

For further information visit: - <http://www.tioli.co.uk>

AND THE CHILDREN'S TEETH ARE SET ON EDGE

Copyright © 2010 Jonathan Huddleston

All rights reserved.

You have been granted the non-exclusive, non-transferable right to access, read and print the text of this e-book for personal use only. No part of this book may be stored, reproduced, or transmitted in any form or by any means except for your own personal use without the express permission of the author.

Downloading, saving, or opening this document signifies your assent to these terms.

•CHAPTER 13•

Civil War in Lancashire

Some factory maisters tokes for t' Seawth
Wi' a smooth an' oily tongue,
Bud iv they'd sense they'd shut their meawth,
Or sing another song;
Let liberty nod slavery
Be fostered an' extended—
Four million slaves mun yet be free,
An' then t' war will be ended.

William Billington

The Death of Adam Hodgson.

Adam Hodgson died on Sunday December 28th 1862 and his death was announced to the people of Liverpool on January 2nd 1863 in the Courier's fulsome obituary which began; "*We have to-day the unwelcome task of recording the loss by death of another of the good men whose benevolence and practical Christianity placed them amongst the most highly esteemed of the public men of Liverpool.*"

Noting that it was barely two months since they had published an address from the Church of England clergy on his retirement from the town it mentioned the universal esteem in which he was held, "*as much for the modesty and gentleness with which he exercised his generosity, as for the extent of his liberality, which in many instances was known only to a few, so careful was he not to make a parade of his good deeds.*"

In recent years, it went on, he had not been associated with public meetings other than of a charitable nature and his "*industrious life enabled him to retire upon a competency some years ago; so that, free from the cares of business, and with means at command, he had ample opportunity of following the kindly dictates of his heart.*" His business career was summarised, noting his retirement from the Liverpool to Manchester Railway over Sunday working, which trait spoke to "*the character of the man.*" His role in the anti-slavery movement was recorded; "*one of the chief spirits in this town in agitating for the abolition of slavery in the British dominions. ... In this good work he was associated with William Roscoe, James Cropper, and other departed worthies, and the still living philanthropist, William Rathbone.*"

Civil War in Lancashire

On his role, as the Courier saw it, in defence of the Church of England, which testified *“to his candour and high principle,”* it recorded his first involvement at a meeting in the Amphitheatre. *“Mr. Hodgson stood forward and honestly avowed, ... that he and others who had agreed with him in regarding Dr. McNeile’s hostility to Romanism as illiberal and uncalled for, had been mistaken, that he had only seen further than they had done and deserved the gratitude of the community for giving warning of a gigantic evil which had only been too long disregarded.”*

It then moved on to his *“great authority in monetary matters”* and noted that although the Bank of Liverpool’s deed of settlement required each director to retire after three years, *“when Mr. Adam Hodgson’s turn came round, the proprietors at their annual meeting passed a special resolution which enabled the directors to retain his services.”* Finally the obituary referred to his role in the currency crisis, when the directors personally subscribed to have his portrait painted which still hung in the bank parlour as a *“valuable memento to the deceased gentleman.”*

At a special meeting of the town council on January 2nd convened to appoint trustees of local charities the Mayor R. C. Gardner said – *“Gentlemen, the close of the old year is accompanied by the close of the long useful life of a most respected and esteemed fellow townsman – a gentleman whose loss is ever to be regretted, both in his private and public capacity – I allude to the late lamented Adam Hodgson.”* For several days the town hall flag was flown at half mast.^{1,2}

On the same day, the day after President Abraham Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation took effect, Adam Hodgson’s mortal remains were interred in the churchyard of Caton Chapel.³ Although his will stated that he should be buried with *“as little expense as maybe”* the funeral cortege was described as *“very imposing.”* However by the standards of the day it was a quiet family affair with just four mourning coaches and two private carriages in the procession from Scarthwaite to Caton Chapel. In the first coach were his widow and three of his sons; the Rev. Thomas Edward Hodgson, Evelyn Gisborne Hodgson, and Reginald Hodgson.

Reginald, after the death of Wilberforce Hodgson in 1861, had taken over the cotton brokerage of Hodgson and Riley with James Riley’s son also called James. He would have been about twenty one years old. Around 1864 he withdrew and formed the brokerage of Hodgson and Cookson.⁴ Evelyn Gisborne Hodgson who would have been about 15 at this time assisted in running Penny Readings in the school room at Low Mill in the 1860’s and was awarded a Cartwright Fellowship at Oxford whilst attending as a commoner at Exeter College in 1867.^{5,6}

The Rev. Thomas Edward Hodgson took a BA at Trinity Cambridge and was ordained a deacon by the Bishop of Lichfield in 1850 and became vicar of St. Cuthbert’s Darlington.^{7,8} In the next coach were Fred and Edward Hodgson and the Rev. Adam Henry Hodgson accompanied by the Rev. P. Champneys. Edward Hornby Hodgson was also a broker in the firm of Hodgson, Mather & Co. Of Frederick nothing appears to be known. Adam Henry Hodgson was ordained a deacon in 1853 by the Bishop of Lichfield, was a temporary curate at St Leonard the Less in Samesbury in 1865, and may have become a cleric in Bath.^{9,6} Phipps Champneys, perhaps the widow’s brother, was ordained Rector of Badsworth from 1859 and died in 1879.

