

THE DIARY OF JAMES GARNETT OF LOW MOOR,
CLITHEROE, 1858-65

PART 1 YEARS OF PROSPERITY 1858-60

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JAMES GARNETT was born on 24 April 1828, the son of Thomas and Susannah Garnett of Low Moor, Clitheroe. Thomas Garnett (1799-1878) came to Low Moor from Otley in Yorkshire a few years earlier to manage the cotton mill there for his uncle, Jeremiah Garnett. The mill, situated one mile from Clitheroe on the banks of the river Ribble, was started c1785 by John Parker of Clitheroe and sold to the partnership of Jeremiah Garnett and Timothy Horsfall in 1799, with Jeremiah Garnett as the managing partner.¹

Jeremiah Garnett died in 1853, his only son, also named Jeremiah in 1855. Three years later, in 1858, the new firm of Thomas Garnett & Sons came into being to take over the mill, the Horsfalls having been bought out. The two sons were William, then aged 32, and James, the author of the Diary, then aged 29.² On 14 May 1858 James wrote in his Diary 'William and I were acknowledged as partners in the Low Moor concern for the first time today'.

The Diary is written in printed Collins's Desk Diaries, foolscap size, three days to a page. Volumes survive in the possession of the Garnett family and there is a microfilm copy in Manchester Central Library, which may be consulted with the permission of the family. James kept it very conscientiously and very fully with a great variety of information. As he himself wrote in January 1862, 'My intention is to note each day the state of

¹ For a fuller account of the history of the mill see Owen Ashmore, 'Low Moor, Clitheroe: a nineteenth century factory community', *Trans. Lancs. & Ches. Antiq. Soc.*, 73/74 (1966), pp. 124-52.

² William Garnett was born on 18 June 1825 and baptized at Clitheroe Parish Church on 11 Sept. 1825. James was born on 24 April 1828 and privately baptized on 4 June 1828. (Clitheroe Parish Registers, Lancs. Record Office PR 1864.)

the weather, the various markets both for manufactures and grain, and also the principal events home and foreign with any interesting short account of visits both to and from friends—birthdays, festivals'. In addition there is a great deal of information about the mill, its working and machinery, industrial relations, the village of Low Moor, and James Garnett's other business interests and leisure-time activities. Partial though it is, the Diary gives an interesting picture of the life and outlook of a Victorian cotton manufacturer.

This paper deals with the years immediately following the establishment of the new partnership of Thomas Horsfall & Sons. There is another surviving diary of the period which relates to Low Moor, that of John O'Neil (John Ward) a weaver at the mill who was active in early trade-union organisation.³ The two make an interesting contrast and comparison. These years were in general prosperous and, while Low Moor flourished as a business, the workers were becoming independent and were organising themselves to improve their wages and conditions. There is a great contrast with the succeeding period from 1861–1865, the period of the American Civil War and the Cotton Famine, which will be discussed in a subsequent paper.

THE MILL

The new partnership of 1858 inaugurated a period of re-equipment and expansion at the mill, much of which can be traced through references in the Diary. New and larger spinning mules to replace old self-acting mules, and new carding machinery were installed during 1859 and 1860. New blowing-room machinery followed during 1861 and the early part of 1862. A weaving shed to hold some 200 looms was built in the Low Yard between the mill and the river in 1859. In the same year one of the three beam engines which provided power along with three water wheels was improved by the addition of a high-pressure cylinder to make it compound. This re-equipment is fully documented in the paper on Low Moor referred to above.⁴

Apart from the information about re-equipment and new machinery, the Diary contains many references to the daily running of the mill and to the breakdowns and misfortunes, which were always liable to occur. On 29 September 1858 the

³ See R. Sharpe France ed, 'The Diary of John Ward of Clitheroe, Weaver, 1860–4', *Trans.Hist.Soc.Lancs.Ches.* 105 (1953), pp. 137–85, and Mary Brigg, 'Life in East Lancashire, 1856–60: a newly discovered diary of John O'Neil (John Ward), weaver, of Clitheroe', *Trans.Hist.Soc.Lancs.Ches.* 120 (1969), pp. 87–133.

⁴ Owen Ashmore, *op. cit.* pp. 130–5.

card rooms and most of the spinners were 'stopped all day in consequence of a main upright breaking'. A 'heavy breakdown in the main gearing' stopped two weaving rooms for several days in November 1860.

Weather conditions could affect work at the mill in a variety of ways. Dry weather might cause a shortage of water over the weir, wet weather a surplus which could lead to 'backwater' hampering the working of the water wheels. On 12 July 1859 James Garnett wrote 'The river is extremely low and the water scarcely even runs over the weir from Monday morning until Monday morning again'. Later the same year on 5 December he recorded 'The river is higher than it has been for 4 years. I fancy it would be from 14 to 15 feet deep. We have been backwater most of the day'. John O'Neil recorded the high river and backwater in his diary on the same day.⁵ Cold weather and frost also caused stoppages. On 7 January 1861 Garnett wrote 'We are very short of water today, this long frost interferes with us in many ways.' A few days earlier, on 26 December 1860, work was stopped '... owing to the bursting of our steam pipes in consequence of the severe frost.' Dark days, especially in December, also tended to hinder work and reduce output, particularly on the weaving side.

The mill was gas lighted and had its own gas-making plant: the Clitheroe Rate Book of 1827⁶ includes in the assessment of the mill a gas works which was located at the north end of the buildings and is clearly shown on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey six inches to one mile map of 1847. At dark periods it was in use for a greater part of the day: on 10 December 1858 '... one of the dullest and darkest days that ever I remember, the gas was lighted in some parts of the mill until 10 o'clock and they required it again about 2 o'clock.' During the same month James Garnett received an estimate for 'a portable gas apparatus', possibly for use at home, but decided £32 10s. 0d. was too much to pay.

Coal for the mill was purchased on a regular contract basis. On 16 July 1861, for example, the Diary records an agreement with the Skelmersdale Colliery Company for supplies at 8s. 6d. per ton less 2½ per cent discount.

