

**New World and Old:**

**Letters written 1821-1832 by Samuel Harris,  
settler on the Ohio River,  
to John Brown, bookseller of Wigan, Lancashire**

**transcribed and annotated, with an introduction by David Brady**

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David Brady  
Manchester, UK, 2016

## Introduction, with biographical notes on principal persons referred to in the Harris-Brown letters

The group of twelve letters presented here, written between the year 1821 (when Samuel Harris left the Lancashire town of Wigan and emigrated, with members of his family and friends, to the United States) and 1832 (the year in which Harris died), were posted to Harris's erstwhile neighbour and friend in England, John Brown, who conducted a printing and bookselling business in Wigan. It is not known how these letters were preserved between their reception by Brown in Wigan and their appearance for sale by auction in nearby Manchester some 180 years later, but when they did reappear in the public domain, they were clearly of such captivating interest that the present editor could not let them pass without securing their purchase and beginning to investigate their content and the occasion of their writing.<sup>1</sup>

These are, in fact, no mere letters, even by early nineteenth-century standards, since they constitute lengthy epistles, written over several sheets of paper, and sometimes over several days and weeks, in small but clear handwriting and their significance lies in the light that they shed on many corners of the early history of the nineteenth century on two continents, as they reflect on the early settlement of the very new town (at that time a village) of Aurora<sup>2</sup> in the State of Indiana<sup>3</sup> and on people and events in the region of Wigan in north-west England, a town which could

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<sup>1</sup> The letters' provenance is now, unfortunately, untraceable. The auctioneer at Trafford Books, Manchester relates that they were first brought to him to be sold at auction some years previously by a dealer in ephemera as part of a huge carton of miscellaneous and heterogeneous papers, cards, and scraps gathered in the Wigan area, a residue of stock that he had apparently been unable to sell. It seems that nobody, apart from the auctioneer, looked closely at the contents of the carton and it sold at a low price to another seller of ephemera, who traded at local fairs. In the course of time, this buyer brought back to the auctioneer the present small collection of old letters, wondering if they had a discrete selling potential at auction. That is how they came up for sale by auction a second time in December 2012, when they were bought by their present editor, who feels some relief that they had not meanwhile fallen into the hands of dealers in postal history, who would most probably have split them up and sold them separately for their postal markings. The auctioneer affirms that the large carton of ephemera contained no other papers that might relate to these letters and their writer.

<sup>2</sup> During the eighteenth century, the Territory of Indiana had been the battle-ground for competing Native American, French, British, and American interests and it was only with the American victory in the Battle of Fallen Timbers and the ensuing Treaty of Greenville in 1795 that the influx of new settlers from across the Ohio and from Europe really commenced, since the Treaty of Greenville line included what would become Dearborn County, Indiana within the vast lands of Ohio taken from Native American tribes in consideration of promises of annual grants of money and domestic goods. In this expansion westward, Aurora grew from a few scattered settlements to attain the size of a village and then of a small town. In these letters Harris variously applies to Aurora the expressions 'village', 'little village', 'infant town', and 'town'. According to the US Census of 1870, Aurora's population had by that time reached 3,307 inhabitants (Lake, *ADCI*, p. 4). To set this figure in context, the total population of Indiana's Dearborn County in 1830 stood at 13,974 (US Census), while in 1818 W.T. Harris reported that the population of Cincinnati then stood at nearly 13,000 (Harris, *RTUSA*, 98) and, on the other side of the Atlantic, in the year that Harris departed for the New World, the town of Wigan had a population of some 17,716 people (figure taken from the 1821 Census; see also note 880).

<sup>3</sup> Indiana Territory had been admitted into the union on the 11th December 1816, when Indiana became the nineteenth US state.

claim to be ‘the oldest borough in Lancashire and one of the oldest in England—certainly amongst the first ten’.<sup>4</sup> Beyond many references to the events currently occurring in these two places, discussion also ranges over affairs in the wider political sphere, both in the old country and in the new, and indeed over issues involving the two, such as the ‘second war of independence’ of 1812-15, which was still fresh in the memories of American, and especially of Indianan,<sup>5</sup> citizens at the time when Harris wrote. The contemporary political scene is also glanced at and we read, for instance, Harris’s rather dismissive assessment of President Andrew Jackson’s abilities, while political leaders on the other side of the Atlantic and the policies being implemented there also occasionally come under review. The reform movement in Britain, though inevitably proving ultimately successful, was for long hampered by the Tory party and offered little hope of improvement in the eyes of many like Harris and his correspondent in Wigan, who became embroiled in the heated riots of 1831 that preceded the landmark Reform Act of 1832.