They were followed in the third coach by Rev. H. Champneys, Rev. G. T. Fox, P. H. Fletcher and H. T Hodgson. Henry Tylston Hodgson was the son of Adam’s

And the Children's Teeth are Set on Edge

brother Isaac, and was a director of the Midland Railway by 1881 and lived at Welcombe, Harpenden. Phillip Henry Fletcher was the son of John Fletcher and Thomas Hodgson's daughter Elizabeth. His elder brother was Thomas Hodgson Fletcher who died in Calcutta in 1832 aged 25 and who had taken out with him as a gift to Rammohun Roy, a Brahmin and Christian convert, a selection of the works of William Roscoe at his request.^{10,11} It seems likely that Hodgson and Riley had an agency in India, Hodgson and Cookson certainly did.¹²

The last mourning coach contained Mr. Hazell, B. H. Allen, John Greg, and J. P. Langshaw. J. P. Langshaw's daughter Fanny married Hubert Austin, Paley's partner from 1868. She had a porch built to her father's memory at St Mary's Lancaster. The widow was the daughter of Lucy Hornby who married Henry William Champneys and was the great granddaughter of Edward the 11th Earl of Derby. Her sister was Benjamin Haig Allen's first wife. Allen was the founder of Trinity Church, Huddersfield and B.H. Allen was probably their son.

Further mourners followed in the private carriages of John Greg and J. Sharp. The service was conducted by Arthur Christopherson and the mourners were said to be *"very much affected when the remains of the good old man were consigned to their last resting place."*

Later in January at the annual meeting of the Scripture Readers Society with the Rt. Rev. Lord Bishop of Chester presiding.¹³ The Bishop said that Adam Hodgson's death *"had been a great private sorrow and loss to the members of his own family, but it was a public loss to Liverpool."* His name had been connected with all the public charities of Liverpool and his name *"would be long and deservedly held in honour."* The widow had sent £65 for the support of an additional scripture reader with the promise that this would continue annually as long as she lived. Hugh McNeile on the other hand gave an impassioned speech on the evils of the Society of Jesuits.

In February the Annual Meeting of the patrons of the Lancashire Female refuge was held in the Bible Repository.¹⁴ T. B. Barclay presided and reported that the asylum, established 40 years ago, presently had 18 women and the new laundry had been completed. His report concluded with a regretful allusion to the loss the institution had sustained in the death of two valued friends, Adam Hodgson and William Gregson. On the motion of William Rathbone a resolution was adopted expressing sincere regret at the loss of Adam Hodgson and William Gregson to whom, along with Adam Gladstone, the refuge was mainly indebted for its flourishing position.

A few days later the 27th Annual Meeting of the Liverpool and London Insurance Company was held with T. A. Tobin in the chair.¹⁵ Amalgamation with Globe Insurance Company had not yet been completed and they had agreed to take over the business of Unity Fire Association. He regretted the death of George Grant Esq. the late chairman and Adam Hodgson the last of its original trustees. *"The distinguished position he held as a commercial man, and the great respect universally accorded to him marked him out for posts of responsibility and trust, and he would long be remembered."* He moved a dividend of 30% free of income tax less five percent on the portion of the capital not yet called up. The directors at the time were William Earle, Hugh Hornby, George Hall Lawrence, and Edward Moon.

Civil War in Lancashire

In January of 1864 the Annual Meeting of the Church of England Scripture Readers Society was held at the Collegiate Institution – the attendance was not very numerous.¹⁶ The Lord Bishop of Chester presided and the Rev. McNeile was on the platform. The Bishop said he had come to show his interest in the society and his respect for its current president, Christopher Bushell. He had two predecessors in the office, the late Mr Adam Hodgson and the late Mr William Gregson. They were men whose names he could never mention without feelings of gratitude for the kindness he had always received from them, *“but they were also men whose names would never be mentioned in Liverpool whilst this generation of people lasted without grateful remembrance of the services they had rendered to Liverpool – the zeal which they had shown in promoting the good work of Christian charity in their generation, and especially in promoting every work of Christian charity in connection with the church. He hoped they would long be remembered for their own example of a truly Christian life.”*

Adam Hodgson’s contribution to Liverpool affairs was recalled as late as 1899 when the Mercury in an article revisiting the origins of the Liverpool to Manchester Railway briefly mentioned his role in its formation.¹⁷

Civil War.

Reactions to the outbreak of civil war in America differed throughout the country, there were those, what was particularly surprising in Lancashire, who supported the northern republicans, and many public meetings were held in support of Lincoln. On the other hand there were those who supported the southern plantation aristocrats and favoured breaking the blockade of the south. As a result two contrasting meetings took place in the vicinity of Liverpool during 1863.

