

ART. XV.—*John Harris, Quaker Engineer & Investor, 1812-69.* By H. J. SMITH, M.A., B.Litt.

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DURING the early 19th century, an important migration of talent occurred from Quaker families of Cumberland and Westmorland, such as the Wilsons, Whitwells and Richardsons, to Teesside. There in association with Quaker families of county Durham, like the Peases and Backhouses, they were to make a notable contribution to the financial and economic development, and the political and social life of a region being fast transformed by the industrial revolution. Nor did they only contribute their younger sons — their womenfolk, too, removed to make marriages which strengthened new interests. This article attempts only a brief account of the career of one such traveller in this stream of middle-class, Quaker, entrepreneurial talent.

John Harris<sup>1</sup> came of a seafaring family of Maryport, and like that of many Quakers it was distinguished for innovation and eccentricity. His grandfather, Anthony Harris (1755-95), was a master mariner of stern principles: he would not wear clothing dyed with indigo although the common colour among sailors, because it was produced by slave labour; he would never set sail on Sundays; he read the scriptures to his crew, and he was an early advocate of temperance. After his death at sea, his wife Isabella taught at Ackworth school from 1803 to 1826, and was a gospel minister in Yorkshire, Durham and Cumberland. Their eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married Joseph

<sup>1</sup> An obituary of Harris is to be found in *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers*, XXXI, 1870-71, part I, pp. 219-220.

Taylor whose father Henry, of Whitby, had been a friend of Captain Cook, a pioneer founder of light-houses and author of textbooks on seamanship.<sup>2</sup> John Harris's father, William, the eldest son of Anthony and Isabella, was a sailcloth manufacturer of Maryport. In 1803 he appears as the tenant of property in Kirkby Street, Maryport, where perhaps he conducted his business,<sup>3</sup> but in 1816, a year notorious for failures, he and his partner John Dickinson went bankrupt.<sup>4</sup> A reference of the following year suggests that William Harris then went to sea as a mariner.<sup>5</sup>

John Harris was born on 16 July 1812, the second son of William and his wife Sarah. By 1825, when he was thirteen, his father was already dead, and this, together with the earlier business failure, may have meant that John Harris subsequently set out for Darlington in straitened circumstances. On 10 March 1835 he transferred there from Pardshaw monthly meeting.<sup>6</sup> Here at Darlington, he was by work, religion and marriage to be in close association in business and public affairs with a very important circle of co-religious merchants and industrialists. He began his career as pupil to Thomas Storey, civil and mining engineer of St Helen Auckland, co. Durham.<sup>7</sup> His apprenticeship, if it did not begin before the date of his removal to Darlington, soon ended, for in 1836 he was appointed resident engineer to the Stockton and Darlington Railway at £180 a year, rising to £220 in the third year.<sup>8</sup> In 1841 he became a full member

<sup>2</sup> E. M. Cadbury, *A Dear Memory* (Birmingham, 1914), 10-17.

<sup>3</sup> Carlisle Record Office, Senhouse Papers DS, Maryport Rental, 1799-1803.

<sup>4</sup> *The Cumberland Pacquet*, 1816, 17 September.

<sup>5</sup> Carlisle R.O., DFCE/3/33, Holm Monthly Meeting register of baptisms.

<sup>6</sup> Darlington Friends' Meeting House, monthly meeting records.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Storey, Engineer, related to George Stephenson by marriage and employed by him in construction of Stockton & Darlington Railway 1822; promoter of Great North of England Railway; died 1859. Obituary in *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers*, XIX, 1859-60, pp. 182-183.

<sup>8</sup> York, British Transport Commission Archives, S.A.D. 8/158, Report of H. Stobart and H. Pease, 24 August 1836.

of the Institution of Civil Engineers. Although his working life was to be spent chiefly on Teesside, he did not lose his contacts with the North West: he acquired a considerable business interest in Cumberland coal mining, and his two marriages were made into Quaker families from that region. Firstly, in 1838, he married Mary Ann Mason of Penrith, then in 1844 he married Mary Wilson of Kendal.