Fire was always a hazard in cotton mills. On 30 October 1860 a fire at Low Moor Mill was '... caused by a spark struck in the opener, fortunately by being able to turn in high-pressure steam, the fire was soon overcome, the amount of damage being very trifling.' The firm had their own fire engine and crew: James

⁵ Mary Brigg, *op. cit.* p. 103.

⁶ Lancs. Record Office, DDX/28/277.

Garnett records how it was called out on 3 September 1858 to deal with a barn on fire at Browsholme, about five miles away. It looks as if it may have been used as a local fire brigade in the area, at least for people with whom the Garnetts were connected. A lightning conductor was fitted to one of the chimneys in July 1858. On Saturday 3 July '*Steeple—peter* ascended one of the long chimneys . . . in order to make preparations for putting up a lightning conductor'.

From time to time there were accidents to workpeople. On 17 February 1858 John Backhouse '. . . fell from the top of a stage in the warehouse, used for placing bales of cotton on, previous to their being mixed'. He died the following day, when James Garnett recorded the visit in the afternoon of the inspector of police to make inquiries. The inquest was held two days later and a verdict of accidental death was returned. The dangers of unprotected machinery are illustrated on 16 February 1861 when William Coates 'in attempting to put a strap on a Roving Frame was caught and very dangerously hurt'.

The mill was visited on occasion by the factory inspectors, who were apparently not always very welcome. Three times—on 25 August 1858, 21 February 1859, 27 February 1860—the inspector came to the mill because he had been informed that they were working excessive hours. The suggestion in August 1858 was 11 or 11½ hours a day; James Garnett comments 'His informant must have been better up in his knowledge than us'. In February 1860, when the visit was similarly inspired, Garnett appears to know who the informant might be—. . . 'We have good reason to suppose who our friend is'.⁷

During 1859 and 1860 James Garnett regularly recorded the weekly output of yarn and cloth at the mill and from his figures it is possible to study not only the total annual output but also the fluctuations during the year. When the mill was going well, the normal weekly output was between 30,000 and 35,000 lbs of yarn and between 4,000 and 5,000 pieces of cloth. The total output for 1859 was 1,758,650 lbs of yarn, an average of 33,628 lbs per week, and 235,855 pieces of cloth, an average of 4,536 pieces per week. Output was affected from time to time by alterations in the mill or by the installation of new machinery. The lowest weekly output in 1859 was recorded on 16 June—21,826 lbs of yarn and 2,036 pieces—when alterations were being made to the speed of the steam engines. In December of the same year output of yarn was well above average—34,310 lbs per week average with a peak of 39,029 lbs in the week ending 31 December—no

⁷ Under the Factory Act of 1850 the working week was sixty hours, with a normal working day of 10½ hours and 7½ hours on Saturdays.

doubt due to the starting of new spinning mules recorded in the Diary on 30 November. In general the output in the winter months tended to be lower than that in the summer, and the comments in the Diary often suggest the explanation. On 2 December 1858 James Garnett wrote 'This week we have not had too great a production at the mill, first because there are many of our hands sick, with the prevailing epidemic of a species of fever or influenza, and secondly the weather has been wet and dark and thereby hindered them a deal, especially in the weaving'. Improvement in the number of hands at work, and therefore the end of the epidemic, was not noted until 17 February 1859.

There are plenty of indications of the prosperity of the mill and of the generally good state of trade during the first three years of the operation of the partnership of Thomas Garnett & Sons. James Garnett ended his Diary for 1859 with the entry: 'The year just closing has been one of almost unprecedented prosperity. Trade and commerce have been flourishing and the country is now in a great state of wealth'. Earlier, on 5 September, the diarist noted that '. . . we now have plenty of hands, all of our mules and looms are running and we have piecers and weavers to spare'. On 18 January 1860 the annual day for balancing the accounts proved to be 'extremely satisfactory to all parties concerned'.

The Diary makes occasional references to staff and to management at the mill. On 25 July 1859 Garnett recorded the appointment of Christopher Geldard as General Superintendent of the mill at a salary of £150 per annum. Three days later James's brother, William, engaged John Thompson as manager of the Mechanics' Shop at a wage of 30s. per week. The Mechanics' Shop figures again in May 1861, when Robert Dawson was put in charge and a new system of management introduced. On 23 May James Garnett wrote: 'We are commencing an entirely new system in our Mechanics' Shop to day, hitherto we have had neither order nor good management but now we have got almost an entire set of new men, I hope to have a much more creditable state of things'. One feature of the 'new system' was that each man put down his time every day on a slate which was hung up in the shop. There are also references to staff leaving the Garnetts to work at other mills, sometimes to start on their own. When John Thompson, manager of the mechanics' shop, left in April 1861, it was to join Richard Isherwood, the Garnett's weaving manager in a new shed where Isherwood was going into business on his own. On occasion the Garnetts used their Otley connections in order to recruit staff: on 23 April 1860 James wrote to Otley about a 'good suitable mechanic and joiner'.

RAW COTTON SUPPLY

There are many references in the Diary to the purchase and transport of raw cotton as well as to its quality in relation to the operations at the mill. The firm's chief agent in purchasing cotton was G. S. Schutz of Manchester.⁸ On 10 January 1860 James Garnett noted that they had received 'advice this morning of the purchase of 750 bales of cotton by Schutz . . . altogether we have upwards of 29,000 bales bought'. Eight days earlier he had recorded the arrival of 200 bales at Liverpool on the *James Fish* and mentioned another 1,500 bales on the way. On 20 November 1860 advice was received of 'the purchase of 253 bales of cotton at New Orleans by Schutz & Co. It ought to be good as they have given 12d. for 213 and 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. for the remainder'.

It was the custom for Thomas Garnett or one of his sons to go regularly to Liverpool to inspect samples, or to superintend the discharge and dispatch of the order from the vessel. James's younger brother Jeremiah⁹ went to Liverpool on 18 January 1859 to discharge the despatch of 500 bales of cotton by the *B.D. Metcalfe* from Savannah. On 3 March 1860 Thomas Garnett was in Liverpool 'inspecting the samples of cotton by *Ed Hyman* and *Nanset*. They are both excellent parcels and do great credit to Mr William and Schutz & Co.' Some of the supplies came in through Fleetwood: on 3 January 1860 James Garnett noted that 'we have another 150 bales of cotton coming per *Refuge* to Fleetwood'.

