome Jim Longmire to the role of Assistant Editor of *Tulle*.

I would like to acknowledge Stephen Black's service as the President over the past four years. He has done a wonderful job in bringing new ideas to our Society whilst retaining the values that our members hold dear. My aim is to continue that work with all your support. Growing our Society, particularly through enticing the next generation to get involved, will be one of my personal goals for this year.

Now for a little bit about me and how I came to be a member of our Society. My lacemaker families arrived on the *Agincourt*. The Foster family, James and Mary Ann and their eight children, went westward to Bathurst, whilst the Moon/Asling families went north to Maitland. A piece about them was published in *Tulle* last August.

I live in Canberra, with my husband Chris and two young sons, Hayden (6) and Alexander (2). I am a very busy stay at home mum and am fortunate that Chris and the boys put up with all my volunteer activities that keep my brain active. As well as being an avid family history researcher, I also volunteer for and lead local groups of the Australian Breastfeeding Association, hold the

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role of secretary on the school P&C and am a member of the School Operating Board. In my spare time, I enjoy handcrafts like patchwork, sewing, knitting and crochet (no lacemaking ... yet!)

I look forward to meeting you at a meeting or Society event in the near future. If you would like to discuss or share your ideas on how we sustain and grow the Society I would love to hear from you.

Megan Fox President



Figure 1: (cw) Our new President, Megan Fox, with her husband, Chris and their sons, Hayden and Alexander.

Secretary's Report

We began our year with the AGM. There was great concern around the continuation of our Society in the absence of a President nominee. However to our great relief not only do we have a new President, Megan Fox, we also have an Assistant Editor, Jim Longmire to support Richard. Our Society continues and we are very grateful to these two wonderful people who have stepped up with their support.

We thank Stephen Black for his time as our President. We have a new Constitution, and wonderful memories of the talented, informative speakers he was able to bring us. Thank you Stephen.

However, start thinking about next year now, as we will need a new Secretary, Treasurer and Editor in 2016/17.

Prior to the Election of Officers a very fruitful discussion centred on the future directions for Lacemakers. Discussions were had around the Website and its need for rejuvenation; to how we could use Facebook to safely spread our message more widely. These are matters for future discussion.

Our new President commenced the General Meeting talking of her love for Family History. We look forward to sharing our mutual enjoyment of this topic. We are hoping during the year to hear member's stories, hear more from our resident Research Officer, Gillian Kelly, and an interesting presentation by Elizabeth Bolton about the history of Women in the NSW Police force. Keep reading *Tulle* for more information.

We look forward to input from all of our members about ideas for meetings, ways to spread our message to young people and ways to keep the Australian Society of the Lacemakers of Calais bubbling along for years to come.

Carolyn Broadhead Secretary

Editor's Comment

As your recently re-elected Editor, I thank the members of the Society for their apparent faith in leaving my hands on the tiller of *Tulle* for yet another year. I intend making your copies of *Tulle* as full and as interesting as I am able for my remaining issues as Editor.

As the Editor of *Tulle* since issue 99 (May 2008), I have learnt a huge amount about our ancestors and their lives and this I have tried to share with you through the pages of our journal. However, I give notice that this will be my last appointment. It is certainly time for a fresh face in this role and I will be stepping down from the Editorship, a job I have enjoyed immensely, at the AGM next February. I had intended doing so at the last AGM but thought it best to wait a year following Stephen Black's resignation from the role of President. I am grateful that Jim Longmire has agreed to become Assistant Editor and it is anticipated that he will take over the editorial reins at our next AGM.

I would like to thank the outgoing President, Stephen Black, whose distinguished service to the Society ended at our AGM in February 2015. His contribution as President has been remarkable. Not only has he supervised our direction with considerable patience, undoubted wisdom, extraordinary eloquence and great intelligence, but also I believe he has been instrumental in attracting new members to our Society through his maintenance of equally patient, wise, eloquent and intelligent guest speakers. Likewise, I welcome Megan Fox as our new President.

My special thanks also go to the other committee members, Mrs Robin Gordon and Mrs Carolyn Broadhead. Robbie and Carolyn have both been towers of strength to our Society in various roles over the years and they have been a delight to work with.

I think that it is quite amazing that in the thirty-three years in which the Society has existed and developed, there have been only three principal Editors: Claire Loneragan (with assistance from Marjorie Brown), Gillian Kelly and myself. We have all presented a slightly different facet of the fascinating story of the lacemakers and it will be up to Jim Longmire, hopefully our next Editor, to find yet another face. I can not only assure you dear reader, but also Jim, that there are still a lot of stories waiting to be told. Jim can count on my assistance (if he requires it) to see that those stories are brought to your attention.

Richard Jander Editor

Tace Panels in Australia commemorating the Battle of Britain of 1940

2015 marks seventy five years since the Battle of Britain. This was an air battle fought over the east and south east of England and over the English Channel in the summer and autumn of 1940. Airmen of all the Commonwealth countries, including Australia, fought in the battle in an attempt to rid the skies of German planes. Many sacrificed their lives to keep Britain safe from invasion and to stop the daylight raids on London. At the end of the Second World War it was decided to commemorate the Battle of Britain, and the Blitz of London, in machine-made lace – and the idea for the Battle of Britain panel was born.

The panel took four years, from 1942 to 1946, to design and produce. It was made by the curtain lace makers Dobson and M. Browne and Company Limited. Although only the firm's chief designer, Harry Cross, and the chief draughtsmen, J W Herold and W. J. Jackson, are the skilled craftsmen named at the top of the panel, it would appear that everyone in the firm was involved and a team of about eight draughtsmen toiled on the task of translating Cross's intricate design into the technical drawing and figures





needed before the pattern could be made on the lace curtain machines. Only 38 panels were made and when these were completed the pattern jacquard cards were destroyed so that no more could be produced. Dobson & Browne had curtain machines in factories in both Nottingham, (England), and in Darvel, (Scotland). Recently there have been arguments as to which country made these panels; but as the author's family has two panels. each of which is manufactured in slightly different weights of cotton yarn, it could be possible that both sides of the argument are correct and the panels were made in both countries.



The Battle of Britain lace curtain panel measures 65 inches in width (nearly 5½ feet) and 15 feet in length, and is made of ecru cotton. As the illustration shows, the panel commemorates and depicts all those who took part in the Battle of Britain and the Blitz. The badges at the top of the panel below the names of the designer and draughtsmen honour the Commonwealth Air Forces of Great Britain, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa; the Australian badge is the second one in from the right hand side, immediately to the right of the central 'RAF' badge. Down both sides of the panel are delineated in exact detail, many scenes witnessed during the bombing of London; these were copied from contemporary photographs. A number of symbolic designs complete the panel; for example the cottage and the oak tree behind and the castle in the centre of the panel were included to show that the British stood firm and that both the highest and lowest in the country suffered alike during the war.

In Britain there are a number of panels on permanent show; the one being the most accessible to visitors to the UK being in the Battle of Britain Hall at the RAF Museum in Hendon. Hendon is also the museum in which is housed a set of Harry Cross's original drawings.

After Britain, the country with the most Battle of Britain lace panels is Australia, which has four. One was donated in 1963 to the Australian War Memorial in Canberra by an agent of the Nottingham firm.

A second is displayed in a timber cabinet in the memorial alcove at the Royal Australian Air Force Association (RAAFA) Aviation Heritage Museum of Western Australia at Bull Creek. The exhibit was opened by Princess



Margaret in October 1972 and, although it is housed separately from the museum, the panel can be seen by the public.

The second panel was presented to the City of Perth in 1950 by McGuire and Robertson, the local agent for Dobsons and M Browne, with the request that it be passed on to the Western Australia branch of the RAAFA. As pubic property the council sold it to the Association for one penny in lieu of the traditional peppercorn!

The third panel was loaned by Mr H C Biddle and was originally displayed at the Finnis

Street Headquarters of the South Australian branch of the Royal Australian Air Force Association in Adelaide. Later it was transferred to the Torrens Parade Ground in that city where it is located in the ceiling.



The fourth of the Australian panels can be found at the RAAF Museum at Point Cook, Victoria to where it was moved from the Cromwell Road premises of the Victoria Branch of the RAAFA, to whom it had originally been presented.

The Battle of Britain panel was made on a lace machine that was invented only two years (in 1846) before the ancestors of the members of the Australian Society of Lace Makers of Calais left France. Therefore it would not have been a lace machine with which they

would have been familiar. Nevertheless, it is probably the most iconic and intricate panel of machine-made lace ever manufactured. The Battle of Britain lace panels are well worth looking at, both for the workmanship that went into their production, as well as their history.

Sheila Mason - our sincere thanks to Sheila for both the article and the photographs above

The Battle of Britain commemorative lace panels have also been mentioned in *Tulle*, November 2005 in an article titled "Draughtsmen – a Drying Race" by Gillian Kelly; and February, 2006 in another article by Gillian Kelly titled, "Nottingham Lace in Australia". In this latter article, Gillian provides the additional staggering statistics that "each panel took a week to produce and required 4,200 threads and the preparation of 975 bobbins for the loom. A total of 41,830 kilometres of fine Egyptian cotton went into the making of each panel...".

William Brown(e)' - Agincourt Passenger

Born 8 September 1816 at Ilkeston, DBY, ENG, William was baptised 15 October 1827 at Ilkeston. His father was John Brown(e), his mother Mary (Evans). His spouse was Lydia Elnor or Ellener whom he married on 27 August 1836 at Radford, Nottingham (NTT).