In January John Cropper and others called a meeting in the Clarendon Rooms to *“bring the policy of the American Government fairly before the public mind.”*¹⁸ The Rev. Birrell moved the motion that American policy merited their sympathy and called for public meetings and lectures to be held prior to calling a public meeting to adopt an address to Lincoln. Charles Robertson said that those who supported secession should support it minus slavery. Mr. Spence argued in opposition that there were those who thought the emancipation proposals madness; the casting of a firebrand amongst a colossal mass of humanity and not for the first time he attempted to justify the position from biblical sources. The right of Englishmen to express any opinion over the actions of the federal government was questioned and especially the endorsement of every act of a continuing war. They had no more right to do this than, *“the three tailors of Tooley Street.”* Mr. Spence’s advocacy of the southern cause was answered at length by Mr. Patterson and the motion once put was passed with only two hands raised against it.

Advocates of the Northern cause were often dismissed particularly by The Times which declared that no one in England imagined that the President, who had over and over again declared that his object was to restore the union, with slavery if he could, without slavery if he must, desired emancipation himself.¹⁹ Cropper began to organize meetings in support of the proposition to support the North. At one meeting a factory operative named Mr. Dix spoke saying that he stood before them

And the Children's Teeth are Set on Edge

as a victim of the present panic. He declared that it was a working man's question. Those who advocated the cause of the South wanted him to work continually for 12s per week because they advocated a system in which men were compelled to work without wages. As long as slavery existed wages would be low.²⁰

In early February Cropper was the Liverpool delegate at a meeting between the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society and Charles Francis Adams, Lincoln's ambassador to Britain.²¹ Following this, like his father during previous agitations, he attended large meetings all over the country to rouse support for the Northern cause.²²

On February 10th John Cropper convened the planned public meeting intended to express sympathy with the emancipation measures of the United States Government and to condemn the attempt by the South to found a polity based on Negro Slavery. The meeting was held in the Amphitheatre where every seat and every inch of standing room was taken up. Cropper said he was not going to justify the American war, the causes of which were slavery in the South and complicity with it in the north. He detested the party in the South which gloried in building a confederacy based on the right of man to hold property in man. He quoted from a speech by the confederate Vice-President Stephens made on March 21st 1861 in Savannah. *"African slavery, as it exists among us, is the proper status of the Negro in our form of civilisation. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution.... Our new government is founded, Its cornerstone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man – that slavery is his natural and normal condition."* He produced evidence from the speeches of Stephens and Jefferson Davis that they proposed to re-open the slave trade. He said he could not understand Englishmen and Christians who sympathised with it or who expected that slavery would ever voluntarily be terminated by its measures. He said they were taunted with being insignificant and lacking in respectability. This was nothing new. The first advocates of freedom were a small, despised and insignificant body. *"With a few, a very few, honourable exceptions, they numbered none of the wealthy or the influential – none of the higher classes of the community, either social or mercantile. Among these few exceptions in Liverpool I may mention the names of Isaac and Adam Hodgson. The former left Liverpool many years ago; the latter continued amongst us, the supporter of social, moral and religious interests, till increasing years and infirmities laid him aside, and it is but very recently that he entered into his rest, full of years and of honour."* The allusion was greeted with loud applause. He mentioned a meeting that had taken place 70 years before at which the town's merchants met to pass resolutions deprecating all interference with their gainful commerce. *"Those resolutions would have passed without a dissentient voice had it not been for the strong sense of humanity and right in one man..... when the resolution was put by the mayor he manfully raised his solitary arm against it. This man was the late Isaac Hadwen."*

Cropper rhetorically asked what Lincoln had done to merit approval, and answered – enforced laws against slave trading, entered into slave trade treaties with Britain, prohibited slavery forever in their territories, abolished slavery in the district of Columbia, entered into diplomatic relations with the Negro republics of Haiti and Liberia, offered terms of compensated abolition to the loyal states, and proclaimed liberty to the slaves in the states in rebellion.²³

Civil War in Lancashire

Resolutions were adopted which declared that the war originated in slavery and that the emancipation policy advocated by the Federal Government deserved the generous support of every Englishman.

On the other hand there were those who noticed in the renewed agitation of the slavery question the absence of Brougham, the Wilberforces, and the Buxtons and dismissed the abolitionists as “*men of whom nobody ever heard,*” and their arguments as “*nonsense.*”²³ And as usual in Liverpool, there were plenty who agreed. William and John Laird the Birkenhead shipbuilders had been condemned vociferously at a public meeting held in Manchester Free Trade Hall which urged the government to punish Lairds for violating the law on arming belligerents.²⁴ Lairds had laid the keel of a vessel numbered 290 on their books in January 1862. It was launched in April, fitted out over the next 3 months, and sailed to the Azores to be fitted with armaments supplied by a vessel from London.²⁵ Lairds had previously informed the government that two vessels building in its yards were yachts for the Emperor of China. Vessel 290 became the *CSS Alabama*. The unrepentant attitude of Laird’s was evident in a speech made by John Laird MP at the Music Hall in Birkenhead, where he was presenting prizes to the Birkenhead Volunteers.²⁶ His speech criticised the Admiralty for failing to appreciate changes in ship design, in particular its failure to recognise the length of time and the special skills required to build iron vessels. More particularly the changes that new and more powerful weaponry, in the form of Blakely and turreted guns, made to ship design which meant that ships could no longer be designed as if to engage in old-fashioned broadside actions as typified by the new but already out-of date warship *HMS Warrior*.