The diarist comments from time to time on the size of the cotton crop as a whole. 1860 was a good year, for example. On 2 January James Garnett wrote that 'The accounts by the *Persia* still confirm the possibility of a large crop'. Thomas Garnett reported 'extremely heavy imports and the expectation of a crop of 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ to 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ million bales' when he visited Liverpool on 3 March and three days later James Garnett set down the total receipts of cotton at that stage as 3,287,000 bales 'or 535,000 more than last year'.

From time to time there were problems of quality. There was trouble at the mill on 12 January 1859 'with large quantities of sticks and straw in the cotton, the card room hands and spinners are very much hindered in their work by their collecting at the guides of the frames'. On 21 January they received the first consign-

⁸ G. C. Schutz was in business as a cotton merchant at Ducie Buildings, Bank Street, Manchester. See *Manchester Post Office Directories* for 1858 and 1860.

⁹ Jeremiah, son of Thomas and Susannah Garnett, was born on 12 Dec. 1836 (Lancs. Record Office, PR 1865).

ment of a purchase of Bowed cotton shipped in the *B.D. Metcalfe* to Liverpool and James Garnett thought the quality very good for Bowed. It seemed to be working well at first but on 2 February he recorded that 'Our new cotton I am afraid will be rather too soft for us, as we hear a great many complaints and as this is the great failure in all Bowed we are obliged to purchase Orleans'. Production at the end of the week was below average 'in consequence of weak cotton' and on 17 February James Garnett concluded that '. . . we cannot make good strong yarn entirely from Bowed'. They must have changed to a mixture of cottons because the position was much more satisfactory on 24 February—'our present cotton is working very satisfactorily, evidently proving that Bowed alone will not do for twist'. There was trouble again in January 1860 with a parcel of 200 bales of cotton shipped in the *James Fish* which arrived in Liverpool on the 2nd of the month. On the 12th James Garnett wrote that it '. . . does not turn out well, there is so much grass and sticks in it'. The card-room hands complained the following day and on the 14th a man from Schutz's came to the mill to examine the cotton and took samples away. The following week there was more trouble with the hands, started in the first instance by the sticks and stones in the cotton, but developing into a wage dispute.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

The Diary contains numerous references to industrial relations at the mill and to the early development of trade unionism in the area. John O'Neil's Diary covers very much the same period and, while he gives the point of view of the worker and the trade-union officers, Garnett provides many interesting insights into the outlook of the employers and evidence of growing organisation among them. This was the period when the East Lancashire Association of Power Loom Weavers was being established as well as weavers' unions in the individual cotton towns and when organisation was also developing among the spinners, card-room and blowing-room hands. There were constant demands for wage increases while the industry was prosperous and a number of strikes—one at Harwood in 1858, a 25-week strike at Padiham in 1859, a strike at Low Moor itself in 1860 and the well-known Colne strike which lasted from June 1860 to May 1861.

The first entry in James Garnett's Diary which bears on industrial relations, on 30 March 1858, throws an interesting light on the attitudes of the time—'We brought a man named

Wm. Rollinson before the magistrates to day for leaving work without notice. The magistrates ordered him to pay the costs and return to his work or go to the Preston House of Correction for a month'. Later in the year on 9 September 'a delegate named Pinder' (Abraham Pinder, the first Organising Secretary of the Amalgamated Power-loom Weavers) came to Low Moor 'to examine our list of prices for weaving, which we of course politely declined to allow.' Before the end of the year the weavers were asking for an advance of wages and during 1859 the attitude of the Garnetts and of other firms underwent a substantial change.

Starting his Diary in 1859 James Garnett looked forward to a year of prosperity—'To the working class the year . . . opens with peculiar advantages. Employment is easily provided at good wages, provisions are abundant and extraordinarily cheap and a careful artisan may improve his position.' It was to be a year of wage disputes and strikes. In the early part of January there were several deputations of spinners and weavers at the mill asking for advances and on the 27th the Garnetts agreed to give a 5 per cent advance to the spinners when their neighbours did. This 5 per cent advance was not going to satisfy the workers: on 10 February Garnett noted that on the previous day a meeting of Blackburn masters had refused an advance of 15 per cent for weavers and 10 per cent for spinners—'so that we may expect a turn-out'.

In March came the Padiham strike. On the 12th James Garnett commented on the general situation—'Great uneasiness now prevails among the operatives, every class is clamouring for an advance of wages and now that times are good, they are unmanageable'. This connection between prosperity and the restlessness of the worker is a recurrent theme in the Diary. The Padiham weavers had given notice that they would strike unless the Blackburn list of prices were paid. Garnett saw that their organisation had developed to a point where such action would spread—'If the masters consent to this proposal we shall have them following the example at Clitheroe'. On 23 March he talks of the 'dictatorial spirit manifested by the operatives at Padiham'. At the same time there is evidence of organisation among the masters to resist the operatives' demands. A meeting of masters was held in Burnley on 22 March at which 'it was unanimously resolved to assist their colleagues in Padiham'.

On 31 March a meeting of employers at Blackburn agreed to give an advance of 5 per cent to the spinners, but to resist all attempts at paying more for weaving. The Garnetts paid the 5 per cent to their spinners on 21 April ' . . . in accordance with a

promise that, if Blackburn gave any advance, we would do the same'. On 19 May the spinners at Low Moor were asking for another 5 per cent which was 'indignantly refused'. This was at a time when the output of yarn at the mill was reaching new records: on the same day that the request for another 5 per cent was refused, James Garnett wrote that 'The amount of yarn spun this week is unprecedented at Low Moor'. A week later the firm received a letter from the Central Committee of Self-Acting Minders threatening a turn-out unless the 5 per cent advance was paid to the piecers.