Their children were John David Brown, born 1836 in Nottingham; Mary Jane Brown, born 1838 at NTT; Elizabeth Brown, born 1841 at Calais; Lydia L Brown, born 1843, Calais; Emma¹ Evans Brown, born 1846, Calais; Emily Amelia Agincourt Brown, born 22 August 1848 at sea aboard the *Agincourt*; William George Brown, born 30



Figure 2: William Browne

March 1852, at Bathurst; Eliza Brown, born 5 June 1854 at Bathurst (NSW BDM Birth 1854 # 4109 V40); Charlotte Ann Brown, born 1855 at Bathurst; Cecelia Brown, born 12 June 1855 at Bathurst; and Frederick A Brown, born 7 May 1858 at Bathurst (NSW BDM Birth 1858 # 4560).

William and his family lived at "Boxwood", Duamana, a small village about 23 kilometres to the north of Bathurst. On his arrival in the Bathurst district he worked as the Mill Superintendent for George Rankin of "Saltram", Bathurst.

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¹ Emma presumably died in France because she was not listed as a passenger on the Agincourt.

Mr Rankin was an early pioneer of Bathurst, was prominent in Bathurst town affairs, and was a senior figure in the Presbyterian Church at the time.

In 1854-55, William Browne was a maltster and brewer at the Reliance Brewery at Peel Street, Bathurst. A "For Sale or For Let" entry in the *Sydney Morning Herald* for Saturday 31 May 1862, stated that the Reliance Brewery was capable of producing 2000 barrels of ale and porter per annum and that there was no other brewery in the district. The sole cause of its being placed on the market is "from the advanced age and increasing infirmities of the present occupant".



Figure 3: Lydia Elnor

In 1855, William helped erect a bridge over the Macquarie River at Eglinton; and in the 1860s, he managed a mill for Messrs R Cock & Sons on the corner of George & Durham Streets in Bathurst. In the 1870s, he worked at the Fish Foundry, Bathurst.

{William died at Bathurst 26 July 1893 (NSW BDM Death Index 1893 # 3148). (ed.)}

Amanda Churchill has added the following additional information: Lydia Ellener was born at Basford, Nottingham in 1811 and died at Wattle Flat near Bathurst on 21 July 1902 (NSW Death Index 1902 # 16480). Her parents were James and Mary. Amanda's link to the Browne family is through William and Lydia's daughter, Elizabeth Brown, who was born at Calais on 11 March 1843. Elizabeth married Thomas Holman at Bathurst in 1860 (NSW Marriage Index 1860 # 1215). They had three children. Thomas died at the Parramatta Asylum in 1903 (NSW Death Index 1903 # 7340). Amanda states that there must have been a divorce because on 25 May 1868, Elizabeth married

Thomas Pearce at "Boxwood". This marriage was registered at Bathurst (1868 # 1673).

Thomas Pearce and Elizabeth had four children, the last of whom was Amos Pearce, Amanda's great-grandfather. Amos married Amelia Elizabeth Poppet on 22 January 1902 at St John's Church, Parramatta. They had two children; the younger, Amelia Elizabeth Pearce (Betty) was Amanda's grandmother. Betty married Norman James Churchill on 17 February 1934 at St John's Church, Darlinghurst in Sydney. Their only child, Philip Amos Pearce, is Amanda's father.

Amanda adds: "The Kemshall family is related to my ggggrandmother Lydia Ellenor (Elnor) Browne through her sister, Mary Ellenor (Elnor). The last name, Elnor, was spelt Ellenor on Elizabeth Browne Pearce's death certificate. Elizabeth was my ggrandmother".

Amanda Churchill



More Handy Links (Kingsley Ireland)

https://probatesearch.service.gov.uk - Wills in England and Wales from 1858 on.

http://www.thephonebook.bt.com/publisha.content/en//search/residential/search.publisha?Surname=&Location=&Initial=&Street=# - the British phone book.

http://guides.slsa.sa.gov.au/content.php?pid=366485&sid=3000163 - various South Australian almanacs and directories from 1864 to 1899.

Thomas Cook

Thomas Cook is the world's best-known name in travel, thanks to the inspiration and dedication of a single man. Thomas Cook began his international travel company in 1841; with a successful, return, one-day rail excursion at a shilling a head between the two lacemaking centres of Leicester to Loughborough on 5 July that year. From these humble beginnings Thomas Cook launched a whole new kind of company – devoted to helping Britons see the world.

A month earlier, on 9 June 1841, Cook, then a 32-year old cabinet-maker, had walked from his home in Market Yarborough to the nearby town of Leicester to attend a temperance meeting. A former Baptist preacher, Cook was a religious man who believed that most Victorian social problems were related to alcohol and that the lives of working people would be greatly improved if they drank less and became better educated. As he walked along the road to Leicester, he later recalled, 'the thought suddenly flashed across my mind as to the practicability of employing the great powers of railways and locomotion for the furtherance of this social reform'.

At the temperance meeting, Cook suggested that a special train be engaged to carry the temperance supporters of Leicester to a meeting in Loughborough about four weeks later. The proposal was received with such enthusiasm that, on the following day, Thomas submitted his idea to the secretary of the Midland Railway Company. A train was subsequently arranged, and on 5 July 1841 about 500 passengers were conveyed in open carriages what was then an enormous distance of 12 miles and back for a shilling. The day was a great success and as Thomas later recorded, 'thus was struck the keynote of my excursions, and the social idea grew upon me'.

During the next three summers Thomas arranged a succession of trips between Leicester, Nottingham, Derby and Birmingham on behalf of local temperance societies and Sunday schools. Within these limits many thousands of people experienced rail travel for the first time, and Thomas was able to lay the foundations of his future business. He later described this period as one of 'enthusiastic philanthropy' since, beyond the printing of posters and handbills, he had no financial interest in any of these early excursions.

Thomas Cook's first commercial venture took place in the summer of 1845, when he organised a trip to Liverpool. This was a far more ambitious project than anything he had previously attempted, and he made his preparations with great thoroughness. Not content with simply providing tickets at low prices - 15 shillings for first-class passengers and 10 shillings for second, Thomas also investigated the route and published a handbook of the journey. This 60-page booklet was a forerunner of the modern holiday travel guides, such as the *Lonely Planet* series.

Sources:

- http://www.thomascook.com/thomas-cook-history/
- http://www.thomascookgroup.com/history/
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas Cook
- http://www.ehow.com/about_5110782_history-thomas-cook-travel.html



More Handy Links (Judy Gifford)

https://familysearch.org/search/collection/1582585 - this website provides church records for various Protestant parishes throughout certain Departments and Communes in France from 1536 until 1863. The collection includes births, marriages, and deaths. The event place field will be indexed in the future. The French Commission for Computer Records and Liberties (CNIL) does not allow publication of sensitive data more recent than 150 years.

http://parallax-viewpoint.blogspot.com.au/2014/11/harsh-times.html - if your family lived in or near Millstone Lane in Nottingham (called Sandy Lane prior to 1806), or in one of the poorer areas of the city, this blog provides a fascinating insight into the lives of those who lived there. The blog contains some interesting old photos and a link to the wonderful maps provided online by Nottingham City. If you change the default "Road Map" to "Historical" you can see maps of your chosen address in Nottingham back as early as 1875. Be patient, it takes a while to find your way around this wonderful resource.

Messrs Huntley, Jinson & Clark(e) - revisited

I am grateful to Gillian Kelly for adding to the article entitled *Joseph Clarke of the Harpley* which appeared in the February 2015 edition of *Tulle*. She discovered the following article in *The Register*, Adelaide, South Australia, Monday 27 August, 1917, p.4. Gillian states: "By my reckoning you and Kingsley are right; ... Mary Huntley was on the *Harpley* and she was Mrs. Joseph Clarke. Their daughter on board was Mary Ann. I think Joseph was the boot maker in Walkerville but in any case, he died there 29 December 1854. On 3 September 1855 Mary Ann Clarke, nee Tinson, and as a widow, married George Huntley and they lived happily ever afterwell almost! She died as Mary Ann Huntley. Mary Ann seems to have been born around 1828, Joseph in 1813, and George Huntley in 1833". *The Register* article reads as follows:

Mr. George Huntley, one of the oldest residents of Walkerville, passed away at his residence, Warwick street, last week. He was born in Horsham, County Sussex, England, on February 5, 1832, and arrived in South Australia in 1851, after a voyage lasting nine months². On arrivol here he went direct to Walkerville, where he found employment in helping to build the church where St. Andrew's now stands. He was then employed at the brewery, which was built on the main road (known now as Walkerville terrace), and owned by Messrs. White & Phillips. This establishment was afterwards burnt to the ground.

In September, 1855, Mr. Huntley married Mrs. Clark, widow of Mr. Joseph Clark, of Walkerville. On the demise of Mr. Thompson, who erected a brewery where the present Walkerville Brewery stands, and for whom Mr. Huntley worked, the latter went into partnership with Mr. A. Ball, and they purchased the Black Horse Brewery. This was in 1870, and the partnership lasted about nine years. Mr. Ball then died, and Mr. Huntley carried on the business on his own account until 1890. Subsequently he engaged in brewing successively at Wentworth, Mount Gambier, and Hyde Park. In 1856 he bought the house in Warwick street, Walkerville, where all his children were born, and where he died.

Mr. Huntley was a member of the Walkerville District Council for 30 years, and was the oldest member of the local Foresters' Lodge. During the last 20 years he had lived in retirement, and had been confined to his bed for three years prior to his death. His daughter, Mrs. Bryant, had resided with him in the old home, and devoted her time to caring for him during his long illness. Mr. Huntley was of a cheery disposition. He retained his faculties until the last. Four daughters survive — Mesdames Steel (Birkenhead), J. Henderson (Semaphore), Bryant (Walkerville), and H. G. Horrocks (Walkerville), and one son, Mr. Charles Huntley (Western Australia). There are also 16 grandchildren and four great grand-children.

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² Nine months is highly unlikely. Most mid-1800s voyages from England to Australia were around 3 months.