This second marriage gave him a kin as well as a business relationship to the principal directors of the Stockton and Darlington Railway, the popularly known "Quaker Railway".<sup>9</sup> In that same year he embarked upon a somewhat stormy career as contractor to the company. The contract, for a period of ten years from 1 January 1844, conferred oversight of the permanent way and works of the railway, including its lease of the Bishop Auckland and Weardale Railway, covering the lines from Middlesbrough and Stockton-on-Tees to Crook, with their several branches; and involved the repair and maintenance of the docks and roads at Middlesbrough and Stockton connected thereto. For the first three years he was to receive £12,744 a year and £11,000 for the following years.<sup>10</sup> His personal salary was to be £500 a year, and £109. 4s. for each of four subordinates.<sup>11</sup> At this time he made a profitable transfer to the Stockton and Darlington Railway of a lease he and a partner had taken a few months before of the Derwent Iron Company's railway and lime kilns and quarries at Stanhope.<sup>12</sup> During his period as contractor he was responsible for several extensions such as the Stanley branch, and for works like the bridge across the Wear near Witton. When he entered upon his contract, the Stockton and

<sup>9</sup> See attached family tree.

<sup>10</sup> York, B.T.C. Archives, S.A.D. 4/110, specification of contract.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, S.A.D. 8/153/6, J. Harris to J. Dixon, 10th mo., 23rd, 1843 (copy).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, S.A.D. 3/45, 8/153/6.

Darlington's mileage amounted to just over thirty-five, and by 1847 it was well over eighty-four miles. But he undertook major work for other companies too: constructing the Wakefield, Pontefract and Goole Railway and an extension of the Wear Valley Railway from Crook to Waskerley; surveying the Carlisle and Maryport Railway line and installations, and continuing the work of Errington on the Kendal and Windermere Railway.<sup>13</sup> In 1859 he appears to be acting as a go-between for manufacturing and mining interests in west Cumberland, and Durham railway companies, seeking to link Penrith and Cockermouth by rail.<sup>14</sup> As an innovator he was one of the first to recommend and adopt wooden sleepers in place of stone blocks;<sup>15</sup> and in 1853 a patent was granted to him and Thomas Summerson, who was on his payroll as an inspector, for an improvement in the manufacture of iron railway wheels.<sup>16</sup> He contributed papers to the Institution of Civil Engineers on the subject of railway works at Middlesbrough and the Dublin and Drogheda Railway.<sup>17</sup>

The extent of his commitments to other companies caused complaint in the Stockton and Darlington Railway; and complaint was seriously aggravated by disputes about the accounts he submitted for work done. A fellow Quaker and engineer, distantly connected to him by marriage, John Dixon,<sup>18</sup> was also employed by the company as engineer but found his position anomalous. So long as John Harris con-

<sup>13</sup> *Minutes of Proceedings, ICE, XXXI*, pp. 219-220.

<sup>14</sup> York, B.T.C. Archives, S.A.D. 8/226, J. Harris to ?, 4 August 1859.

<sup>15</sup> *Minutes of Proceedings, ICE, XXXI*, pp. 219-220; Carlisle Record Office, D. Sar., J. Harris to Directors, Maryport & Carlisle Railway, 11th mo., 7th, 1846.

<sup>16</sup> *Darlington & Stockton Times*, 1855, 28 July.

<sup>17</sup> *Minutes of Proceedings, ICE, I*, 1841, p. 136; V, 1846, p. 142.