During the summer of 1859 the Diary has further references to the Padiham strike and illustrates the growing organisation among the masters. On 26 May William Garnett met a deputation of the Burnley Associated Masters at the Swan Hotel in Clitheroe and agreed to support the Padiham masters—clear evidence not only of the collaboration among masters but also of the existence of an official organisation in Burnley. The trend is further illustrated on 5 July when Thomas Garnett attended a meeting at the Free Trade Hall¹⁰ in Manchester 'for the purpose of forming an Association among manufacturers to resist the dictation of their hands'. William Garnett and Robert Dewhurst, another Clitheroe manufacturer, went to Burnley on 19 August to meet the Masters' Association.

The Diary contains one reference to a well-known local Radical speaker, the Rev. E. A. Verity, vicar of All Saints, Habergham Eaves, who on 8 June 1859 '... addressed a meeting at the Wheatsheaf in favour of the Padiham turn-out'. The strike ended on 19 September after 25 weeks '... on the terms offered by the masters some time ago'. Although the Union had claimed that the Blackburn list was considerably above the rates paid at Padiham, it turned out, as at Clitheroe later, that the differences were not so great and that, in some cases, the Padiham weaver even had an advantage. The Union were also seeking to establish

¹⁰ The Master Spinners and Manufacturers Defence Society advertised the meeting in the *Manchester Guardian* on Tuesday 5 July. The notice was under the names of Sutcliffe and Handsley, Secretaries, Burnley Masters' Association. There was a report of the meeting in the *Guardian* the next day under the heading of 'The Padiham Strike'. The meeting had been called to consider the formation of a general defence society to aid the Padiham masters in their resistance to 'the dictation of the East Lancs. Amalgamated Power-Loom Association.' Masters at Burnley, Preston, Colne, Clitheroe, Harwood, Salden and Marsden had agreed to support the Padiham masters. Thomas Garnett of Low Moor moved a resolution directing the necessary steps to be taken for the formation of an Association, remarking that they '... might as well fight the battle at Padiham as at home'. 'The real question?' he said, 'was whether an employer was to be master in his own concern or whether he was to be ruled by an irresponsible committee sitting he knew not where and composed of he knew not whom.' The resolution was seconded by Mr Dewhurst of Clitheroe and carried.

the right of their Secretary, Mr Pinder, to enter any mill and to negotiate on behalf of the workers—matters which were also to arise later at Low Moor.

As Garnett had forecast, the pressure for wage increases spread to Clitheroe. On 23 August the firm received a memorial from their spinners asking for an advance equal to Blackburn wages and, when the Padiham strike ended, James Garnett wrote, 'I fully expect we shall have some trouble now and, unless we give the Blackburn list, we shall have a strike'. On 15 September when the piecers at Dewhursts¹¹ in Clitheroe threatened to turn out unless a 5 per cent increase was given, James and his brother William had a meeting with representatives of Dewhursts to decide what should be done. Dewhursts must have given the 5 per cent, because on 6 October a deputation of spinners at Low Moor asked for the same increase and James Garnett wrote 'As Dewhursts have given it, we shall be obliged to do the same'.

The troubles continued for the rest of the year. In early October the hands in the Blow Room gave notice because their demand for an increase had not been met. There were deputations from the weavers, winders, warpers and twisters on 13 October and from the Card-room hands on 3 November. On 10 November there was trouble with the spinners who turned out ' . . . in consequence of our putting more twist in'. The Secretary of the Spinners Society came to the mill, found in this case that the spinners were wrong and ordered them back—an interesting reference to the growing contact between masters and trade-union officials. In spite of all the trouble with workers, however, James Garnett could still describe 1859, when he made his last entry on 31 December, as a year ' . . . of almost unprecedented prosperity'.

1860 opened with deteriorating industrial relations at Low Moor. The early entries in the Diary convey very well the general feeling of unrest and the various factors which in the end may lead to a strike. The trouble began with the sticks and stones in the cotton referred to above: on Thursday 19 January James Garnett wrote—'We have had nothing but trouble with our hands to day and I believe this is entirely owing in the first instance to the grass etc. in the cotton we have imported per *J. Fish*, as one silly sheep infects the flock so have our hands been to day. Card-room hands, spinners, weavers all grumbling and dissatisfied and this state of things is likely to continue so long as the prosperous times keep on'—once again the link between prosperity and industrial unrest. The following day the spinners

¹¹ A. W. and R. Dewhurst, Cotton Spinners and manufacturers, Salford Bridge Mills, Clitheroe. *Kelly's Lancashire Directory* 1858.

and weavers were out and, although the spinners returned to work on the Saturday, the weavers remained out. Garnett now gives a hint of union organisation in the background—'I fancy the whole is a preconceived plan. The Blackburn weavers are beginning to be uneasy. Deputations have waited upon various employers.'

The weavers returned to work on Tuesday 24 January '... until near breakfast time, when Geldard (General Superintendent of the mill) stopped a lad for making bad work, the consequence of which was they struck work and have been out ever since'. They remained out until the end of the week. Pinder, the Weavers' Secretary, came to Low Moor Mill on Wednesday 25 January '... but on examining the particulars of the case finds the weavers are wrong'. By this time it had become an issue of wages, as Garnett recognised in his Thursday entry in the Diary—'Their first grievance was bad work, then dust, afterwards they were dissatisfied about Geldard dismissing a lad and now it is a wages question. I am afraid that if we are to go on smoothly we shall have to give the same rate as Blackburn or thereabouts. This price we have consented to pay to the warpers'. The following day a deputation of weavers told Garnett that Pinder had instructed them to ask for the Blackburn list and he felt that the firm would have to yield 'however unpleasant, to this dictatorial spirit'. The strike was settled on the Saturday (28 January) by negotiation with Pinder—'... he is much better to do business with than the hands themselves, because he can calculate. After going into the matter he was quite satisfied we were paying some kinds of cloth from $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 3d. per piece above the standard list. We however proposed to end the matter to pay $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per cent advance on all sorts, which Mr P and the weavers with him were glad to accept and so ended the matter'. There is an account of this same strike from the point of view of the hands in John O'Neil's Diary.¹²