He mentioned two vessels built on the Mersey, the *Alabama* and the *Florida*, built by Mitchell’s of Liverpool, and in a rousing speech to loud and continued cheering said he was not at all ashamed that his sons had designed and built the *Alabama*. These two vessels had defied the power of 400 ships and had never been caught. He denied claims that the *Alabama* had been built in secret and had “*escaped*” or that sailors who had been hired had been told of the intended voyage.

“*Would the captain of a ship on such an expedition go and tell a common sailor, at the Sailors’ Home, all the ins and outs of his intentions.... Certainly not. It is not necessary, in engaging men to go to any part of the world, to tell those men where they are going.... I am an old hand... in fitting out secret expeditions... I can tell you a few shillings per month extra did all the business. They did not care where they went to as long as they got a little extra pay.... Therefore the statement regarding the captain of the Alabama having told a sailor all about the ship – whose she was, and where she was for – bears the impress of falsehood on the very face of it.*” He said that Earl Russell had said that if found the law insufficient he would go to parliament for an indemnity but “*people are only bound to obey the law as it stands and not to obey laws which may possibly come to be passed hereafter.*”

For the construction of these warships the United States initially claimed \$2 billion dollars in compensation or the cession of the Canadian colonies. The so-called Alabama Claims were eventually reduced and after arbitration \$15.5 million dollars was paid over in 1872 for this violation of neutrality.²⁷

What was worse it appeared that American slave-traders were moving their operations to Liverpool. In April 1861 the vessel *Nightingale* was captured by the

And the Children's Teeth are Set on Edge

sloop of war *Saratoga* carrying a cargo of 940 slaves.²⁸ The vessel had been fitted out in October and November 1860 in Liverpool under the aegis of a Liverpool shipbroker by the name of Bowen apparently the brother of the Captain which cleared with general goods apparently for St. Thomas. By June of 1862 Russell had declared "*That it has not been an uncommon thing for these vessels to receive their outfit in Liverpool and sail thence on these infamous ventures.*"²⁹ Whether he was correct in this sweeping assertion is unclear.

Hard Times Once More.

By January of 1862 it was apparent that the war in America was affecting the cotton districts of Lancashire. However, there was no lack of cotton in Liverpool at the time but the question was still asked whether Britain should break the nominal blockade imposed by the North upon the South. By April some 50,000 were receiving relief in the principal cotton towns some 2 or 3 times more than a year previously. The slack was being taken up by short time working, the average being 2 to 3 days a week. In the Manchester area the mills employed some 350,000 hands but only 58,000 were actually idle on the other hand 220,000 were on short time.³⁰ By November it was becoming obvious that hundreds of thousands were threatened with starvation. Doles of bread and soup and payments of 3s 6d per family per week were all very well for a few weeks but winter was on the way with no sign of any change in circumstances.³¹ In Preston some 15,000 were on relief and the committee had only one week's expenditure in hand.³² However in the Lancaster Poor Law union only about 1700 people depended on the cotton and silk trades for a living.³³ The poor rate in Preston was assessed at 3s in the pound the same level as 1847.³⁴

Not all the effects could be blamed on the American cotton crop for as early as March 1861 employers were attempting to drive down wages in response to difficult markets in India and China and a general falling off in trade.³⁵

By April of 1862 it became apparent that the Southern Planters would not be planting a crop that year having last year's crop on their hands as a result of the federal blockade and because they were being urged to plant food crops to support the confederate army.³⁶

Throughout 1861 and 1862 the Lancaster relief committee were providing about 1000 reliefs per day.³⁷ However in March of 1862 most of the Lancaster mills, the silk mills, and the cotton mills of Moor Lane and White cross were working full time. Mr. W. Jackson's mill was on 4 days and the Bath mill and Queens mill which had been standing were expected to begin 3 day operations.³⁷ By June 52% of their cotton hands were in full time employ, 35% on short time and only 13% out of work. One reason was that the recently built table baize manufactory of James Williamson continued in full employment and the American leather cloth trade continued to be buoyant.³⁸

By the end of August the Lancaster relief committee had set up a sewing school for young female operatives in the Oddfellows Hall in Brock Street which eventually sold clothing at the New Market. The committee was also considering a proposal to drain land behind the cemetery to provide work for male operatives.^{39, 40} This seems to have been proposed in opposition to a previously proposed scheme to

Civil War in Lancashire

construct a park on Lancaster Moor and a decision was postponed. By October a School for youths had been opened in Palatine Hall and there were now 164 girls in the sewing school and the relief committee heard a proposal to construct a new road from the Goods station to Aldcliffe Lane.⁴¹

In September William Garnett MP of Quernmore Park wrote to the Mayor. He would not be making a contribution to the Prince Consort Fund to endow a scholarship at the Grammar School in hopes of better times to come.⁴² The situation was such that with winter on the way there would indeed be worse to come. The proposal for the improvement of Lancaster Moor as a pleasure ground had some legal difficulties but he was willing to contribute if these were overcome. He believed it was better for all concerned not to contribute to the relief funds all at once but to make periodical contributions as there was certainly worse to come. He would be making monthly contributions to the local relief fund to provide work for the unemployed and he was also making arrangements to employ some men on his own estate during the next few months.