John Heathcoat 1783 - 1861

Much of John Heathcoat's story has been told in the pages of *Tulle* before (see caption below). This story adds a little to our knowledge of the man who did so much to technically improve the lacemaking process until his retirement in 1843.

John Heathcoat's marriage produced three daughters, the eldest of whom, Anne Heathcoat (d. 1833), married Samuel Amory, a London lawyer who acted for John Heathcoat. Their only son, Sir John Heathcoat-Amory, 1st bt. (as he became in 1876), inherited a large share of John Heathcoat & Co. but he personally did not take a great deal of interest in the business.

In retirement, John Heathcoat lived at Bolham House near Tiverton. This beautiful home remained in the family until 1962. It is now an up-market B & B and may well be worth staying at if you are visiting Tiverton (see https://bolhamhouse.webplus.net/page2.html).



Figure 4: The vault at St Peter's Church, Tiverton which contains the remains of John Heathcoat (who died 18 January 1861, aged 77), his wife Ann (died 27 November 1831, aged 54) and their last surviving daughter, Eloise, who died in 1880, aged 75). St Peter's Church dates from the 15th Century and it is a Grade 1 listed parish church. The current organ in this church dates from 1696. The church is noted as being the location of the first performance of Mendelssohn's "Wedding March" which was performed by Samuel Reay at the wedding of Dorothy Carew and Tom Daniel at the church on 2 June 1847. Major stories about Heathcoat can be found in *Tulle* editions in November 2012, *Trade Unionism in Lace Making*, p5.ff and John Heathcoat, p15.ff; August 2013 in Men of Nottingham and Nottinghamshire, p16ff; and August 2014 in Heathcoat's Factory at Tiverton, p21.ff. (From: http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/1287131)

John Heathcoat's Patent for Bobbin Lace

NOTICE is hereby given, that John Heathcoat, late of Nottingham, but now of Tiverton, in the county of Devon, lace-manufacturer, intends to present a petition in the next session of Parliament, for leave to bring in a Bill for vesting in him, his executors, administrators, and assigns, for a term of years to be limited by such Act, the sole and exclusive right, benefit, and advantage of making, using, and vending a machine by him invented for the making and manufacturing of bobbin lace, or lace nearly resembling foreign lace, for the exclusive right to use, make, and vend which, he, the said John Heathcoat, obtained His late Majesty's letters patent, bearing date the 20th day of March, in the forty-ninth year of His said late Majesty's reign, for the term of fourteen years from the date of the said letters patent; and also for vesting in him, the said John Heathcoat, his executors, administrators, and assigns, the like sole and exclusive right, benefit, and advantage for a term of years to be limited by such Act, of making, using, and vending certain improvements on and additions to his, the said John Heathcoat's, said machine, and for the exclusive right to make, use, and vend which improvements and additions be, the said John Heathcoat, obtained His Majesty's letters patent, bearing date the 29th day of March, in the fifty-third year of His said late Majesty's reign, for the term of fourteen years from the date of the said last-mentioned patent.

Philpot and Stone, Agents to the said John Heathcoat, Southampton-street, Bloomsbury.

This notice was printed in:

The London Gazette, 27 August 1822, 21 September 1822 and 28 September 1822; & Edinburgh Gazette, 10 September 1822 and 24 September 1822.

THE SOCIETY WISHES JOAN LATTER A VERY HAPPY 90TH BIRTHDAY.

CONGRATULATIONS AND WARM REGARDS FROM US ALL, JOAN.

JOAN IS AN ESTEEMED MEMBER OF THE BROMHEAD FAMILY AND A FOUNDATION
MEMBER OF OUR SOCIETY.

Population of Nottingham and its Suburbs

Area Census Yr.	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841
Nottingham and Limits of the Castle	28,861	34,363	40,505	50,727	52,922
Lenton	893	-	1,240	3,077	4,467
Radford	2,269	3,446	4,806	9,806	10,817
Sneinton	558	967	1,212	3,567	7,079
Arnold	2,768	-	-	4,054	4,509
Beeston	-	-	1,534	2,468	2,807
Basford	2,124	-		6,305	8,688
Gedling, Carlton and Stoke Bardolph	-	-	-	2,343	2,642
Wilford	-	-	-	-	569
Bridgford, West	-	-	-		332
Ruddington	868	-	-	1,428	1,835
Stapleford	748	-	-	1,535	1,837
Bramcote	-	-	-	562	732
Bulwell	-	-		2,611	3,157
TOTALS	39,089	38,776	49,297	88,483	102,393

The figures above are from *The History and Directory of the Town and County of the Town of Nottingham* by Stephen Glover and published in Nottingham in 1844. Glover's addition for 1841 was shown as 102,493 so either the total or one or more of his individual population figures was out by a margin of 100. Nevertheless, the population of the city almost doubled in the forty years between 1810 and 1841 and that of the city and its suburbs increased by more than 2% times.

Glover (p.7) states that "the increase would have been three-fold, if the one thousand six hundred acres of burgess pasture lands which nearly encompass the town could have been sold or leased for building purposes. These free pastures have prevented the further extension of the town, otherwise Nottingham would in all probability have at this time numbered one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants. Within the last twenty-five years, almost every vacant piece of ground in the town, that was suitable and available for the erection of houses and manufactories, has been sold at a high price and built upon; between 1821 and 1831, the number of houses increased three thousand six hundred and twenty-two; between 1831 and 1841, the increase has not been so great, in consequence of the inhabitants having been driven for the want of

suitable sites, into the neighbouring parishes, in several of which population and buildings have increased more than four-fold since 1801. The parishes most increased are Radford, Basford, Lenton, and Sneinton; so that within a circle of four miles, in 1841, we can number one hundred and two thousand four hundred and ninety-three inhabitants, as will be seen on referring to the table of population.

Much of this increase has arisen from the introduction, improvement, and great extension of the lace manufacture which has far outstripped in importance the hosiery branch, so many years the staple trad of the town. The great increase in the population, the spirit of enterprise, the immense capital employed, the superiority of mechanical skill, all tend to the growing prosperity of this great manufacturing and commercial town.

The town of Nottingham at the present time has a modern appearance, owing to there being 9,470 houses built within the last sixty-five years. The total number of houses in 1841 was 12,661 of which number 705 were unoccupied.

The principal lace and hosiery warehouses are in Castle Gate, Hounds Gate, High Pavement, Stoney Street, St Mary's Gate, Warser Gate, Fletcher Gate, George Street, Clinton Street, Climber Street, Parliament Street, Angel Row, Wheeler Gate, Friar Lane, Mount Street, Park Row, Spaniel Row, &c. The houses are generally four stories high.

The Markets are well supplied with corn, butchers' meat, poultry, game, fish, bacon, cheese, butter, eggs, fruit, vegetables, and innumerable articles of manufacture. The Smithfield Market is held on Wednesday, in the spacious Market Place, when there is generally a supply of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty head of cattle, and from six hundred to one thousand store and fat sheep. The principal swine market is held in Parliament Street on Saturdays.

The market is well supplied with fruit and vegetables, which would be very reasonable, but for the regular organised system of fore-stalling, established by the green-grocers who have stalls in the market daily. They buy up everything worth buying, as soon as it is brought into the market by the country people and market-gardeners, and immediately the fruits and vegetables are delivered at their stalls, they lay on an addition of from twenty to thirty per cent, which the inhabitants are obliged to pay. This is a subject of daily complaint".

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Nottingham observations in 1868

Nottingham (Hotels: George; Maypole: neither of them first-rate), the chief place for the manufacture of lace and hosiery in England. It is an important town, containing, with its suburbs, 118,000 inhabitants nearly in the centre of England, seated on a rocky height a little to the N. of the Trent and overlooking its rich valley.

The town has scarcely any fine streets; most of them are narrow; and from its sloping site many of the houses rise tier upon tier one behind the other; this slope faces the S., Nottingham being sheltered from the N. by a range of high ground separating it from the district of Sherwood Forest, which in old times "supplied it with great store of wood for fire (though many burn pit-coal, (the smell whereof is offensive), while, on the other side, the Trent serves it with fish very plentifully".

The lower portion is watered by the Lene (sic), which runs from the N., and soon joins the Trent.

One of the most characteristic features of Nottingham is the Marketplace, considered to be the largest in the kingdom, an open area of 51 acres, nearly in the form of an acute-angled triangle, terminated at one end by the Exchange (a plain matter-of-fact building, without any pretensions), almost surrounded by houses resting on wooden colonnades. The scene on market evenings is very curious, the whole of this large space being covered with stalls of every description, in which goods at a low price are exposed for sale.

The Castle, occupying the summit of a precipitous ruck, at the foot of which flows the Lene (sic), and projecting above the town and plain of the Trent, is a modern edifice, built by the first Duke of Newcastle in 1679, whose mutilated equestrian statue remains above the door; it is said to have been designed by Sir Christopher Wren, and is of a heavy Italian style of architecture. Now it is a mere roofless shell and ruin, gutted and blackened by fire, its massive walls cracked and fissured, having been burnt down by the mob during the riots in

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October, 1831, because its owner, the Duke of Newcastle, had distinguished himself by his opposition to the Reform Bill. The sum of £21,000 was paid by the hundred to the Duke as compensation. It well deserves a visit, on account of the beautiful view which its terrace commands over the plain of Trent, the river appearing here and there in its windings, the town, the canal, and railway close at hand, the groves of Clifton beyond it, and in the distance the Castle of Belvoir and Hall of Wollaton.

This modern building superseded the ancient castle built by William the Conqueror, and conferred by him on his natural son William Peverel.