The weavers returned to work on the Monday (30 January)—'Most of them I suppose were very much surprised to hear of the decision arrived at on Saturday and I fully think good will arise from the strike, as it has removed many erroneous impressions, which people had got, as to wages we paid compared to Blackburn'. On the same day, however, there were deputations of dressers and twistors asking for an advance of wages. There was also trouble at Dewhursts' Mill in Clitheroe: on Wednesday 1 February they sent a man to Low Moor '... to see about a list of prices, they are at present considerably below.' A week later Pinder went to Dewhursts '... and they have come to anything but an amicable settlement, the weavers will decide to night

¹² Mary Brigg, *op. cit.* pp. 128-31.

under Pinder's advice what course they are to take. It is expected the Blackburn Masters will grant them their 5 per cent tonight, of course we shall have to follow'. On Thursday 16 February there was still trouble at Low Moor—'Everybody clamouring for an advance of wages and even then dissatisfied'. The following Saturday Garnett wrote in exasperation—'The insubordination of work people is now beyond all bounds. I have been set at defiance in one or two instances and have had to dismiss the people without notice'. On 24 February a deputation of weavers complained about dust and bad work.

An advance to the rovers and slubbers was agreed on Wednesday 7 March and a demand for a further 5 per cent from the weavers followed. On 9 March James Garnett got a printed list of prices paid in Clitheroe for weaving—'Bulcocks¹³ pay exactly list price, we pay on average above it and Dewhursts considerably below'. On Wednesday 14 March he met a deputation of weavers, each of whom had a printed notice saying they were authorised by their executive to give notice unless the Blackburn Standard List plus 5 per cent were paid. The winders and warpers had asked for the same. The following day the weavers gave notice '. . . notwithstanding we promised to give them the additional 5 per cent they asked, they implicitly obey the Executive Committee'. On the Friday Garnett heard that Dewhursts did not intend to pay up to the Blackburn list—if this is the case, then weavers will certainly turn out'. Travelling in the train, presumably to Blackburn, a week later he was told that winders at Harwood had got an advance of 16 per cent and that weavers at Thompsons¹⁴ at Padiham were averaging 12s. 3d. per pair of looms. Their own weavers at Low Moor were getting up to 12s. 0d. a pair at this time. An entry in the Diary on Monday 2 April shows how the Union executive were operating—'We expect a visit from Mr Pinder to day relative to a further advance of 5 per cent to the Weavers, there is no doubt we shall have to give it, as already a resolution has been passed to pay a levy of 2d. per loom to serve as a backset in case of any non-compliance with the wishes of the Executive'. Three days later Garnett commented on the earnings of their weavers—'Our weaving was never so good, 11/6 and 12/- is commonly earned and in one instance 13/1½ off a pair of looms, and to day we have paid to weavers above £229 or 18 per cent more than we did three weeks ago'.

¹³ Benjamin Bulcock and Sons, cotton spinners and manufacturers, Brewery Mill, Clitheroe. *Kelly's Lancashire Directory* 1858.

¹⁴ Richard Thompson and Sons, cotton spinners and manufacturers, Britannia Mill, Padiham. *Slater's Lancashire Directory* 1861.

Pinder came to Low Moor on Wednesday 11 April and the firm immediately agreed to an additional 5 per cent on wages, '... but this does not at all seem to be satisfactorily received by the weavers who demand 5 per cent on the Blackburn Standard List'. The Garnetts sent for Pinder the next day to go through the list of wages '... so that the weavers will have an opportunity of being perfectly satisfied. We have given them 5 per cent on the Standard List, if they had accepted an offer of 5 per cent on our late prices it would have been better for them in the long run. We have also advanced Winders and Warpers on the same proportion'. John O'Neil gives an account of the same events in his Diary. On 11 April he refers to 'a few blockheads' who insisted on having the Blackburn List with 5 per cent on it. As a result of the settlement reached on the 12th O'Neil's own set of weaving was reduced $\frac{1}{4}$ d. instead of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. advance, '... making a difference of three farthings, which goes into the Master's pocket and does not benefit the rest of the weavers. They feel disappointed and I am not sorry for it'.¹⁵

A week later, on Thursday 19 April, Dewhursts' weavers were all out as a result of their not paying the Standard List plus 5 per cent. The success of the weavers, winders and warpers at Low Moor was followed by demands from the spinners. A deputation on 7 June asked for an advance of 5 per cent—'... we shall no doubt have to give it, although the markets for yarn are so much lower'. They tried again a week later and were given to understand that if times improved, they would be listened to. An entry in the Diary on Thursday 26 July implies that an advance was given to Card-room hands and spinners owing to the scarcity of labour for these jobs. The spinners applied for an additional 5 per cent on 23 August to bring them up to the Blackburn List and on 29 August there was a meeting of Masters in Clitheroe to decide what was to be done about the demand. The final outcome of these negotiations is not recorded in the Diary, but at the end of the year James Garnett summed up his feelings about the labour troubles—'Trade on the whole has been pretty good, but hands in consequence have been almost unmanageable'.

There is a postscript to this period on 5 January 1861 when the Diary records the dismissal of Pinder by the Executive Committee of the Weavers' Union in connection with charges of embezzlement. The whole atmosphere of industrial relations was to change during the year, with a decline in prosperity and the start of the American Civil War.

There are occasional references in the Diary to the great

¹⁵ R. Sharpe France ed, *op. cit.* p. 139.

Colne strike, which lasted eleven months from June 1860 to May 1861, and which is very fully referred to in the Diary of John O'Neil, who provides much evidence of the support from Clitheroe for the Colne strikers.¹⁶ James Garnett recorded the start of the strike on 6 June 1860—'The Colne weavers are going out on strike in order to obtain the amount of wages paid in Blackburn, in some instances they are 4d. a piece below'. The Diary also provides evidence of the attempt of the Colne and Burnley masters to get wider support against the strikers. On 20 June the Clitheroe masters considered a request from the Burnley Associated Masters for them to support the Colne masters—'. . . this we decline to do as we can possibly gain nothing by such a course'.