By November of 1862 stocks of cotton were in fact recovering but from a very depressed state. Standing at a million bales in September of 1860 they fell by a third in 1861 and then to under 60,000 bales in September 1862 but had recovered to nearly 300,000 bales by November.⁴³ By that time the pressure on the Poor Law Unions was intense, but it was difficult to measure. Within a single poor law union were combined different areas and different townships; overall figures might disguise as much as they revealed. In Lancaster the proportion of the population receiving relief in November 1861 was about 3.8% which increased to 4.7% by November 1862. However in Preston for the same period the proportion increased from 4.3% to 47.5%; it all depended, even between different districts in a single union, upon the proportion of the population dependent on the cotton trade. In Caton we do not know how many were dependent on cotton for employment, it could have been as low as one tenth of the population; it might have been as high as one third. Nor is it known which, if any mills closed nor which were on short time or for how long. Certainly the mills at Galgate closed for some time in 1862.⁴⁴ These belonged to William Thompson who had relinquished Willow Mill and Rumble Row Mill in Caton to his manager William Stubbs in 1851. Stubbs continued the running of the silk mills but seems to have abandoned the business in 1861 and the mills were thereafter converted to bobbin mills. The closure of the silk mills cannot have been directly related to the cotton famine but perhaps the overall economic downturn was a factor. However Stubbs was about 64 at this time and perhaps it was an opportune time to get out. His son seems to have then begun a bone mill in Bentham entering the perhaps more buoyant fertiliser trade. Forge mill was also converted to a bobbin mill in 1869.⁴⁵

The second effect of the poor law was its effect on the poor rate which might increase by a factor of 2 or 3 or even 10 times, hitting cottagers and shopkeepers particularly hard. In addition something over ten percent of the poor rate of any district might be borne by the mills themselves dependent on their rateable value; mills which were now idle. By December 1862 a quarter of the population of the County of Lancaster were on relief. The assessment for the largely agricultural Caton Incorporation at ladyday 1863 showed that rateable property amounted to

And the Children's Teeth are Set on Edge

£47,863 and a rate of 1/7¾ was assessed which compared to Preston's £344,357 and 4/9½ and Lancaster's £108,101 and 1/5½.⁴⁶

By November 1862 the Lancaster relief committee was employing about 50 married and 30 single men on Lancaster Moor where a shed had been erected to allow them to work at stone breaking in bad weather. 30 men were employed in Morecambe mending roads but Storey's mill in Moor Lane had recommenced working following a stoppage.⁴⁷ The corporation heard that the mayor had been invited to join the central relief committee in Manchester and there were fears matters would get worse. They had experienced the distress very lightly but they were determined to maintain their own poor voluntarily and independent of the Manchester Committee. By December the number employed on the moor exceeded 100 and the number relieved was over 800 families.

In January and February⁴⁸ of 1863 two relief vessels arrived in Liverpool from America carrying grain for the Lancashire cotton workers. By March there had been riots and looting in Stalybridge and Ashton and fears were openly expressed that far from continuing to bear privation with stoical fortitude the Lancashire cotton operatives might move rapidly to a state of open insurrection. It was said that more was being paid out in the district in relief than had previously been earned in wages and as a result the local relief committee attempted to reduce relief and change the method by which it was distributed.

In February 1863 the Lancaster Board of Guardians petitioned against the effect of a proposed Rate in Aid Act which would adversely affected the unions of the district which had largely met the crisis by private donations.⁴⁹ Lancaster's MP William Gregson spoke in parliament and suggested that alternate employment needed to be found for the cotton workers. Even if the war ended immediately the uncertain continuance of slavery meant that the supply of cotton could never again be sufficient to meet supply at the old price and a rise in price meant less production and less employment.⁵⁰

In March the Lancaster Gazette, prompted by the proposed rate in aid bill, was asking what they were to make of the last year of privation, was there indeed a cotton famine? If there had been no war would there have been no famine? The whole situation was blamed on overproduction; "*there were too many tall chimney stacks by one half.*" Until alternate employment or emigration solved the problem public benevolence or the poor rate must continue to meet the emergency.⁵¹ It also reported a subscription got up in Boston to allow Lancashire cotton workers to emigrate. The vessel had been attacked and burned by the *Alabama* on its way to Boston.