Nottingham Castle, standing near the centre of the kingdom, was for many ages one of the most important fortresses in England, and was the scene of many momentous historical events. David, King of Scotland, was imprisoned in its dungeons, some of which very likely still exist in the extensive vaults and cellars cut out of the rock running underneath the building. The platform on which it stands is undermined with excavations extending in all directions, and it is probable that Mortimer's Hole, which is 107 yards deep, afforded direct communication from the castle with the corn-mill and brew house on the river below; and that it was closed by several gates, and lighted by loopholes, through which arrows or firearms might be discharged. It is also probable that the real secret passage through which young Edward entered the castle is to be sought among them. Richard made his head-quarters here before the battle of Bosworth. The old fortress was rendered untenable by Oliver Cromwell, and nothing remains of it except the outer gateway, flanked by truncated towers, and the walls. On the slope of the hill above the castle, between it and the old Infirmary, on the spot where is now the street called Standard Hill, King Charles I first unfurled the royal standard in 1642, having previously summoned all good subjects able to bear arms to attend.

The new red sandstone rock on which the town and castle stand, stretching W. in the form of a low cliff along the canal through the park, is of a soft texture, easily cut, and has in consequence been perforated in very early times with caves, used as cellars and storehouses, while some of them still serve for human habitations. Such caves were probably the most ancient dwellings on

this spot, and gave rise to the establishment of the town. "The name of Nottingham is nothing but a soft contraction of the Saxon word Snottengaham, so called by the Saxons from the caves and passages underground, which the ancients for their retreat and habitation mined under the steep rocks of the south parts, toward the river Lind, whence it is that assertion renders the Saxon word Snotteng-ham, speluncarum domum, and in the British language it is 'tui ogo hanc,' which signifies the same thing, viz. 'The House of Dens.'"—Deering.

The Rock Holes, vulgarly called Papist Holes, in the park to the W. of the castle, are a series of such cavities, undoubtedly once used as dwellings. There are traces of stairs, of a chapel, of mortise-holes for timbers, designed to form what is called a "lean-to roof," and one chamber is penetrated with small pigeon-holes, in order to serve as a dovecot.

Sneinton Hermitage, in the eastern suburb of that name, is a low cliff of sandstone facing the Trent, pierced and excavated to form chambers for the houses built against the side of the rock. Some of them are very old, and many have neat hanging gardens on the shelves of the rock. Here are tea-gardens, much resorted to by the operatives in the summer time. The park, in which the Rock Holes are situated, was originally attached to the castle; it is now a mere open green space of common land, upon which the cows of the townsfolk are sent out to graze. It is nearly surrounded by buildings, among which are the barracks and many neat villas. Along the side, a fine terrace has sprung up.

A Nunnery, occupied by six Sisters of Charity, was established in 1844, in Upper Parliament-street.

The People's College, an institution for the education of the working classes, a Tudor edifice, was opened 1847. The Post-office is in St. Peter's Gate. The Bridge, like many of the Trent bridges, is long, and consists of 19 arches, in addition to a causeway, and an embankment to protect the lower part of the town from floods, which have at different times, and particularly in 1795, committed fearful havoc in the neighbourhood of the river.

There are several hospitals; such as the Plumtree, Collins, and Labray, for decayed citizens; the General Hospital, two lunatic asylums, and the Midland Institution for the Blind. The visitor should not leave Nottingham without seeing the Arboretum, a beautifully laid-out ground of 17 acres; the Cemetery, in which there are caves; and the children's Playing-ground.

The manufactures of Nottingham, which are promoted by the existence of coal at a distance of less than 2 m. (ed: miles), consist of hosiery, silk, cotton, woollen, and lace. The Rev. William Lee, the inventor of the stocking frame (1589), to which Nottingham owes so much of its wealth, was a native of Woodborough, in this county. It is said that the discovery was due to the fact that he was paying his addresses to a lady who devoted more of her time to her knitting than to listening to him; in revenge for which he determined to produce an instrument which should do away with the necessity of working by hand. In this, he succeeded; but was so carried away by his invention that he devoted himself wholly to it, and applied to Queen Elizabeth for a monopoly of making stockings. Her Majesty declined to give one, except in the matter of silk stockings. Lee, therefore, carried his process abroad, where, after alternate successes and failures, he died of a broken heart. In the town and its vicinity there are many manufactories of hosiery, machine lace, bobbins and their carriages, machinery, and warehouses for lace-dressing. The stranger at Nottingham should not neglect to see the process of making bobbin-net, "which may be said to surpass most other branches of mechanical ingenuity in the complexity of its machinery; one of Fisher's spotting-frames being as much beyond the most curious chronometer in multiplicity of device, as that is beyond a common roasting-jack."—Dr. Ure. A bobbin-net machine consists of perhaps 10,000 pieces, bobbins and carriages. These machines have almost entirely superseded hand-made lace.

The Jacquard machine was applied to the bobbin-net machine in 1825, but, as far as producing patterns, "progressed slowly till 1841, when a plan was discovered by Mr. Hooton Deveril for applying the Jacquard to the guide-bars; and so rapid has been the adoption of this method since that time, that at the present period there is scarcely a fancy machine at work without it, either to

the bars or along the machine." The process of "gassing lace" when made, in order to burn away the loose fibres, is also well worth seeing, the lace being passed over a series of gas flames, so as to singe away the filaments without injuring the net. Many thousand young girls receive employment (often badly paid) as lace "menders" and dressers, in starching and folding the lace.

Nottingham was once famous for the skill of its workers in iron, who resided in Girdlesgate (now Pelham Street) and Bridlesmith Gate.

"The first cotton-mill erected in the world was built between Hockley and Woolpack-lane, 1769, by Richard Arkwright, who removed hither from Lancashire with his throstle³ and spinning-jenny. It was burnt down a few years after, but the present Hockley Mill occupies its site."— White.

Henry Kirke White, the promising young poet and student, cut off before his genius had arrived at maturity, was born here 1785, the son of a respectable butcher. The Rev. Gilbert Wakefield, so distinguished as a classical scholar, was also a native of Nottingham. Marshal Tallard and other French officers. taken prisoners at the battle of Blenheim, resided on parole at a house in Castle Gate, where they amused themselves with gardening. A good view is obtained of Nottingham and the castle from the meadows to the S. of the town, and especially from Trent Bridge, 1 m. on the Melton-road. Within a few years several industrious suburbs have rapidly risen on the outskirts of Nottingham, and are occupied chiefly by lace-makers and hosiers; on the W. Old and New Radford and Lenton, and on the E. Old and New Sneinton. The town is, fortunately for sanitary purposes, surrounded by a belt of ground, known as Lammas Lands⁴, which cannot be built upon; and this is the reason why the thickly populated villages have arisen outside the town. On the road to Mansfield, about 11 m., is Garrington, whence its noble owner takes his title. Adjoining it is Mapperlev House (C. A. Wright, Esg.)

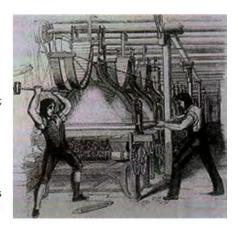
³ A machine for continuously spinning wool or cotton.

⁴ Lammas Lands were a type of common land which entitled commoners (i.e. a person who has a right in, or over, common land jointly with another or others) to pasture following the harvest, between Lammas day, 12 August (New Style date), to 6 April, even if they did not have other rights to the land. Such rights sometimes had the effect of preventing enclosure and building development on agricultural land.

Juddism

Two-hundred years ago, Nottingham was in the midst of an unsettled period now known as Luddism. This time was marked by general civil disorder and great social, economic and political upheaval in many parts of Britain and groups similar to the Luddites developed to vent their spleen. For example, the *Ribbonmen* (the Irish movement against landlords, especially Orange landlords); *Whiteboys* (another Irish group but one which used violent tactics

to defend tenant farmer land rights for subsistence farming); Fenians (yet another Irish group – this one dedicated to the establishment of an independent Irish Republic); Chartists (a working-class movement for political reform in Britain); and Rebecca's Daughters (a series of protests undertaken by local farmers and agricultural workers in Wales in response to



perceived unfair taxation) - all protested in one form or another against the oppressive conditions which they perceived as prevailing in their homelands.

Many of the major changes were the direct result of the French Wars while others came from natural growth and change.

The term 'Luddite' appeared for the first time in *Tulle* in Issue 4 (June 1983). In reporting on Elizabeth Simpson's speech to our Society, Claire Loneragan wrote: "We heard of the mysterious Luddites who resorted to machine breaking in their frustration. Later the trade union movement was formed so

that organized labour could more peacefully counteract the excesses of organized capitalism. But the town was still rowdy with food and political riots. Democratic reform was often supported by a bit of arson."

By *Tulle*, Issue 6 (February 1984), Marjorie Brown had written a complete page on the Luddites. In Issue 42 (January 1994), I offered my own research. There have been many other mentions of Luddism in *Tulle* over the years and references to major articles on it can be found at the end of this article.

My 1994 article (with some minor rewording) stated:

In English history, the term Luddite refers to those textile workers who were opposed to mechanisation and who organised machine breaking between 1811 and 1816, especially in the midlands and north of England. In reality the Luddites were more than machine breakers. Their acts were the visible manifestation of their frustration with appalling work conditions, low wages and the accompanying starvation which an oversupply of goods created in these early days of industrialisation.

Felkin⁵ states that "frame-breaking, as a mode of intimidating employers into compliance with the views and wishes of their work people, did not originate in the midland counties and in the present century (i.e. C.19) as is generally supposed, but was practised in London at least 150 years ago ... about the year 1710." The Riot Act (which many of us have read to our children at one time or another) was a statute of 1715. It held that persons participating in a riot had to disperse within an hour of the reading of the Act by a magistrate.