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

Although many of the entries in the Diary refer to the mill or to industrial relations, there are also numerous entries of a more personal kind which illustrate aspects of the life of a manufacturer of the period. Apart from the cotton mill at Low Moor, the Garnetts had other business interests and investments. They were partners in a merchant ship, the *Araxes*, which sailed regularly between Liverpool and Alexandria and ports on the Levant coast. Three members of the family, Jeremiah, Tom and Jim Garnett made a trip on the ship in 1858, and James himself had been on a similar voyage three years earlier. A typical cargo is recorded on 27 February 1860—'. . . 1787 bales of cotton, 1240 quarters of grain and other items'. The captain of the vessel at this period was Alfred Horsfall, presumably a connection of the family with whom the Garnetts had earlier been in partnership at Low Moor. They must have been doing fairly well, since, when Alfred Horsfall left the *Araxes* to join a larger ship in March 1860, James Garnett wrote (19 March)—'I trust the present captain . . . will make her pay as well as the late one'.

Both James Garnett and his brother were investing in insurance in 1860. On 18 May James wrote to Cunliffe & Co. of Manchester for application forms for shares in the Thames & Mersey Insurance Company and asked them to pay a deposit on 150 shares for himself and 200 for William. They were allotted 100 each on 5 June.

The family figure in the Diary more especially in the daily comings and goings which are part of any family life. There were frequent visits to Otley, sometimes for family occasions,

¹⁶ R. Sharpe France, *op. cit.* pp. 142-60.

such as funerals or weddings. James went, for example, on 5 April 1858 leaving home about 5 a.m., driving to Skipton and catching the first train to Shipley, from where he walked to Otley. On this occasion he went for the fishing, but did not have any luck and returned a couple of days later. Birthdays are faithfully recorded—his father's on 18 January, his own on 24 April, his son Tom's on 22 August. His father's birthday was always the occasion for a family gathering: on 18 January 1858, when Thomas Garnett was 59, 'Emma (James's wife) and I and Tom dined at Low Moor (the house adjoining the mill). The whole of the family was present'. Thursday 18 November was James Garnett's wedding day and his second anniversary was celebrated in 1858 with a tea party at which eight members of the family and nine or ten friends were present.

James Garnett's eldest son, Tom, was born on 22 August 1857, before the Diary begins, but there are occasional references to his development as well as to his birthdays. On 22 January the diarist notes that 'Tom is seven months old to day' and four days later his mother found his first tooth.

There are accounts of holidays in 1859 and 1860. The family spent a week at New Brighton in 1859, travelling by train on Monday 1 August to Liverpool and thence by ferry. They stayed at Mrs. Bannisters, Belle Vue—'Our room was tolerably well situated but not quite what I expected from the price we had to pay for a sitting room and 2 bedrooms, viz 55/- and 60/- including attendance'. On the Tuesday they began by having a drive on the sands for an hour and after dinner saw H.M.S. *Nile* go out. James Garnett and his wife went to Liverpool in the afternoon and the children were taken to the sands; Tom (then nearly two years old) '... was highly delighted with wading in the water and using his wooden spade'. They had their first bathe on the Wednesday, followed by donkey rides for the children. On Friday evening they drove to see the park at Birkenhead—'... it is beautifully laid out, but I was disappointed at not seeing more flowers'.

In 1860 James Garnett and his wife went on a trip to Scotland with four friends—Mr and Mrs Joe Garstang, Edward Anderton, and Harry Robinson. The children were left behind at Low Moor in the care of Martha, James Garnett's sister.¹⁷ The party left by the 1.15 train to Carlisle on Monday 25 June. They stayed the night there and on the following day visited the cathedral, the castle and Carr's biscuit works—'... they make 3

¹⁷ Martha, daughter of Thomas and Susannah Garnett was born 27 Oct. 1830 and baptized privately 13 Nov. Clitheroe Parish Registers, Lancs. Record Office, P.R. 1865.

tons of biscuits, use 3,000 lb butter, 4,000 eggs daily and make 90 different sorts'. The Wednesday and Thursday were spent in Edinburgh, visiting Holyrood, Parliament House, the Castle, Robin Castle and Chapel and the Zoological Gardens. On Friday 29 June they went by steamer from Edinburgh to Stirling and thence to Perth and Dunkeld, where they spent the week-end. A drive by carriage through the pass of Killicrankie to Blair Atholl occupied the Monday and Garnett notes that Joe Garstang took a photograph of the old bridge of Garry. On Tuesday 3 July they travelled by coach to Callander and thence to the Trossachs Hotel where they stayed the night. The next day they drove to the foot of Loch Katrine, went by steamer along the lake, drove to Inversnaid, then by steamer along Loch Lomond and train to Glasgow. Garnett thought the scenery around Loch Lomond the most beautiful of the whole trip. Glasgow also pleased them and they visited the cathedral, the University and the Andersonian Museum as well as going on one or two ships on the Clyde. On Friday 6 July they took the afternoon train to Lancaster and looked over the Castle the following morning before returning to Clitheroe.

There is an interesting series of entries in 1859 relating to the new fashion of family photographs. On 1 February Thomas Garnett '... brought with him from Manchester ... a very good photographic likeness of himself taken by A. Brothers, St. Ann's Square'.¹⁸ A week later James ordered a photographic portrait of his father from Brothers and on 25 February his Mother '... bought a photograph of herself and another of my Father painted in oil which is an excellent one'. In July of the same year a family photograph was taken at Waddow Hall—'Tom Ingham has been at Waddow this evening taking a photograph of Tom on his pony, Emma and I were included in the picture'.

There are occasional references to the house and its furnishings. James Garnett lived at Waddow Hall in Waddington on the opposite bank of the river Ribble from Low Moor Mill. His father and mother and his brother William, until his marriage in 1862, lived at Low Moor House, adjoining the mill. In the summer of 1858, James was busy furnishing and decorating the drawing-room at Waddow. On 26 June he bought '... a marble mantelpiece and new grate for the drawing-room' which was put in on 2 July. On 6 July 'Young Banks finished hanging the drawing-room bells' and the room was papered the following week. In August James got an estimate of £14 '... to oak panel the lobby, staircase, landing at Waddow and to paper the same

¹⁸ Alfred Brothers, photographer, 14 St Ann's Square, Manchester. *Post Office Directory of Manchester*, 1858.

with oak paper'. In March 1859 he bought a Coalbrookdale cast-iron chimney piece from John Baldwin, a Clitheroe iron-monger '... on condition that after being set up they send a man to polish it'. The same month Garnett was worried about the possibility of poisonous material being used in the manufacture of green-flock wallpaper he had purchased for the dining room. There are one or two references to pictures: on 20 December 1858 James bought some engravings in Manchester, eight Landseers and two others for £15. Nor did Waddow lack a characteristic item of Victoriana—on 1 January 1859 'Hodgkinson put a piece of plate glass in the picture frame *Stag at Bay* dimensions 3ft 8 in by 2 ft 4 in'.