The Reverend Charles Kingsley hysterically urged that the cotton workers should be forced to emigrate. This was in response to the conciliatory attitude taken by Mansion House to the outbreak of rioting in Stalybridge provoked by a reduction in the level of relief. He declared that the charity given from Mansion House, properly called the Central Relief Committee, were but "*sops to successful rioters, and that Britain, though it had vast colonies waiting to be tilled, would instead be forced to cut the cotton workers down with cavalry.*"⁵² In April of 1863 the Lancashire Poor Law Guardians including those of the Caton Incorporation met to decide on gathering statistics on the numbers of mills currently idle to place before

Civil War in Lancashire

parliament in response to the continuation of the Rate in Aid Act to help with the current distress.⁵³

Attempts to change the conditions of work of parish labourers in Preston led to 2 days of riots despite the fact that distress was decreasing.⁵⁴ In Lancaster the number of days the soup kitchen operated was being reduced. In parliament Villiers, the president of the poor law board, cited the Lancaster independent relief committee as an example of best practice by reading their report. In it they stated that every unemployed person relieved was found work except under exceptional circumstances. 90% were set to road work repairing foot paths and reducing hills. As a result several great improvements had been made. They had repaired a road in Morecambe washed away by the sea for which they were paid 2s per day. A number of men had been privately employed digging ditches at Quernmore Park for which they had been paid about 12s per week. Testimonials given for the work reported that it was satisfactory but inevitably unequal to that of agricultural labourers. His statement was in response to a call for an inquiry into the best means of employing unemployed operatives which he declared on this evidence was unnecessary. Throughout 1863 the limited supply of cotton led to a high price which severely restricted demand, as manufacturers were reluctant to enter the market at such a price for fear that the war would suddenly end and leave them with stocks of unsalable goods.

By June of 1863 Villiers had published a report to the president of the board of trade into the extensive use of public works to combat the distress.⁵⁵ In Lancaster the corporation had agreed to allow the relief committee to erect a soup kitchen on land in Common Garden St. Meanwhile the central relief committee was reporting considerable reduction in the numbers seeking relief in Lancashire but warned that this was from causes which the winter would remove; cotton workers were managing to find outdoor work during the summer months.⁵⁶ Meanwhile the Public Works Bill had entered the committee stage.

Farnall and Rawlinson of the Local Government Act Office visited the Lancaster Poor Law Guardians and praised their efforts and their independence from the Central Relief Committee. The Guardians heard that in some places as many as 38% of the population had been maintained on the rates. This had now fallen to 18 or 20%. That had not been the case in Lancaster and it was to be hoped it would not be. Nevertheless they could not expect any improvement with the onset of winter. Rawlinson went on to outline the operation of the Public Works Act saying that no government would ever have enacted it but for the current level of distress. He mentioned the growing of cotton in Egypt, South Africa and India and that Britain would never again "*put all its eggs in one nest.*" The work which had already been done on Lancaster Moor was discussed and Farnall and Rawlinson were questioned about borrowing under the terms of the act so that it could be turned into a "peoples' park."⁵⁷ It emerged that the landscape gardener Kemp, who had laid out Scarthwaite, was being consulted on the appearance of the park and that there was some difference of opinion as to whether it should remain as it was or be turned into a pleasure garden or into something in between. It appeared that it was the Skerton freemen who had common rights to the land on the moor and this had caused the legal delays to beginning the work.

And the Children's Teeth are Set on Edge

Kemp's plan for the Moor Park was received in October of 1863 after considerable delay and after the corporation had prompted him with several letters. Apparently he had been ill. Ownership of the land was still in doubt and a Mr Coulston who had agreed to pay £500 to the council for its purchase as a consequence would now not. The council decided to go ahead with such parts of the plan as they could implement and to trouble Kemp no more.⁵⁸

In its Christmas message of 1863 the Mercury seemed able to confidently state that the worst of the crisis had passed.⁵⁹ To some extent the extensive relief efforts and the efforts of the Poor Law Guardians combined with the Public Works Manufacturing Districts Act of 1863 had papered over the cracks. However, the sugary Christmas sentiments were premature. By January of 1864 distress was on the increase again and the central committee reported an increase in reliefs from 168,000 to 181,000.⁶⁰

In October 1864 Adam Hodgson's son Edward Hornby Hodgson a broker in the firm of Hodgson, Mather & Co went under with debts of half a million pounds. The partnership was dissolved in February 1864 following losses on cotton and American wheat which resulted in legal actions through the courts.^{61, 12, 62} In an action over disputed bills resulting from the failure it emerged that one of the parties had enquired of a partner in Brown Shipley and Co as to Hodgson's standing. The partner said he was good from what he could hear but was "*a little too fast*" for him. It had been thought that he was well connected and that his family would not let him go down.

By November of 1864 Farnall of the Poor Law Commissioners was reporting further increases in unemployment in the cotton manufacturing districts at a time when the relief funds were falling to their lowest level and when central funds for loans for relief works seemed to be proving less useful than anticipated. Those in work amounted to 155,170, those on short time to 125,926 and those actually out of work to 171,568. The central relief fund (Mansion House) had only £98,000 on hand and funds coming in were at a virtual standstill, sufficient for a few weeks at most.