<sup>18</sup> John Dixon, 1796-1865, Civil Engineer, Quaker, pupil of George Stephenson; member of Dixon family of Cockfield, coalowners and surveyors. A brief memoir in J. S. Jeans, *Jubilee Memorial of the Railway System : a History of the Stockton & Darlington Railway* (London, 1875), 262-267.

tracted to do all the engineering work, Dixon was reduced to the role of inspector. He complained that Harris did not do the company's work "in the same manner and spirit as before he became contractor and embarked in general business as engineer to several railways". Staff who should have been devoting themselves to the Stockton and Darlington's interests were being dispatched to Kendal or other places on different business.<sup>19</sup> Dixon's charges soon became more serious in character, ". . . , I beg to say that I find great care required in certifying his bills". Harris had sent in an account for doubling the track on the Howden Incline totalling £1,900, to which Dixon objected; and Harris agreed to accept £1,400. Dixon declared himself startled to find that Harris made no appeal against so large a reduction.<sup>20</sup> Shortly afterwards he charged that Harris had over-claimed by £1,644. 13s. for laying nine miles of sleepers, besides using old where new were called for.<sup>21</sup> The ill-feeling those criticisms caused, and the warmth of Harris's reaction, brought Joseph Pease<sup>22</sup> to intervene, addressing a pained appeal to John Harris,

. . . I have hitherto stood more aloof than I liked . . . but I foresaw how very wide the door would open — I knew thy expressions would not be cautious and that they would not mend the matter.<sup>23</sup>

He proposed that he, Joseph Pease, and Isaac Wilson, Harris's brother-in-law, should attempt to settle the claims in dispute; and accordingly wrote Wilson,

Thy worthy brother-in-law John Harris has now got himself into a work about these claims and counterclaims. The door

<sup>19</sup> York, B.T.C. Archives, S.A.D. 8/153/6, J. Dixon to Jos. Pease, 24 December 1846.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, same to same, 14 January 1847.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, same to O. Gilkes, 27 March 1847.

<sup>22</sup> Joseph Pease, 1799-1872, Industrialist, Quaker, MP South Durham 1832-41, coalowner and railway promoter, senior partner Middlesbrough Estate. See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>23</sup> York, B.T.C. Archives, S.A.D. 8/153/6, Jos. Pease to J. Harris, 4th mo., 3rd, 1847 (copy).

opens wider and wider and he seems depressed. I have written a letter to him believing in the bottom goodness of his heart and pitying his impetuositities, I have said I would ask power of the Board for thyself and the writer to try to settle all past & arrange future principles with or without Umpirage as we may require. I write to beg thou wilt throw no difficulty in the way as the business must be settled soon and better.<sup>24</sup>

Isaac Wilson's answer was reluctant agreement, observing

It is a great pity John is so hard to do with for I believe that at the bottom he would not wish for one penny more than is his due.<sup>25</sup>

John Harris in accepting the proposal for arbitration, replied feelingly

. . . , I have made up my mind to give the contract up altogether (if I can) rather than have litigation or injure or destroy my own peace of mind. I am perfectly satisfied of my own uprightness in this matter. I can only say that I leave the matter as thou hast proposed.<sup>26</sup>

John Dixon's relations with his fellow Quaker, John Harris, had by now virtually broken down. When Harris called on him, Dixon sent message that he was engaged and would not meet him, fearing that, As I have administered a strong dose to him the effect may be violent and ought to be watched.

He proposed that he and Harris should not meet without a third party present to check them, take notes and be a witness. But he registered alarm at the involvement of Isaac Wilson. Dixon clearly thought that Wilson would take his brother-in-law's part, and so time and again insisted Wilson be given the fullest information of Dixon's complaints. This anxiety very largely stemmed from his knowledge that Harris was more fortunate than he in his personal connections with the directors of the Stockton and Darlington Railway,

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, same to I. Wilson, 4th mo., 3rd, 1847 (copy).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, S.A.D. 8/158, I. Wilson to Jos. Pease, 4th mo., 6th, 1847.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, S.A.D. 8/153/6, J. Harris to same, 4th mo., 3rd, 1847.