In 1727 the House of Commons passed an Act punishing by death those who destroyed the machinery used in making cloth or hosiery of woollen materials and acts of violence against both the machine owners and their machines practically disappeared for the next 40 years. Some frame-breaking occurred in 1770 and certain of those

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⁵ FELKIN W., A History of the Machine-Wrought Hosiery and Lace Manufactures, New York, Burt Franklin, 1967, p 227

responsible were caught, convicted and then hanged in front of the doors of the houses where the offences had been committed.

However, neither the Riot Act, nor punishment by death really laid the riotous spirit to rest. It just caused it to migrate from London to the Midlands district of England. By 1811, demand for lace and hosiery from the North American market was almost non-existent, everyone faced a heavy burden of taxation because of the war against Napoleon, credit was almost unattainable by the remaining manufacturers, the warehouses were full of goods, half the families (about 4248 families or 15,350 people) of the three parishes in Nottingham were unemployed, and those still in work were receiving an average of only 7 shillings per week.

In early March 1811, sixty-three frames were destroyed at Arnold. Two hundred more were destroyed over the next three weeks, mostly by gangs of highly mobile, heavily armed, motivated and disciplined young men under the leadership of either Samuel Slater, a frame-smith, or 'Ned Ludd'. Ludd, from whom the Luddites acquired their name, is believed to have been a simple and lazy Leicester village boy called Edward Ludlam, who, after being asked by his father "to square his needles", took his hammer and beat them to pieces.

When the government brought in the Bill which made breaking frames punishable by death, Lord Byron used his maiden speech⁶ in the House of Lords on 27 February 1812, to strongly oppose it.

In 1817, eight men, including a Crowder and a Clarke (there were immigrants on the Harpley by these names, although any connection is neither intended nor implied) were arraigned for the attempt on the life of a man called Asher at Heathcoat's factory. Being found guilty, six were hanged and two were transported for life. Felkin states⁷ "fifteen thousand people witnessed the execution. After this scene Luddism

This speech can be found in Tulle, Issue 122, February 2014

FELKIN W., op cit, p.239

seems to have become extinct; no frames being broken in these parts for several years. About one thousand stocking-frames and eighty lace machines were destroyed during this outburst of popular frenzy".

Liversedge⁸ gives a good idea why men resorted to this form of violence. He states that in early nineteenth century England agriculture still dominated. More than half the nation lived a rural life and over one third was actively engaged in farming. Towns were small, and even the densely populated towns and cities of today, few then had populations in excess of 20,000. The machine or factory system was still limited. Water power dominated. Steam driven factories were few, even in the cotton industry which was at the vanguard of the industrial revolution. The locomotive was in its infancy, roads were poor and canals still carried the bulk of all cargo.

Despite the economic strain of the war with France, imports and exports had grown. Britain had to import many of her raw materials (especially cotton and wool for her manufactured products as well as food for her rapidly expanding population) and in return had to export about one third of her production to pay for it all. The mediaeval system of openfield farming was giving way to the enclosure-system. The old lease-holders had to face a future as farm labourers or had to try and find employment in industry. But even this was changing. Textile manufacturers were installing machines which replaced the traditional country craftsmen, who when not working their land had always devoted time to knitting lace or spinning wool.

The unemployment, low wages, long hours of work, poverty, hunger, war, economic blockades, high cost of living and stagnation of trade combined with years of poor agricultural harvests collectively produced the period of lawlessness during which the Luddites turned to breaking the machines which they viewed as threatening their very existence.

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⁸ LIVERSEDGE D., *The Luddites*, London, Franklin Watts, 1973, p. 17

Although Felkin believed Luddism ended in 1817, there is plenty of evidence of modern day Luddites. In effect the original Luddites were those who destroyed technology to eschew change; but the relatively small number of "destroyers" were often given implicit support by a much larger percentage of those effected by the new technology. A modern analogy might be the creator of computer viruses. He is the Luddite of today - seeking to destroy the very thing that he or she is perhaps most skilled with. The modern Luddite, however, is aided and abetted by others who just refuse to learn how to use the many



technological advancements that almost envelope our day to day lives.

Do you operate an ATM? Do you use EFTPOS? Do you know what is meant by those acronyms? Do you know all the functions of your digital watch and your washing machine and your microwave oven? If the answer is NO to any or all of these questions you are emasculating, in part at least, the marvellous benefits that these modem appliances offer us all. Perhaps you are a modern day Luddite!

In late 2013, I purchased a book on-line titled *The Luddites — Machine Breaking in Regency England* by Malcolm Thomis⁹. Thomis also defines Luddism as machine-breaking and he concurs with me in stating that machine-breaking was by no means a new phenomenon when it appeared in Nottinghamshire in March 1811. Early attacks on machinery were recorded even in Restoration times (i.e. 1660–1685). In 1779 the failure of a Bill to regulate the frame-knitting industry had resulted in 300 frames being smashed and thrown into the streets. However, by 1810 the Orders in Council and a change in fashion had led to deterioration in the standard of

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⁹ THOMIS, Malcolm., The Luddites – Machine Breaking in Regency England, Schocken, New York, 1972.

craftsmanship required in stocking making and a consequent cheapening of the trade. It was the attempt to intimidate some masters who brought in the new machines that caused Nottingham stocking knitters to smash the machines.

Stocking knitting was predominantly a domestic industry, the stockinger renting his frame from the master and working in his own 'shop' using thread given to him by the master; the finished items were handed back to the master to sell. The frames were therefore scattered around the villages and it was easy for the Luddites to smash a frame and then disappear.

Machine breaking was, of course, an early substitute for the modern strike and the basis of power of a number of early trade unions. Thomis refers to it as "collective bargaining by riot". He states that in 1710, a London hosier had his frames broken after infringing Charles II's Charter to the Worshipful Company of Framework Knitters

'Chant no more your old rhymes about bold Robin Hood, His feats I but little admire, I will sing the Achievements of General Ludd Now the Hero of Nottinghamshire'

by taking no fewer than 49 apprentices at one time. The By-Laws of the Company stated the number of apprentices was a maximum of three¹⁰. However, Sheila Mason, in her well-researched book states that the framework knitter who had his frames broken was a man called Nicholson. He and his apprentices were "soundly beaten, and his frames broken and thrown out of the windows". She further states that the hosier with the 49 apprentices was Samuel Fellows, who momentarily appeared to accept the Company's rules, and then judiciously decided together with other hosiers, to move his machines out of London before they too were broken¹¹.

Just as wide comb shears led to a ten-week national strike by Australian shearers in 1983, in 1809 a number of Nottingham frames "of unacceptable width" were broken by men with blackened faces. Both actions were no more

MASON, Sheila., The History of the Worshipful Company of Framework Knitters, Worshipful Company of Framework Knitters, Oadby, Leicester, 2000, p99.

¹¹ Ibid, p100.

than passing triumphs. The defeat of the AWU in the wide comb dispute has been widely cited as the cause of a decline in union membership and militancy amongst Australian shearers¹². Perhaps the Luddites actually provided a similar disservice for the workers in the hosiery industry.

Much of the Luddite activity seems to have been directed towards keeping alive the various domestic industries by attempting to eliminate the (larger) machines (in particular steam-driven machines) which had to be housed in factories. Thomis states that "Luddism, the machine-breaking which started in 1811, was part of a well-established pattern of behaviour amongst industrial workers. The novelty of the years 1811-1816 lies rather in their coincidence and in their intensity than in their nature".

True Luddism was undoubtedly often confused with other illegal and unacceptable behaviour. All sorts of depredations were carried out under cover of Luddism – including assassination and more especially, robbery. Many believed that Luddism, while separate from conventional crime, was an incitement to it. Housebreakers took advantage of the times to keep the neighbourhood in a state of alarm.

One of the most common features of the disturbances during the Luddite period was that of food riots – largely provoked by scarce food and high prices. Some of these ended with an attack upon machinery and some were led by men dressed in women's clothing who described themselves as 'General Ludd's wives' or 'Lady Ludd'. In September 1812, Nottingham experienced one of its most serious food riots for many years owing to the high price of flour and the growing incidence of householders being supplied with underweight loaves. However on this occasion the riot was not connected with machine-breaking. Food shortages and high prices were simply grievances experienced by food rioters and Luddites alike.

Just as Luddism and food riots were often confused, so too was Luddism and the political reform movement – especially the development of trade

Limb, Julia. "Shearing past celebrated in Hall of Fame", Landline, ABC, 10 February 2002.

unionism. About the only thing not open to conjecture is the fact that the Nottingham stocking-frame was the first object of Luddite attention.

Thomis¹³ states "if the fact that the Midlands stockingers had been working stocking-frames for over 200 years at the time of Luddism has led to misunderstanding, so too has the fact that Nottingham Luddism involved two industries, hosiery and lace, which are repeatedly confused". He provides an example. "In December 1811, for instance, the *Statesman* carried a report that 20,000 stocking-makers were unemployed, that 900 lace-frames had already been broken at the rate of 20-30 per night (though stocking-frames would have been a more appropriate target for stocking-makers...").

Thomis further suggests that Luddites have too frequently had to be either villains or heroes. However, he credits some historians for lamenting the conditions which produced Luddism while regretting the means which were chosen to ameliorate them. Certainly the authorities of the day saw the problem as one of law and order for which the evil-doers had to be punished.

A more constructive approach might have been to investigate the causes of Luddism with a view to eliminating them. Many contemporary writers thought Luddism gained little if anything for the workers. In so far as working-class prosperity derived from industrial prosperity, they saw it as damaging their prospects for the future. Darvall¹⁴ disagrees saying there were no short-term gains other than the indirect ones which came as a result of reforms a couple of decades later, "reforms which, it might be argued, owed their existence in part to the deficiencies in the old system that Luddism had exposed".

THE CAUSES AND AIMS OF LUDDISM

Thomis states that "the causes of Luddism are a problem which has exercised many minds and produced many different answers". These range from the Duke of Newcastle's theory that the French were the organising force and

¹³ THOMIS, op cit, p29.