James Garnett took a great interest in his garden and there are a number of references to planting vegetables and fruit, to the crops when they were ready and also to the flower garden. On 16 March 1858, for example, he notes the planting of lemon kidney potatoes and on 29 October the same year the fact that he got a second crop of potatoes from the garden. A new strawberry bed was planted in July 1858 and on 18 August James received a melon which William had grown at Low Moor.

Some indications are given of James Garnett's reading habits. He regularly purchased *The Times* and the *Preston Guardian* and saw the *Manchester Guardian* of which his uncle was editor, very frequently. On 25 February 1860 he gave 5s. 0d. for '... a book entitled *Self-Help*' which he lent a fortnight later to Mr Musson, one of his friends in Clitheroe. Samuel Smiles's classic was first published in September 1859.

Like other members of his family, James Garnett had a great interest in Natural History. One of his nephews, William, was an ornithologist and another, Richard, became Assistant Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum and wrote an article on 'Notes on Birds' in the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*. His father, Thomas Garnett, was one of the first to propose artificial propagation of fish and his papers on Natural History were collected and privately printed. The Diary contains a number of observations on birds and other aspects of Natural History. James regularly notes the first time he hears a thrush, a black-bird, cuckoo or other bird sing in Spring—on Monday 8 February 1858, for example,—'I heard a throstle sing for the first time this season and on Saturday I heard a chaffinch'. On 29 March in the same year he wrote 'A barn owl came in the house to night, which I caught and let go again'. He was interested in buying specimens: on Monday 20 February 1860 he wrote to Mr Buckley Sharp of Bradford for '... a catalogue of Mr Ainley's effects. I wish to see what specimens of Natural History there are'. On 12 March the

same year he refers to a commission for the purchase of butterflies, but prices were too high at the time.

The Diary also shows that the Garnett family had sporting interests—fishing, hunting and shooting—which they shared with the local landowners. Fishing was a particular interest of James's and he regularly records the sight and catching of the first fish of the season. In 1858, for example:

- Thursday 18 March: 'I killed the first fish of the season today, only one'.
 Friday 7 May: 'I saw the smelts in the cut for the first time to day they were not very numerous but large'.
 Wednesday 26 May: 'The first salmon of the season has been seen to day'.
 Monday 21 June: 'I saw another salmon in the river this morning and had it caught'.
 Wednesday 23 June: 'Killed another salmon about 10 lb. below the mill'.

In 1860 he caught his first fish with fly on 9 March and killed two salmon on the 18th of the same month. He regularly caught salmon and trout both in the Ribble and the Hodder.

James Garnett also went shooting from time to time. On Saturday 13 November 1858 he wrote 'I have been shooting this afternoon. I saw a great many partridges but got none. I also saw ten hares in Waddow'. Ten days later he had '. . . some good sport snipe shooting. I fired at several but only got one'. His brother, William, certainly owned shooting rights because on 3 January 1860 James tells about a man called Jack Hayhurst being caught 'shooting partridge in William's ground'.

LOW MOOR VILLAGE

There are occasional references in the Diary to the village of Low Moor where most of the Garnetts' employees lived.¹⁹ In April 1858 there was an epidemic of *Scarletina* in which several children died. The water-supply is mentioned on the 27th of the same month when 'The old pump in front of Richard Isherwood' was pulled up and '. . . the pipe taken out of the well'. At one time it supplied the whole village with water. In August 1859, William Garnett distributed 'Mr Horsfall's charity'—10s. 0d.

¹⁹ For information about the community and its population at this period see Owen Ashmore, *op. cit.* pp. 140–52.

each to everyone who had lived and worked 30 years at Low Moor—and 'a goodly number' received it. At the end of 1860 there was a move to re-start the Mechanics' Institute, which had opened in 1852 and then died away. On 1 December the Clitheroe Recorder, T. H. Ingham, gave a lecture for the benefit of the Institution on 'Old Saws and their lessons'.

In 1859 there are a series of entries relating to the church at Low Moor. Surviving correspondence in the Clitheroe Parish Records²⁰ shows that there was a 'new building' to accommodate 300 people in 1844 (probably built in 1840)²¹ provided by Jeremiah Garnett, great-uncle of James, and that there was a move to make Low Moor into a separate chapelry. A letter of 20 March 1845 from the Rev. J. Anderton, vicar of Clitheroe, offering the curacy of Low Moor to the Rev. T. Sewell of Lower Gornall, Worcestershire, mentions morning and evening services on Sundays, a lecture on Thursday evenings, Sunday School and evening school. Services ceased in 1853 or 1854 owing, according to Stephen Clarke, to 'some unpleasantness arising out of the payment of the stipend to the curate then in charge'.²² On 4 March 1859 James Garnett refers to a correspondence between Christopher Geldard, superintendent of the Sunday School at Low Moor and manager of the mill, and Mr Anderton, vicar of Clitheroe, about Low Moor Church being reopened. Anderton indicated that he would be glad to see the Sunday scholars at the Parish Church and on 8 March James Garnett himself had an interview with Mr Anderton, after which he thought that '... matters are in a fair way for being amicably settled without compromising he or us'. They had another meeting the next day and concluded an amicable agreement '... so that hence forward we can meet on terms of friendship'. On Sunday 20 March some of the Sunday scholars from Low Moor attended service at Clitheroe Parish Church and the next day James's Mother, Susannah Garnett, and Mrs Anderton '... exchanged civilities with each other... this is the first time for five years'. There was still some difficulty with Henrietta Garnett, of Roefield, surviving daughter of old Jeremiah Garnett. On Tuesday 17 May James Garnett refers to an advertisement in the *Blackburn Standard* for the erection of a new school for Low Moor Church, the architects being Travis & Co. of Manchester²³—'Miss Garnett evidently intends the Clitheroe people to have nothing to do with anything connected with the Church or its parson'. Some

²⁰ Lancs. Record Office, PR 1997.