— with such friends in the Board as he had I would never have quarrelled with him if he had been any way reasonable —<sup>27</sup>

A suspicion that family loyalties might prevail may very well account for the increasing shrillness of Dixon's references to Harris, protesting that he had shown him many indulgences in considering his bills but that Harris grew

. . . more grasping and dissatisfied . . . — I have had all sorts of contractors to deal with in my Engineering career but never met with one so insensible to the privileges granted him as J.H.<sup>28</sup>

The more I go into John Harris's case the more I discover that he has enjoyed immense privileges which reduced to Pounds, Shillings & pence quite startle me, indeed were I in some hands I should fear to state the case lest I should bring more blame on myself than J.H. for suffering such things or for not seeing them sooner.

. . . it only tends to show that John has really tried to kill the Goose that laid such lots of Golden Eggs.<sup>29</sup>

Possibly Dixon's perspective was that of a rival engineer, dissatisfied at the unimportance of his own position in the company so long as Harris combined the office of engineer with his role as contractor. In the event Harris agreed that these two posts be separated, and that Dixon be hereafter recognised as the engineer of the company. For his own part, Harris somewhat grimly called upon the services of a London counsel to provide him with a draft contract for the future.<sup>30</sup>

Harris was much more than a busy professional engineer with extensive regional employments. He was active as a promoter and investor. Evidence he gave in 1865 before committees of the two Houses of Parliament considering the bill for the Derwent Valley branch of the Maryport and Carlisle Railway, reveal the interest and expectations he had in the coal trade

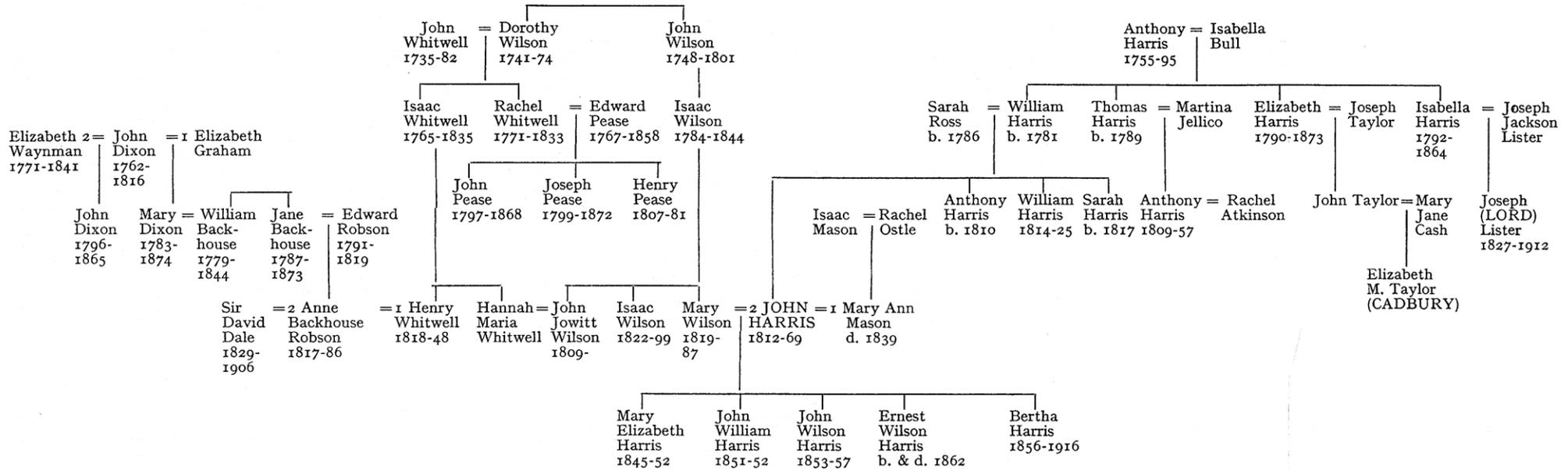
<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, J. Dixon to O. Gilkes, 28 March 1847; same to Stockton & Darlington Directors, 27 July 1847.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, same to Stockton & Darlington Directors, 24 July 1847.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, same to same, 27 July 1847.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, J. Harris to same, 1st mo., 18th, 1849.