¹⁴ DARVALL, F. O., Popular Disturbances and Public Order in Regency England, Oxford University Press, 1934
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their aim was to disrupt the English war effort against Napoleon. There were rumours circulating in Nottingham at the time that men with French accents had been seen in the town and the *Leeds Intelligencer* reported that Luddites were being paid 18 shillings per week to carry out Napoleon's policy of industrial sabotage. The *Leeds Mercury* countered by stating that the stockingers were much too loyal and patriotic to riot for other than sound, domestic reasons while their country was at war¹⁵.

The probable truth of the matter is likely to be that Luddism was caused by the trade depression, high levels of unemployment, low wages and high food prices which prevailed at the time. Certainly Felkin records that hunger and misery were the basic causes of Luddism. He states¹⁶ that by 30 January 1812, a total of 4248 Nottingham families (a total of 15,350 people) or nearly half the then population of Nottingham were receiving "poor rates" or sweeping the streets for a "scanty eleemosynary pittance for their labour". Those stockingers still in work had many grievances. They were underpaid (and in some cases received only truck payments¹⁷), frame rents were high, and they had to live with impositions such as those which were applied to wastage of materials. The stocking industry was basically an over-populated, over-producing industry, highly reliant on overseas markets.

Thomis maintains that "machinery was selected for breaking because it was employed on the kind of manufacture that the workmen were anxious to ban or because it belonged to employers who were allegedly guilty of one of the practices against which the men protested. In an industry where mechanisation had prevailed since Elizabethan times and framesmiths and machine operators were themselves concerned with improvements to existing models, it would have been meaningless to have thought in terms of

¹⁵ Leeds Mercury, 7 December 1811.

¹⁶ FELKIN, p231

¹⁷ Truck payments were a pair of related but distinct practices. The first of these was outright compulsion upon employees to accept payment of wages in over-valued commodities, usually groceries, or compulsion to deal with the company store under unfavourable terms. In the nineteenth century this form of the truck system was practised mainly by the smaller employers in the hand-made nail trade in the Black Country, in framework knitting in Nottingham and Leicestershire, and in hand-loom weaving in Gloucestershire. (Source: The Truck Act of 1831 by G. W. Hilton)

resistance to machinery as such, and the contemporary commentators and later chroniclers who so caricatured the Nottingham Luddites betrayed a total ignorance of the hosiery and lace industries". Thomis further asserts that "the depressed stocking-knitters were not the victims of the Industrial Revolution; their problem was that it was passing them by, that their industry was becoming obsolete in technology through the failure to apply steam power to the stocking frame and, obsolete in organization through the failure to move from the domestic system to a factory unit of production; these failures were not rectified until the second half of the nineteenth century", viz. after our ancestors had left the industry and migrated to Australia. "The Nottingham Luddites were the victims of industrial decay; their need was more not less machinery, and they were hardly torch-bearers for the new industrial proletariat which was being created by the Industrial revolution".

Luddism was the last resort when other approaches to relieving their misery had proven useless. Thomis says: "The power that could be obviously and immediately wielded by the workman was the power to damage or destroy the property of his employer, which was either within the workman's own keeping or at least within his reach".

Certainly one of the precipitators of frame breaking was the move in 1809 by five major hosiery companies, including Haynes, Nelson, Thomas Brocksopp & Company and Eaton to reduce the wages paid to their own operators. William Felkin¹⁸ states he "has a most painful and vivid recollection" of these times.

The aims of the Luddites were multifarious but can be summarised as follows:

- To preserve existing wage rates;
- To destroy the frames being operated by "colts" or un-apprenticed workers;
- To put hosiers accused of payment in truck out of business;

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¹⁸ FELKIN, op cit p230

- To end the life of the wide machines on which 'cut-up' hosiery was being produced because they felt these items were throwing the whole trade into disrepute;
- Some industrial action was a cover for more serious political ambition;
- The destruction of buildings led to the stealing of firearms for carrying out the attacks, and the stealing of arms led to indiscriminate theft of every kind of property;¹⁹
- Some Luddite activity (centred mainly in Yorkshire) clearly involved armed insurrection as a precursor for political revolution.

It is clear that Luddism was "not a wholly conscious revolutionary movement" but that its aims differed over time and were different in the various counties affected by its zealots and their zealotry.

THE ORGANISATION OF LUDDISM

Thomis states that "at its inception in March 1811, machine-breaking seems to have been no more than an extended form of rioting"²¹. Initially hundreds of framework-knitters assembled in Nottingham market-place where speeches were made protesting the treatment they were receiving. Later the stockingers marched to Arnold and broke sixty three frames at Bolton's factory²². By the time the constables and the Dragoons arrived the stockingers had dispersed.

Over the ensuing months the numbers involved in frame-breaking gradually declined but became increasingly well-organised. Their leader, their General Ludd, had absolute authority. Armed guards were positioned by him at raid sites to protect the breakers. After the latter's role was completed, a roll was called with each of the participants responding to a number rather than a name. Then a pistol was fired indicating that it was time for the gang to disperse. Nottinghamshire Luddism was very professional by nature and later in fact.

¹⁹ THOMIS, op cit, p. 79

²⁰ Ibid, p. 98

²¹ Ibid, p. 103

²² FELKIN, op cit, p. 231

Luddism, however, was not without its risks to the perpetrators. In November 1811, Hollingsworth's frames as well as most of his furniture were broken by a gang at Bulwell. Hollingsworth fired at his assailants and John Westby of Arnold was "mortally wounded". The riot act was read at his funeral. Over the following days the enraged rioters destroyed a wagon-load of frames near Arnold and sacked a factory containing 37 frames belonging to Betts at Sutton in Ashfield²³. Four frame-breakers (Bradbury, Marshall, Green and Clarke) were caught by the Yeomanry but their capture had no effect on the outrages which continued almost unabated — chiefly on frames making "cut-ups". At least another 68 frames were destroyed over the next week.

In March 1812 four frame breakers were sentenced to fourteen years and three others to seven years transportation and another two to similar sentences in July 1812. As mentioned above, when the government brought in the Bill which made breaking punishable by death, Lord Byron strongly opposed it in a debate which took place in the House of Lords on 27 February 1812²⁴. However, the Bill was given Royal Assent on 20 March 1812.

As planning and organisation developed, much smaller groups of frame-breakers were detailed to perform particular jobs and in some cases gang members began to be paid for their nefarious deeds. Although this implies professionalism, Peel²⁵ recognised that part of the movement consisted of the uneducated and brutal who, moved by starvation and desperation, "found it more pleasurable to steal by violence than to earn by industry". Most of the Luddites, or at least most of those caught in the act, were young males in their late teens or early twenties and most were strangers to the area in which they operated. Felkin believed that in late 1811 and early 1812 there were four main companies of frame-breakers in the four centres of Sutton-in-Ashfield, Nottingham, Arnold and Swanwick. All appeared to be bound together by a vague oath which "tended to remain somewhat vague in its purpose but being intended to bind together a fraternity engaged in secret

²³ Ibid p. 232

²⁴ Ihid n 235

²⁵ PEEL, Frank, The Rising of the Luddites, Chartists and Plug-Drawers, Taylor & Francis, Routledge, 1880
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and subversive behaviour which might be that of machine-breaking, political agitation, or even political revolution". ²⁶

In Nottinghamshire there was no such thing as a union of the hosiery workers therefore there was no formal organisation into which Luddism could fit when it appeared in 1811. Gravener Henson, the outstanding trade union leader of the period "remained totally aloof from and for the most part was critical of the Luddites" because their methods were alien to him. Certainly representatives of the framework-knitters had tried unsuccessfully to prevent wage reductions before Luddism began. The Luddites therefore simply operated against a background of considerable popular sympathy and Nottingham was unquestionably the first main centre of Luddite disturbance. By 1816, the gangster-like approach of some Luddites was strongly evident and their attention had been drawn from stocking-frames to lace-machines. It was at this time that Heathcoat's Loughborough factory was the subject of a Luddite attack.

THE INCIDENCE OF LUDDITE ATTACKS

Thomis is the only writer on Luddism in whose writing I have read any estimate of the number of Luddite attacks in Nottingham. He states that the most serious period of Luddism in the hosiery industry occurred between the beginning of November 1811 and the end of January 1812 and that during this three month period he estimates that about 100 attacks took place. He asserts that Luddite attacks are almost universally overstated by both contemporary and modern historians and that "machine-breaking appears to have posed no threat and carried no fear to those not immediately concerned with it"²⁸.

THE END OF LUDDISM

Luddism came to an end not because all the perpetrators were rounded up but because of substantial improvements in the working and living conditions

²⁶ THOMIS, op cit p.126

²⁷ Ibid, p. 134

²⁸ Ibid, p. 144

offered to workers – the very things which had caused Luddism in the first place. Felkin saw the hosier's triumphs as the gaining of two shillings per dozen²⁹ rise in the price of the stockings they manufactured and a temporary halting of cut-up production. However the rise was soon lost and cut-ups were reinstituted once the threat of machine wrecking had passed. Nor is there anything to suggest that the stockingers and lace workers benefitted from Luddism in the longer term. Their wages continued to fall and the grievances they had in 1812 were those they still had in 1845. However, Thomis states "if workmen did themselves no great good by breaking machines, it is also probably true that they did themselves no great harm"³⁰.

A telling paragraph in his book ³¹states: "Nor was it the fault of the Luddites that the hosiery trade failed to make the technological advance that other textile trades experienced in the century 1750-1850. The traditional domestic structure of the industry, the over-abundant labour supply sustaining it, and the evil of frame-rents, which gave manufacturers a vested interest in the status quo, all retarded the arrival of a factory-based industry operating power-driven machinery. The Midland Luddites were not part of an 'antimachine' movement, but their employers were during the following forty years, to the great cost of the workmen".