The Earl of Derby declared that of the £227,000 loaned to Manchester Corporation for public works only £12,000 would be available to pay the wages of unskilled labourers and that this failure to fulfill the most basic objectives of the scheme was likely to produce a bad impression on the public mind. As far as the origins of the current crisis in cotton manufacture were concerned the problem seemed to be one of panic and uncertainty. Prior to the war, in 1860, imports were running at 12,419,096 cwt. In 1861, when the effects of the war were small, and the Southern planters rushed to export their stocks, imports of cotton were running at 11,223,378 cwt. This shrank to 4,678,333 cwt. in 1863 and in the first 9 months of 1864 imports stood at 5,323,210 cwt. Thus for the whole year they were unlikely, to amount to much more than half the demand of 1860. Much of the blame for the current distress could be ascribed to the prospect of a sudden discharge of 2 or 3 million bales of cotton from the Southern States in the event of an end to the war; in other words much the same cause as the panic of 1862. No-one wanted to be stuck with manufactures produced with high priced cotton if its price were to suddenly collapse. The Mercury on the whole thought peace a long way off; it being more likely that the South would be laid waste by fire and sword than that it would

Civil War in Lancashire

suddenly be opened up to the world's trade; such was the intransigent belligerence displayed by both sides.⁶³

By November of 1864 the central relief committee were reporting things once again getting worse. In January 158,600 had been without work, but by July and August this had fallen to a little over 100,000 yet by September it had risen again to 135,8000 and in October it had reached 171,500.⁶⁴

However by April 3rd 1865 Black Union troops had entered Richmond Virginia and by May 10th Jefferson Davis had been captured trying to flee in his wife's overcoat. The slave holding confederacy was no more after a war costing a million lives.⁶⁵

By June 1865 the committee could report that cotton operatives were being rapidly withdrawn into the mills. Demand for cotton reached levels not seen since the start of the war. Mills opened almost because they had to, if they did not operatives would be lost to those mills that did and the demand was such that wool was unlikely to fall in price for some time and there was pent up demand for cotton goods despite restrictive tariffs imposed in India. It was unlikely the south would quickly resume previous production, with slave labour disorganised and plantations in ruins.⁶⁶

Finally, and quite literally so, on Sunday November 5th 1865 the confederate cruiser *Shenandoah* entered the river Mersey and the next day Captain Waddell surrendered his vessel to the commander of *HMS Donegal*.⁶⁷ It too formed a part of the Alabama Claims.

The Razing of Caton Chapel.

Whilst it can by no means be proven that the decision to rebuild Caton Chapel was motivated by a desire to relieve the local distress among the cotton workers of the village several features of the above brief survey of the cotton panic in Lancaster make it highly plausible. John Greg was a prominent member of Lancaster Corporation, mayor in 1860/61 and again in 1862/3 and continued in various public offices until at least 1869. Both the Corporation and the Board of Guardians were determined to stay aloof from the central relief committee and to deal with their own poor themselves. A local relief committee was established which relied on private munificence and individuals such as William Garnett provided what work they could on their estates. The Moor Park which the local relief committee used to employ around 100 men during the period of the cotton panic later became a part of the land, along with the Town Quarry, purchased from the Corporation by the table baize manufacture James Williamson. This he developed at his own expense and donated back to the town as Williamson Park complete with the funds for its upkeep in 1880.⁶⁸

William James Garnett of Quernmore Park, a large estate on the outskirts of Caton adjoining Adam Hodgson's estate, seems to have promoted work programmes for the unemployed cotton operatives of Caton. Whilst contemporary accounts spoke of the cotton workers digging ditches on his estate more recent accounts tell of the construction of an ornamental garden and steps leading to a summerhouse in the grounds using stone from a quarry in the grounds. The family

And the Children's Teeth are Set on Edge

seems to have dubbed this garden walk "Hard Times" after the title of the Dickens novel.⁶⁹ The accounts are not necessarily mutually exclusive; perhaps differing simply for the consumption of different audiences. Whilst the idea was first floated in September 1862 it seems likely that the work began in the summer of 1863 after his father died on April 30th. His grandfather John Garnett had prospered as a planter in Jamaica before returning to Ulverston. His father, William with his elder brother Robert, entered the cotton trade, apparently with strong Russian connections, in Manchester around 1800. He was also involved with other Manchester Merchants such as James Kennedy and Samuel Greg in developing the Liverpool to Manchester Railway. In 1821 he purchased the Bleasdale estate near Lancaster and in 1842 he purchased Quernmore Park out of the estate of Charles Gibson who is also commemorated by a memorial in Caton Church. Later in 1856 he purchased a large part of the recently enclosed land in Quernmore from the Lancaster Corporation. In 1860 he began construction of Quernmore Church entirely at his own cost and it was here that he was interred on his death. William James Garnet also improved a road (to Postern Gates) over his Quernmore estate at great expense but whether at the time of the cotton famine is not clear.⁷⁰

John Greg would have been well aware that the cotton industry was entering a period of severe trial. Already in May of 1861 his brother Robert Hyde Greg was writing of the "*dangerous and difficult times*" the industry was facing because of the situation in America which he believed would be "*more protracted and serious*" than he had first imagined. Production at Styal collapsed to half its previous level in the years 1862-4, thereafter it gradually recovered to almost equal previous output by 1867. But with the higher prices finished goods could command Robert Hyde Greg's profits fell by little more than 4% over the period.⁷¹

John Greg in Caton on the other hand seems to have had enough; probably it was only his role as "*the Master*" in his "*model village*" of Caton that induced him to retain the Low Mill as long as he did.⁷² In January 1864 the Caton Mill was sold by John Greg to Storey Brothers of Lancaster but he had already disposed of his Lancaster Mills to the Storeys in 1861.^{73,74} Storeys, like Williamson were in the table cloth trade and seemed less affected by the cotton panic than more traditional manufacturers. Virtually all of his employees, including his apprentices, would have been chargeable to the parish rate, few if any would have been eligible for removal to their parish of origin. Most if not all were drawn from the local population by this time.