Table to illustrate John Harris's immediate family, and his kin in business and public affairs.



of Cumberland. He was lessee of Lord Leconfield's collieries on the manor of Brayton, raising from 60,000 to 90,000 tons of coal a year, and shipping them to Ireland, claiming that in Belfast it stood highest as steam coal. The development of the branch line he anticipated would allow him to double production.<sup>31</sup> He was also managing director of the South Durham Iron Company; partner in a large brickworks at Darlington; a director of the former Stockton, Middlesbrough and Yarm Water Company, and associated as shareholder in various other enterprises. For a time he was a business partner of Sir David Dale.

His marriage into the Wilson family, and his membership of Darlington Quaker meeting made him an intimate of the circle of capitalists and bankers, Peases and Backhouses, chief of whom was Joseph Pease, who were behind the development of Teesside, the fastest developing region of Britain in the great age of the expansion of the coal, railway and iron industries. The great new terminus and manufacturing centre of Middlesbrough was in large part the creation of Joseph Pease and his co-religionary business associates, and Harris made his own considerable contribution. He was involved in its physical development by the construction of railway works and branches connecting with the docks. He joined with William Cubitt and George Turnbull in the making of the docks, the coal and shipping staiths; he built a bridge at Stockton-on-Tees to replace a suspension bridge which had not stood up to railway traffic; and was Engineer to the Middlesbrough and Redcar, and the Middlesbrough and Guisborough Railways.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Carlisle Record Office, D. Sen., printed evidence before House of Lords and House of Commons Select Committees, 1865, 27 May and 8 March. I am informed by the House of Lords Senior Assistant Clerk of Records that this cannot be traced in the Lords or Commons printed Sessional Papers; this evidence was probably printed at the expense of the parties to the private bill.

<sup>32</sup> *Minutes of Proceedings, ICE, XXXI*, pp. 219-220.

Here too, however, he became involved in squabbles about his accounts.<sup>33</sup>

No less was the part he played in the business development of Middlesbrough. With Joseph and Henry Pease he was active in canvassing interest in Middlesbrough among industrialists. It was Harris who persuaded H. F. W. Bolckow to set up his iron-works there, eight years before the discovery of Cleveland ironstone put this choice of site beyond all question. He also influenced William Barningham to establish a works there.<sup>34</sup> As a member of the Middlesbrough Chamber of Commerce, Harris played a continuing part in the town's early history. His brother-in-law Isaac Wilson was, of course, a leading citizen of Middlesbrough: the second mayor, a founding member of the Tees Conservancy Commission, partner with Edgar Gilkes in the Tees Engine Works, and M.P. for Middlesbrough from 1878 to 1892.<sup>35</sup>

In the last ten years of his life, Harris accepted no professional engagements, but by then he had already become deeply involved in the public affairs which were to have his attention until his death. Here again he was closely associated with the Peases and Backhouses in the government and affairs of the town they all made their home, Darlington. Of course, as Quakers, they still eschewed paying church rate. Thus in September 1840, with Edward Pease, John Pease, and two others, Harris signed an address explaining the Quaker point of view on this impost; and down to 1860 there is record of his having been distrained for church rate.<sup>36</sup> But this, even in a town which until

<sup>33</sup> York, B.T.C. Archives, S.A.D. 8/153/6, Memorandum of Middlesbrough Owners, 2nd mo., 1856.

<sup>34</sup> J. S. Jeans, *Pioneers of the Cleveland Iron Trade* (Middlesbrough, 1875), 50, 188-9; H. G. Reid, ed., *Middlesbrough and its Jubilee* (Middlesbrough, 1881), 115.

<sup>35</sup> Wilson's contribution to Middlesbrough is described in H. G. Reid, ed., *op. cit.*, 169-172.

<sup>36</sup> E.g., *Durham Chronicle*, 1851, 19 September; *Darlington & Stockton Times*, 1860, 12 March.