My conclusion is that hungry men are desperate men and desperate men are angry men and angry men can become dangerous men! At times we all feel we are victims of technology but our uneasy protests against it almost invariably take a technological form. Another writer wrote: "We try to save the world by shopping at the local farmer's market then haul our purchases home in some gigantic gas-guzzling Japanese 4-wheel drive. We Tweet or text or write an on line Blog about how technology is ruining our lives". Luddism is certainly a pejorative term today but, in our own way, we all want the right to control the pace and the effect of innovation and change.

Richard Jander

²⁹ FELKIN, op cit p. 439

³⁰ THOMIS, op cit pp. 164-165.

³¹ Op cit, p. 166. TULLE - 127

Recommended additional reading about Juddites and Juddism:

- Felkin Chapter XVI, pp 227-242, 484
- Tulle, Issue 37, October 1992, John Slater, Framebreaker by Beth Williams; and in the same issue a small article headed Derbyshire Luddites by Gillian Kelly
- Tulle, May 2000, The Loughborough Job the incident at Heathcoat's Mill by Malcolm Hornsby
- Tulle, November 2006, The Secrets of 38 Leicester Rd, Loughborough by
 Gillian Kelly and Tony & Matt Jarram. The address given was the home at
 one time of John Heathcoat and the article is about a series of secret
 tunnels under his home which would have supposedly enabled him to
 escape the murderous Luddites if ever they attacked it.
- Tulle, February 2012, The Hosiery and Lace Trades by William Howie Wylie
- Bronte, Charlotte., Shirley. As the novel opens, Robert Moore, a mill owner noted for apparent ruthlessness toward his employees, awaits delivery of new labour-saving machinery for his mill in Yorkshire. The new machinery will let him lay off additional employees. Robert, with some friends, watches all night, but the machinery is destroyed on the way to the mill by angry Luddites.

An Ode to the Framers of the Frame Bill

One man who spoke out for the Luddites was the poet Lord Byron, who made his maiden speech in the House of Lords on the Frame Bill on 27 February 1812. The text of his speech was published in *Tulle*, February 2014 (Issue 122). Despite Lord Byron's heartfelt plea, the House of Lords voted in favour of hanging frame-breakers. This moved the poet to write the following ode.

Oh! Well done Lord Eldon! and better done Ryder! Britannia must prosper with Counsels like yours; Hawkesbury, Harrowby, helps you to guide her, Whose remedy only must kill ere it cures! Those villains, the Weavers, are all grown refractory, Asking some succour for charity's sake; So hang them in clusters, round each Manufactory, That will at once put an end to mistake.

The rascals, perhaps, may betake them to robbing, The dogs to be sure have got nothing to eat-So if we can hang them for breaking a bobbin, 'Twill save all the Government's money and meat.

Men are more easily made than Machinery, Stockings will fetch better prices than lives; Gibbets on Sherwood will heighten the scenery, Shewing how Commerce, how Liberty thrives.

Justice is now in pursuit of the wretches, Grenadiers, Volunteers, Bow-Street Police, Twenty-two regiments, a score of Jack Ketches, Three of the Quorum, and two of the Peace.

Some Lords to be sure, would have summon'd the Judges, To take their opinion, but they ne'er shall; For Liverpool such a concession begrudges, So now they're condemned by no judges at all.

Some folks for certain have thought it was shocking, When famine appeals, and when poverty groans; That life should be valued at less than a stocking, And breaking of frames, lead to breaking of bones.

If it should prove so, I trust by this token,
(And who will refuse to partake in the hope,)
That the frames of the fools, may be first to be broken,
Who when ask'd for a remedy, sent down a rope.

The poem by Lord Byron was published anonymously in the *Morning Chronicle* on 2 March 1812 and also in the *Nottingham Review* on 6 March 1812. If you would like to hear a knitting frame in action visit http://www.le.ac.uk/emoha/community/resources/hosierv/framework.html

Letter from Thomas Latham at Nottingham to the Mayor of Tewkesbury

Sir, The Committee of the United Branches of Framework knitters at Nottingham, with great surprise, received a letter of the 2d instant from a person in the Town, over which you hold jurisdiction, stating, that you had prohibited the framework-knitters in your town from meeting to discuss the nature of their grievances, and to prepair (sic) a petition to parliament thereon. You no doubt had your reasons for so doing; but whatever they were sane or otherwise is not material, because they were both unconstitutional and unjust, as well as extremely dangerous to the liberties of the subject.

Know you not, Sir, that the Act, commonly called "The Gagging Act" is long since dead of its own natural death ;therefore your opinion, as a Magistrate, is of no avail respecting the holding of a popular meeting. But even were that not the case, is it an act of policy on the part of a Magistrate to prohibit men from meeting, in a peaceable manner, to state their grievances; when, by preventing them from venting their plaints in a constitutional way, they may be driven to the commission of crimes, for the purpose of exercising their vengeance, when they cannot exercise their rights. How different were your conduct, on the occasion alluded to, to that shewn by the Magistrates of Hatton Garden, London, on a similar occasion - they, when informed of the desire of the London stocking-makers to hold a meeting, immediately afforded the men every facility in their power for the accomplishment of the design they sent an officer to attend the meeting, and presented the Resolutions agreed upon at such meeting to the secretary of State, along with a copy of the propositions sent from the Nottingham Committee. This was a measure consistent with the constitutional duty of a Magistrate; and consistent with the wishes of every honest man. Then compare this conduct with your own; and, if you are an Englishman, your punishment will be sentimentally complete.

Sir, you may perhaps conceal this letter from all eyes but your own; but that will avail you nothing; for other means, which you, to your own confusion, will hereafter be made acquainted with, will be resorted to, to make its contents public. The men of Nottingham are acquainted with the laws of their Country; and, in common with every honest man, condemn the outrageous conduct of a few misguided individuals in their neighbourhood; and they know, that the proper means to prevent those

outrages are, for those in authority to act directly contrary to the manner in which you have acted.

Sir, the Nottingham Committee will again call upon their Tewkesbury friends to have a meeting; the postmaster may again open the letter directed to them; and you may again exert an unconstitutional authority; but, if you do, legal means will be resorted to, to exhibiting [sic] your conduct in proper colours to the public.

Thos. Latham Secty.

Mayor of Tewkesbury Committee Rooms Newton's head Glass house Lane

Henry Stuart of the 'Bermondsey'

One of the passengers aboard the Bermondsey which also carried lacemaker Joseph

Tivey and his family to Australia was Henry Stuart. Henry Stuart was born at Bonhill, Dunbartonshire in Scotland on 13 February 1829. He married Mary McCarthy on 20 March 1854 at Wattle Flat, NSW. Mary was the daughter of Daniel McCarthy and Honora Denahy. Henry and Mary later established a store at Wattle Flat. It opened on 19 September 1864. The store later became known as Ireland's Store when Mary Ireland, who was related to Mary



Figure 5: Henry Stuart's Great Western Store at Hill End, NSW

Stuart, took it over. Henry, with partner W. T. Pullen, later purchased a block of land at Clarke Street, Hill End and it was here that he built the Great Western Store bearing his name. This store still exists on the site.

Vale - Tionel Thomas William Goldfinch



It is with profound regret that I advise members of the death on 7 February 2015 of Lionel Goldfinch. On behalf of the Society I extend our sincerest condolences to his wife, Alice, and to their family and friends. Lionel and Alice joined the Society in November 1989 and they have regularly attended our meetings since that time.

Lionel was a descendant of Thomas Barber Goldfinch and Hannah, his second wife, who arrived in Sydney aboard *Emperor* on 4 November 1848 together with children of their previous marriages.

Lionel's interest in researching his Goldfinch family was whetted in 1984 after Alice received a letter from another ASLC member, Margo Wagner, who was also researching the Goldfinch family. Margo is a direct descendant of Susannah Goldfinch, the sister of Richard Goldfinch, who in turn was Lionel's grandfather.

Lionel was quietly spoken, always smartly dressed, a true gentleman. Despite his advancing years (he was 86) he was always amongst the first to offer help moving chairs and tables so as to make Don Bank ready for our meetings. We shall all miss his pleasant manner and his open smile. RIP Lionel - 12 June 1928 – 7 February 2015.

NEW MEMBERS

The ASLC extends a warm welcome to the following new members:

Roslyn McFarland (Saywell Family) Agincourt

Richard Nutt (Nutt Family) Agincourt

John Rees (Thomas Wells Family) Harpley

Beverley and John Ritchie (Strong Family) Nelson

Mary Saywell (Saywell Family) Agincourt

JUNE HOWARTH

June Howarth, ASLC member, Saywell Family (Agincourt) and Australian Red Cross stalwart has been named the Davidson electorate's local woman of the year. June began volunteering for the Red Cross 44 years ago and has been President of the Roseville Branch for many years. She also served on the divisional council of the Australian Red Cross for about 25 years. June is also honorary director of music for the Roseville Music Club, helps elderly and isolated people at St John's Church, Gordon, and received a Centenary of Federation Medal in 2001 and an OAM in 2006. We all extend our warmest congratulations, June. Well done!

Tionel Thomas William Goldfinch - Eulogy

I was privileged to have been able to attend our late member's cremation service at the South Chapel, Forest Lawn Crematorium at Horningsea Park near Leppington in western Sydney on Friday the thirteenth of February 2015 along with what I estimate to have been in excess of two hundred of Lionel and Alice's family and friends. The large attendance was a mark of this fine man

From the eulogy delivered by his son, Glenn, I learnt that Lionel was born on 12 June 1928. Lionel was the second eldest of seven children. Lionel and Alice (who is also a member of our Society) were married on 24 March 1951. Their marriage was therefore just short of 64 years in duration, an overt sign of the strong devotion this couple held for each other. I believe that Lionel and Alice had five children, 16 grandchildren and 16 great-grandchildren. I understand that Lionel was pre-deceased by three of his children.