Adam Hodgson's Will was proved on 12th March 1863 and the decision to begin the project to demolish Caton Chapel must have been taken shortly thereafter. The first notice of the proposed improvements appeared at the end of May 1863. By the 6th of June the architect, E. G. Paley, had visited the site and pronounced on the best way of proceeding; to demolish and rebuild the body of the church but to leave the squat Lancashire tower intact, once funds were forthcoming. No doubt the architect could roughly estimate the cost as well. They were moving quickly to provide an urgently needed stimulus to the local economy. But then came a delay until the 13th of September; the day of the notice which led to such vituperative discussions among the vestry council. Once they had definite authority established at the vestry meeting of the 18th of September they moved quickly again to obtain a notice of faculty on the 24th of September. But then they met with further delays

Civil War in Lancashire

caused by objections put forward by the Lord of the Manor who went as far as instructing counsel on the 28th of October. Those objections were withdrawn and faculty was finally issued on the 10th of November 1863. On the 12th of November 1863 Paley began advertising the contracts for the work on the church.⁷⁵

The work was presumably held up by the winter weather and did not commence until the end of February 1864. It took two months to take down the chapel and the project seems to have provided work for about 40 men judging by the attendance at Mrs Hodgson's celebratory dinner for the workmen on May 3rd. This figure probably underestimates the real economic benefit; there was probably a good deal of casual labour and considerable additional benefits locally through meeting the workmen's need for food, refreshment and so on. Those at the dinner were likely only those directly employed by the contractors. The work of rebuilding continued from May 1864 until October 1865 providing a continuing local stimulus, no doubt at a lower level, as the skilled work of construction replaced the unskilled work of destruction and carting, until the cotton famine was at an end and the northern troops had laid waste and burned the slave states of Dixie.

Little more needs to be said; the crisis in the cotton industry, the cotton famine, was the mandate for a local "public works" programme in Caton. The wealthy patriarchs of the community suited their present convenience and demolished the ancient chapel of Caton to provide unemployed labour in the village with work and a stimulus to the local economy. It was little enough, and almost too late. A journey of over a hundred years had come full circle; from a young man leaving his yeoman's farm in the Chapelry of Caton to convey black slaves from Africa to Carolina; who returned to begin his own slave trading operation and to construct cotton mills in the village supplied with slave-grown cotton from the Southern plantations; to the destruction of the ancient chapel as a memorial to the life of his son, a man who had championed emancipation, but who had profited mightily from the produce of slave labour through cotton broking and banking in the town of Liverpool. The church of St. Paul in the village of Caton can thus be read simultaneously as one of the most significant national monuments to the Liverpool Slave Trade and to the movement that brought about its abolition.

And the Children's Teeth are Set on Edge

Postscript.

Reginald Hodgson's brokerage of Hodgson & Cookson seems to have got into trouble in the crisis which hit the cotton industry following the Panic of 1873 which became the first "Great Depression." He had borrowed money from Adam Hodgson's estate in which his mother had a life interest and when the business went under a week before his mother's death he was left owing money to the estate. G. T. Fox the executor deducted this debt from his legacy and he took Fox to the Court of Chancery arguing that the debt had not been proved by the testatrix or her executors. He won and the sale of Scarthwaite was delayed and sold under the supervision of the court along with four large warehouses in Barton Street and Dundee Street in Liverpool.⁷⁶ He died aged 47, in 1888 at Coton Hill Stafford.

Thomas Gisborne Hodgson became curate of Littledale and Quernmore⁷⁷ 1869-71 and diocesan inspector of church day schools for the diocese of Ripon 1871-76.⁷⁸ He devised Prize schemes for promoting religious knowledge in association with W. J. Garnett of Quernmore Park and Church Missions to the Roman Catholics of Ireland whilst continuing to live at Scarthwaite with his mother.^{79, 80} A favourite topic was Bishop Butler's Analogy of Religion Natural and Revealed. When Scarthwaite was sold under the auspices of the Court of Chancery he left the country and became diocesan inspector of schools in Sydney Australia 1877-78, and vice warden of St Paul's college Darlington N.S.W. 1878-85. He was appointed professor of political economy at the University of Sydney, before returning to become vicar of Long Wittenham, Berkshire, from 1885-7. He then became British Chaplain to Mentone in 1888 and to Venice in 1891-2 and finally Vicar of Newmill near Huddersfield from 1893-5. He died aged 48 of a heart attack at Kirkburton in 1895.^{81, 82}

Thomas Edward Hodgson was the youngest of the family and at his death in 1897 was Canon of Greatham Hospital having been the vicar of St. Cuthbert's Darlington for over twenty years. It was said that his wide circle of friends began with his well known father's open house in Liverpool.^{83, 84}

Adam Hodgson's daughters Elizabeth Tylston died in Bath in 1893 aged 63, and Emily Lucy at Lerwick in 1894 aged 68. Neither seems to have married.^{85, 86}