1867 was nominally the Bishop of Durham's borough with a civic head appointed by the Bishop, did not prevent Quakers from playing the major part in the administration of the borough. Although in 1850 numbering barely 200 in a population of over 11,000<sup>37</sup> the Quakers by then were the most influential citizens of Darlington. In 1832 Joseph Pease broke with convention to become M.P. for South Durham, and in 1850 he and the other Friends were responsible for the creation of a local board of health which effectively ran the town until a municipal charter was obtained in 1867. The board was always dominated by Quakers: Harris was a member throughout that period, as well as being a poor law guardian for several years. John Dixon was another member of the board of health, which attracted much hostile criticism because of the narrow property franchise and plural voting, and the economic patronage which enabled the Quakers to maintain a near oligarchic control.<sup>38</sup> Harris was the most prominent and bold apologist for this group and their policies; and came in for much personal abuse as a result. His connection with Joseph Pease, the variety of his public and business interests, and his ebullient and genial personality exposed him to violent newspaper attack. Describing him as "flatulent", a "far advanced and impetuous liberal", and a "gaseous bully", a Conservative penny weekly went on

Mr Harris, as his custom is, vaunts himself as a sort of huge Political, Economical, Agricultural, Evangelical, Teetotal, Methodical, Poetical, Horticultural, Homoepathetical and Theatrical Referee, for the redress of general and particular grievances . . .

Knowing how much he owes in this world to Mr Joseph Pease, it has often occasioned astonishment to observe how well he masked his gratitude; but his recent display of sycophancy

<sup>37</sup> A. E. Pease, ed., *The Diaries of Edward Pease* (London, 1907), 281.

<sup>38</sup> See H. J. Smith, ed., W. Ranger, *Report, Sanitary Condition of Darlington, 1850* (Durham County Local History Society, 1967).

or turpitude, let alone its wilful or ignorant misstatement of of facts, wellnigh baffles conjecture.<sup>39</sup>

This passage suggests at least that Harris was not always to be found on the side of Joseph Pease, the leader of the Darlington Quaker community, and this was so. His commitment to the Public Health Movement, very important to liberal and utilitarian opinion of the period, was considerable. He belonged to a profession, that of engineer, which was then regarded as more competent than that of the physicians to carry out the work necessary to public health improvement. Sanitary engineering, not curative medicine, was then regarded as the solution to the epidemic dangers in Victorian towns.<sup>40</sup> Infant mortality was the most intractable of all statistics of death by illness, and of this John Harris's own family was witness; four of his five children died in infancy. On the subject of medicine he was an eccentric, being a supporter of homoeopathic clinics.<sup>41</sup> Hence, on some matters of principle, he parted company with his co-religionaries on the board of health.

From 1851 to 1854 John Pease and other Quaker shareholders of the Darlington Gas and Water Company, despite their membership of the board of health, were unwilling to sell their private interest to the board except at an unreasonably high price. Harris voiced sharp criticism of their conduct and supported municipalisation of the service.<sup>42</sup> He was also from time to time opposed to suggestions by Joseph Pease that the board should add to its membership by co-option rather than by elections.<sup>43</sup> However, as

<sup>39</sup> *Darlington Telegraph*, 1861, 14 December. The occasion of the attack was Harris's rebuttal and resentment of the charge that he owned sub-standard property in Darlington.

<sup>40</sup> R. A. Lewis, *Edwin Chadwick & the Public Health Movement* (London, 1952), 193-195.

<sup>41</sup> *Darlington & Stockton Times*, 1855, 24 March, 31 March, 7 April.

<sup>42</sup> See his exchange of letters with John Pease in *Durham Chronicle*, 1852, 21 May; also *ibid.*, 1853, 1 July, 28 October; 1854, 1 July.