There is, furthermore, in these letters a treasury of fascinating matter ranging over diverse subjects. From a contemporary description of Philadelphia and its architecture, the first American city to greet the eyes of the new immigrants in 1821, we find also, for example, descriptions of the traffic on the Ohio River, discussions of slavery (a white-man’s ‘privilege’ still fiercely defended in neighbouring Kentucky), several references to Native American peoples, favourable comments on the almost non-existent American tax system (pleasingly contrasted with the devouring taxes, tithes, poor rates, and rents endured in England), the scarcity of ready money and the common employment of barter in commercial transactions, and, with a glance back across the Atlantic, a series of comments made on the economic hardships in England and the distress in Ireland. Harris’s letters re-echo the cries of distress rising from the people of Britain, as more and more of them were willing to contemplate the dangerous voyage across the Atlantic to begin a new and hopefully better life in North America. Conveying a more positive note, we also read reports of progress being made in Britain through political reform and the extension of educational provision beyond the privileged classes, a movement in which Samuel Harris’s father-in-law had played a leading role.

The stirrings in the religious world are also very much to the fore in these letters, as Harris was deeply committed to a Protestant faith and Reformed theology. While beginning life in a Baptist family in Bristol, he seems, in the various places where he later dwelt, to have moved freely within the Independent, or Congregationalist fold, yet did not feel personally constrained to conduct himself within any strictly denominational bounds and, while still resident in Wigan, he served as a Baptist lay preacher<sup>6</sup> among the Christians meeting in Lord Street chapel, who kindly supplied him with a letter of recommendation to his new fellowship in America. On arriving in Aurora, he became one of the first members of its Baptist church, the first church of any kind in the town, and volunteered himself to the work of pastoring the congregation. Still he would engage with others outside the Baptist fold, travelling over nigh-impassable terrain to conduct meetings in various

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<sup>4</sup> *WCR*, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> For those settling in the Territory of Indiana, the War of 1812-15 brought an end to the warfare against Native American tribes, leading to the opening up of the vast new lands in central Indiana and the rapid growth towards statehood achieved in 1816.

<sup>6</sup> So he styles himself in Letter 2, written in 1822.

surrounding places, and we find in his letters frequent comments on the activities and views of others, whether perhaps Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Quakers, or (looking over the fence encircling his own spiritual comfort zone) Roman Catholics, or indeed Socinians (i.e. Unitarians) and Deists. In actual fact, it does seem that he found a way of compromising with Unitarian ministers in order to share in joint worship with them during his voyage to the USA. It is perhaps also telling of his ecumenical spirit that it was a Methodist preacher who undertook the offices of his own wife's funeral, at a time when, as Harris reported to Brown, the Aurora Baptists were in fact holding regular meetings along with their Methodist neighbours. Harris had a keen interest in missions and wrote often to John Brown requesting published missionary reports and reports of the different Bible societies,<sup>7</sup> as well as taking an interest in outreach work among Native American peoples. On the other hand, he felt less favourably towards itinerant revivalist preachers and their methods. Reporting somewhat cynically on their 'glorious revivals', he gave it as his opinion that their effect was to bring into the churches a motley company of persons who were ill prepared for church membership and whose entrance among the faithful brought discord and division. One significant division, or secession, from the Baptist churches universally was, in fact, stirring within the region where Harris had settled and was instigated by one whom he referred to as his friend. That person was Alexander Campbell, who would ultimately become a principal founder of those groups of Christians who later became known as Churches, or Disciples, of Christ. Campbell's debate in Cincinnati with the humanist and socialist Robert Owen, founder of the New Harmony settlement in south-western Indiana, was attended by Harris and received close comment in his letters, so that it is interesting for the historian to read here one attendant's considered estimate of the characters and methods of each of the participants which, taken together with the comments of another attender, Frances Trollope, enable us to gain a lively picture of the scene and the tone of the debate.