Lionel was described as "a lovable Aussie larrikin" with a great sense of humour and ever a twinkle in his eye. He was a "snappy dresser" who loved gardening, fishing, motor racing, general history, Western paperbacks and family history. Our Lacemakers society was mentioned as one of his passions. His son described him as "a strong personality and a caring parent but with a will of iron". He said Lionel was particularly determined, perhaps even stubborn at times. His love of car racing led him to drive quickly himself and he gained the sobriquet from some family members as "lead foot Lionel".

For many years the family was not able to afford the luxury of holidays. Lionel and Alice wisely invested whatever spare money they had in newly-developed land in Sydney's western and south-western suburbs around Rossmore, Austral and Ingleburn. When Lionel finally decided it was time for the family to have a holiday, he chose Dalby, more than 200km to the west of Brisbane, as their destination. Ever the practical man, Lionel also decided that their small black Hillman Minx would be too hot when it was loaded with two adults and five children and all their accoutrements for the holiday, so he

painted the roof white with enamel house paint. However, the car was still hot and about Armidale it (and probably the family) refused to go any further. Future holidays were spent somewhere on the beach!

Lionel grew up at Austral in Sydney's western suburbs and received his education at Liverpool High School. As a schoolboy, he made his first money collecting manure from the various dairy and other farms in the area and selling it to the local market gardeners. His official working life commenced as a linesman for the PMG and he finished his career working as a Line Supervisor for Telecom. Lionel cared for his workmates safety greatly and worked tirelessly to ensure they were issued with the most up-to-date safety equipment. He also insisted they were given the very best available safety training. As a consequence he was greatly admired by his work colleagues.

Lionel survived a heart attack in 1982 but had to receive a quadruple by-pass as a consequence. He retired in 1986.

Lionel was a little known published author according to his son. He apparently wrote a story about a ghost which Lionel believed he had encountered at the family's home at Austral.

Family gatherings meant a lot to Lionel and Glenn Goldfinch said that Lionel was not afraid to hand out advice to the young on these occasions. He was particularly adamant that the young men in his family learnt to shake hands properly. "Lock hands correctly – squeeze with a hard grip – shake three times while looking the other bloke in the eye – then disengage".

Lionel was a man of habits: he had to have his newspaper to read every day and he invested in a Lotto ticket every week. He was a true blue Australian and I for one will miss him greatly.

Richard Jander

The living language is like a cow-path: it is the creation of the cows themselves, who, having created it, follow it or depart from it according to their whims or their needs. From daily use, the path undergoes change. A cow is under no obligation to stay. -E.B. White, writer (1899-1985)

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Emperor

Emperor, a 672 ton ship, left Plymouth on 27 July 1848 under the control of Master J H Day and his crew of 34 sailors, and arrived at Sydney on 4 November 1848. Amongst 277 immigrants on board, she carried lacemakers Thomas Goldfinch, his wife Hannah, and their children, Anne (b. Calais 1837), George (b. Calais 1841) and Elizabeth (b. Calais 1843) as well as Frederick Gamble (b. Leicestershire 1826) and his brother, Thomas (b. Leicestershire 1829). The microfiche, The Relations Index of Immigrants to NSW 1848-1855 (copy at Society of Australian Genealogists - Call No. NSW-SHP-IMM:10) reveals that Thomas already had relatives in the colony.

Thomas Goldfinch was born 15 January 1785 and baptised at St Clements, Sandwich, Kent on 6 February 1785. Ann Newing was baptised at Sutton near Dover on 14 January 1787. Thomas and Ann were married at Walmer in Kent in 1809. From this marriage there were three children: Ann Newing born 24 January 1810, Susannah Jane born 21 October 1811 and Thomas Barber born 4 March 1813 and baptised at St Leonards, Deal. They were all living at West Street, Lower Deal at this time. Ann Goldfinch (née Newing) died 8 April 1814 and is buried at Sutton near Dover. Thomas Goldfinch, widower, married Lucy Darby, spinster, at St James Dover on 16 May 1815 with John and Sarah Webster as witnesses. They had quite a few children, the youngest being born in Calais in 1825.

With the exodus of many English to France, Thomas with his family went over to St-Pierre so he could try his hand at the lacemaking business. There he became a publican, then a lacemaker. Thomas Barber Goldfinch was only 12 years old and spent his life in Calais until he came to Australia in 1848. He probably met his first wife, Ann Mary Farley, in Calais. They were married in Dover on July 29, 1834. They had children there, some of whom died, and then Ann died in 1846. Thomas Barber Goldfinch married Hannah Plummer (née Smedley) on 25 August 1846. By then he described himself as a lacemaker. Hannah and her first husband, John, came from Nottingham to Calais.

In 1848 Thomas Barber and his wife Hannah with their families left Calais for Australia. Family history tells how Hannah sewed sovereigns into her petticoat and while boarding the ship for Australia the stitching gave way and the sovereigns fell into the water below and were lost.

On arriving at Port Jackson, Thomas was listed as a pork butcher and Hannah as a house servant and dairy woman. Amongst the passengers were 48 boys, 40 girls and nine babies. Nine children died on the voyage of non-contagious infants' diseases.

James Mien, the Ship's Apprentice died of dysentery. Thomas was called up by the Immigration Board as one of the witnesses of events on board regarding the gratuities paid to the Surgeon Superintendent and the Chief Mate.

From their landing until 1851 little is known but at that time Thomas Goldfinch was listed as having a butcher's shop in Clarence Street, Sydney. He was granted a Publican's licence for the house known by the sign of the *Friendly Port* situated at 24 York Street for the period 1853 to 1854. 24 York Street is now the location for one of Sydney's grand Sydney sandstone buildings. Thomas and Hannah had at least two more children either born on the way to Sydney or in Sydney: Susannah Jane born in 1848 or 1849 and Richard born 16 October 1853 at York Street.

In 1855 Thomas was still registered as the publican at the *Friendly Port*. On 15 April 1856 his daughter Elizabeth died of a disease of the spine, aged just 13. By 1858 Thomas had moved to become the publican at the *Salutation Inn*, Botany Road and in this year he also declared insolvency due to the general depression of business and because he had gone guarantor for the contractors who were building the Mariner's Church in Sydney³². When the congregation could not keep up payments, Thomas was called upon to pay and his guarantee cost him dearly. By 1861 he was inn keeper at the *Buckland Hotel*, Botany Street and 1864 saw him insolvent again due to "continued bad business and endorsing a promissory note for £20 for a person named John Stone who did not honour the said note on maturity".

From 1863 to 1883 he was listed with a butcher's shop in Botany Street, Waterloo and from 1884 to 1886 he had a butcher's shop in Buckland Street. In 1885 while at Buckland Street, Hannah died and was buried at the Necropolis at Rookwood in Sydney. No more is known of Thomas from then until his own death on 28 June 1898 at Bargo. He was buried the next day at Thirlmere. It is believed that he was living with his son Richard and his family prior to his death. Richard trained horses for the Fire Brigade. He had trained them so that when the bells went they would back straight up to the wagons ready to be hitched and off in a hurry. He was also a carrier. Later Richard went to live in the Moorebank-Chipping Norton area near Liverpool, in Sydney, where their son James married and had an orchard.

On board the *Harpley* was Richard Goldfinch, a cousin of Thomas. Richard was married in Dover in 1840 to Eugenie de Sombre, a Calaisienne. John Matthew witnessed this marriage, and so did John & Thomas' sister Sarah Lucy. Richard and Eugenie had four children in Calais: Richard 1838, George 1841, William 1844 and Henry 1846. It is suspected that Thomas and his family were some of those who

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³² Thomas Goldfinch is, however, still listed as the licensee of the *Salutation Inn* in 1860 (see *Sydney Morning Herald*, Wednesday, 4 April 1860, page 2.

should have been on the *Harpley* but were offloaded to another ship They would have had evidence of their marriage so it can only be assumed that the number of young children they had from their combined families was considered too great a risk to other passengers to bear.

Also on board *Emperor was* John Sedgwick, a labourer from Liddington, Bedfordshire and his family. John's fifteen year old daughter was described as a "lacemaker and hatter". Aboard too was Thomas Shelton's family from Ruddington, Nottinghamshire, the centre for framework knitters - but he was an agricultural labourer.

From Tulle, November 1995, page 27. By early November immigrants had reached Maitland from the Earl Grey and the Emperor and the majority seemed to find employment fairly quickly. The Mercury reported on 11 November that only three families from the Agincourt remained in the Depot, and two from the Emperor. One of the Emperor families was the cause of great concern. ...we are sorry to find the Immigration Board in Sydney has committed a grave oversight in allowing one family to leave Sydney, while the mother Mrs Shelton, and her son James, aged 11 years, were suffering from typhus fever. It was observed when they arrived on Thursday that Mrs Shelton and her son were very ill, and on their arrival at the Depot had to be assisted in, and immediately placed in bed. Dr Wilton was sent for and found them both labouring under typhus fever, although in its mildest, and least dangerous form. The best arrangements were made that could be provided on the spur of the moment, and vesterday Dr Wilton was authorised to make in the Depot whatever arrangements he thought necessary for the isolation and treatment of Mrs Shelton and her son, apart from the remaining immigrants. Yesterday Mrs Shelton was rather better, but her son, a line boy, was worse.



"It is difficult to see why lace should be so expensive; it is mostly holes" - Mary Wilson Little
"Yes, but have you any idea how hard it is to get those holes to stick together!"

It took less than an hour to make the atoms, a few hundred million years to make the stars and planets, but five billion years to make man! -George Gamow, physicist and cosmologist (4 Mar 1904-1968)

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