<sup>43</sup> *Darlington & Stockton Times*, 1855, 3 March, 21 April.

partner in a large brickworks under attack as a smoke nuisance, he was prepared to make light of the evils of industrial pollution, declaring with what was thought to be cheerful insolence,

The question, as I look at it, is whether Darlington is to be a manufacturing town or not, . . . if I go to Middlesbrough I see large works there — . . . sending out thousands and thousands of cubic feet of gas and smoke close to private residences. I ask the individuals who live there if they do not suffer in their health. They say "No, it is all good for trade, we want more of it, we find no fault with smoke."<sup>44</sup>

He was also prepared to make light of charges against Joseph Pease and other members of the board of health that they had indulged in illegal trading by accepting contracts from the board.<sup>45</sup>

Harris was an ardent liberal in politics. In 1856 he helped to arrange the visit of Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, to Darlington. He proposed Henry Pease, the successful Liberal candidate at the 1857 South Durham parliamentary election; and in 1865 was vice-president of the constituency Liberal election committee.<sup>46</sup> Quakers, of course, were unique in their pacifist views which Harris fully shared. His cousins by marriage, Joseph and Henry Pease, were both presidents of the national Peace Society. But apart from the brief period of the Crimean War such attitudes did not distinguish Quakers remarkably from other Liberal business contemporaries who like Cobden, with whom Harris claimed personal friendship,<sup>47</sup> confidently expected that Free Trade and the growth of international commerce would have the benign political effect of banishing war. Harris naturally opposed the Rifle Volunteer movement which was popular in the 1860s, using the somewhat demagogic argument that

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 1863, 9 May.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 1863, 9 May.

<sup>46</sup> *Durham Advertiser*, 1856, 30 May; 1857, 27 March; *Darlington & Stockton Times*, 1865, 15 July.

<sup>47</sup> *Darlington & Stockton Times*, 1860, 21 July.

it was a plot by the aristocracy to arm the middle classes against the working classes.<sup>48</sup>

For the rest, John Harris's views were typical of 19th-century liberal optimism. A supporter of parliamentary reform, he was nonetheless orthodox in his reservations about popular democracy and extension of the franchise.<sup>49</sup> As a sect the Friends were at this time making and seeking no new members, and it is not unlikely that this reflected the social exclusiveness they had achieved through prosperity.<sup>50</sup> But they readily supported campaigns for religious revival as worthy causes to the end of winning workers from drink and secular discontent. Thus Harris was active in the temperance reform movement, taking part in Quaker led delegations to the magistrates' bench to oppose applications for theatre and alehouse licences. On occasion he would lecture on the "Laws which regulate Prices and the Wages of Labour".<sup>51</sup> He was secretary to the Darlington Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and chaired meetings of the anti-Catholic Protestant Alliance.<sup>52</sup> This non-sectarian enthusiasm aroused critical and ironical comment from those who were prompt to remark the alteration wealth had made in the *mores* of Quakers. Certainly Joseph Pease and others of the Darlington group of Quaker businessmen, including Harris, were moving away from the old standards of plainness and modesty; and adopting some of the manners and habits typical of the wealth and position they had come to. Harris now and then risked the interdict of the elders themselves of the Darlington meeting to throw a musical entertainment.<sup>53</sup> With his household of four servants,<sup>54</sup> with

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 1860, 21 July.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 1848, 6 May; *Darlington Telegraph*, 1860, 28 January.

<sup>50</sup> F. Mewburn, *The Larchfield Diary* (Darlington, 1876), 79, 196.

<sup>51</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 1850, 22 November.

<sup>52</sup> *Darlington Telegraph*, 1861, 9 February; *Darlington & Stockton Times*, 1863, 28 November.

<sup>53</sup> F. Mewburn, *Larchfield Diary*, 167-169.

<sup>54</sup> Public Record Office, H.O. 107/2382, Census 1851, Darlington.

a bathroom at home possessing every appliance that "Priessnitz himself could wish",<sup>55</sup> with a "stake" of £10,000 in the town,<sup>56</sup> and leaving almost £16,000 in effects, Harris died 20 July 1869, a man of comfortable means.

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<sup>55</sup> *Darlington & Stockton Times*, 1855, 14 April.

<sup>56</sup> *Durham Chronicle*, 1853, 28 October.