²¹ Stephen Clarke, *Clitheroe in the old coaching days*, p. 57.

²² Stephen Clarke, *op. cit.*

²³ Travis and Maynell, architects, 3 Norfolk Street, Manchester are in *Post Office Directory of Manchester*, 1858 and 1860.

light is thrown on the difficulty by an earlier entry on 23 July 1858 when Christopher Geldard and Roberts (another Sunday-School teacher) went to see Miss Garnett about opening the church and '... met with anything but a cordial reception and was told that they would not be acknowledged as Sunday-School teachers by the clergymen she had appointed to the church'. The earlier correspondence referred to above indicates that Jeremiah Garnett had been the patron and his daughter Henrietta, had presumably succeeded. It was not until 1870 that the new church of St Paul's Low Moor, was opened.

LOCAL NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

Like his fellow diarist, John O'Neil, James Garnett records items of news from many quarters. It is clear that many of these came from reading the newspapers, but others strike a more personal note.

He records, for example, the coming of electric telegraph to Clitheroe, some twenty years after it had first come into use on the railways. On 29 June 1859 the partners received '... a notice from the British Magnetic Telegraph Co. stating the telegraph at Clitheroe was in working order and that we could transmit messages within a circuit of 50 miles for 1s 6d exclusive of the addresses to and from'. They were quick to respond and sent their first telegraphic message the following day. On 4 July they received two telegrams from Manchester.²⁴

The Diary also records the laying of the first Atlantic cable in 1858. On 8 June James Garnett wrote 'The vessels employed to lay down the Atlantic telegraph have been out at sea 4 or 5 days experimenting as to the best mode of laying the cable and have been quite successful.' The first attempt was frustrated by stormy weather, but on 19 July the diarist wrote 'The Atlantic Telegraph squadron sailed from Queenstown yesterday morning to make another attempt to lay the cable' and the successful completion of the work was noted on 6 August—'The *Agammemnon* arrived at Valentia yesterday bringing one end of the cable and the *Niagara* reached Newfoundland with the other.' On 18 August the first messages were sent, one of them quoted in the Diary—'England and America are united by telegraph, Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, good will towards men.' The Queen also sent a despatch to the President of the United States.

²⁴ The British and Irish Magnetic Telegraph Company appear in the *Manchester Post Office Directory* for 1858 at 11 Ducie Street, Exchange and at 38 Mosley Street, Manchester. In 1861 they had offices at Victoria, New Bailey Street, Oldfield Road and Pendleton stations.

James Garnett also regularly noted events in the national and international fields. Many of the entries were clearly taken direct from newspapers without much additional comment, which might reveal his attitudes or personal outlook. A typical example is the entry on 14 January 1858—'Attempted assassination of the Emperor of the French by two Italians who threw several grenades or shells which exploded near his carriage when he alighted at one of the theatres in Paris. Fortunately he was not killed, but there were several who were, besides above a hundred more who were wounded. The assassins had resided in Birmingham for some time and at this place also the explosive shells were made'. Later in the year Garnett referred to the Aliens Bill brought before Parliament as a result of the attempted assassination and also to a pamphlet published by Napoleon III in March 1858 complaining about the harbouring of refugees. During 1858 the Diary follows events in the war with China, including the bombardment of Canton in February, and the final stages of the quelling of the Indian Mutiny. Garnett had a commercial interest in both of these since India and China were among the chief markets for the cloth produced at Low Moor. In 1860 he followed the progress of Garibaldi in his Italian campaign with perhaps a note of approval on 1 June—'The insurrection is making great progress. Garibaldi is entering Palermo and no doubt ere now the whole city is in his hands'.

Garnett also made regular entries about proceedings in Parliament—the passing of the India Bill in July 1858, the Queen's speech at the opening of Parliament in February 1859, Disraeli's Reform Bill in February and March of the same year. On the last-mentioned topic there is a slight hint of a moderate liberal outlook when he wrote on 28 February 'Mr. Disraeli brings in the Government Reform Bill tonight. I trust it may prove acceptable and not to be too radical.' In fact Disraeli failed to carry all his colleagues with him and the government was defeated on 31 March.

Royal occasions are noted. On 25 January 1858 'The princess Royal's wedding day, which has been celebrated with great pomp and splendour in London. It took place in the private chapel at St. James's Palace. We celebrated it at Waddow by having Miss Oddies, Mrs. Tomlin and my Father and Mother and William to tea.' The next day James Garnett noted that Prince and Princess Frederick William had embarked on the Royal Yacht at Gravesend *en route* to Prussia. In September 1858 he recorded the visit of Queen Victoria to Leeds to open the new town hall and noted that it was the first time she had stayed overnight in the house of a commoner—that of the Lord Mayor.

Events of interest outside the political sphere are also noted. There was a partial eclipse of the moon from 9 to 11 p.m. on Saturday 27 February 1858 which the family watched at Wad-dow and an eclipse of the sun on the 15 March following which they were unfortunately prevented by cloud from seeing. Garnett noted the sailing of the Livingstone expedition from Liverpool in the *Pearl* on 10 March 1858 and the sailing of Brunel's paddle steamship *Great Eastern* from Southampton to New York on 18 June 1860 with '... well under 40 passengers'. She arrived in New York on the 28th, an average speed of 14 knots for the voyage. There is a reference to a theme which was to become much more prominent in subsequent years on 8 May 1860 when a runaway slave gave a lecture at Low Moor—'... he escaped on a cotton ship to Liverpool.' There is even a reminder that public executions still took place in 1860. On 8 September James Garnett wrote 'I have been in Liverpool today and as I was returning I saw a man hung, who had murdered his wife ... we could see him from the Railway as he was hanging.'

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