Each of these letters is crammed full with what in effect substituted for a face-to-face conversation between friends that, if thousands of miles had not imposed between them, would have occupied their time during many intervening hours and, indeed months, for there was at this time in the history of transatlantic communications an average delivery time which might stretch from a few weeks to as much as six months between dispatch and receipt of letters.<sup>8</sup> Regular telegraphic contact via the transatlantic cables would not become available until the 1860s. There

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<sup>7</sup> Harris's interest in and support for the British and Foreign Bible Society, founded in 1802, was of long standing, in evidence of which we may note that his gift to the society's library of a French New Testament (published in Mons, 1667) received particular acknowledgement in the society's *Eleventh report* (1815), p. 503.

<sup>8</sup> So, for example, Harris's son William Tell first heard news in the USA of the death of Princess Charlotte (which had occurred on the 6th November 1817) in January 1818 (see *RTUSA*, p. 74). His own letters to his parents that form the text of *RTUSA* were written with greater frequency (15 letters between May 1817 and June 1819), but then he was not awaiting replies before he wrote each of his own letters, which were in the form of a travelogue or diary rather than a correspondence. In the present series of twelve letters, we find on half of them some endorsement, apparently written by the recipient John Brown, noting when he received Harris's letters or, in one case, when he wrote his answer. From this we may gather that the average time between dispatch and receipt was a little over one month, though in Letter 4 Harris acknowledges receipt on the 7th January 1824 of a letter from Brown dated the 28th October 1823, implying a time lapse on this occasion of 71 days, and in the case of Letter 3, the time intervening between dispatch and receipt (or perhaps reply being sent) amounted to a full six months.

was, in fact, still no dependable postal service and letter-writers would have to put their trust in various private merchant shipping companies for the conveyance of their mails. We find several descriptions in Harris's letters of the agents he used and advice on appropriate ways of addressing letters and parcels (and the costs involved) that were intended to reach him in Indiana. But the shipping companies were far from reliable, being subject to delays, theft, and loss occasioned by the mail's handlers.<sup>9</sup> We must therefore ask ourselves the question whether some letters sent by Harris to Brown have indeed gone missing. We do know for certain that at least one was lost, as his letter of the 31st October 1826, mentioned at the opening of Letter 6 in this series, is not among those currently to hand. But possibly others also are missing, certainly at least one between Letters 1 and 2, as it was during the interval between these two (on the 15th August 1822) that Harris's daughter Susanna became married to Samuel Lawford and Letter 2 contains no mention of any wedding, but only of Susanna's and Samuel's residence on land, owned by Samuel Harris, some 11-12 miles inland from Aurora. Furthermore, in Letter 2, Harris picks up on some remarks made in a letter to him by John Brown, which reflect the fact that Harris had informed Brown in a previous letter of his intention to raise a dwelling on Mount Tabor in Aurora, Indiana. Since this information is not contained in Letter 1, when Harris was still in Philadelphia, it must have been in a letter sent between that and Letter 2. In addition, the death of Queen Caroline on the 7th August 1821, an event that shocked the whole British nation, receives no mention in the extant letters of Harris to Brown. We can only guess where other gaps might lie in the correspondence, but the following rough estimation of the time that elapsed between each of the twelve surviving letters may perhaps suggest where some of the most yawning gaps occur and where letters probably have gone missing.

Letter 1 -	Letter 2:	16 months
Letter 2 -	Letter 3:	10 months
Letter 3 -	Letter 4:	7 months
Letter 4 -	Letter 5:	9 months
Letter 5 -	lost letter of 31 Oct. 1826:	21 months
lost letter of 31 Oct. 1826 -	Letter 6:	5 months
Letter 6 -	Letter 7:	20 months
Letter 7 -	Letter 8:	11 months
Letter 8 -	Letter 9:	5 months
Letter 9 -	Letter 10:	7 months
Letter 10 -	Letter 11:	7 months
Letter 11 -	Letter 12 <sup>10</sup> :	16 months

In view of the above, we may perhaps guess at an average time span between letters sent by Harris of approximately 5-7 months, so that where we find a longer interval we may suspect some loss.<sup>11</sup> Even so, what content survives in these twelve letters

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<sup>9</sup> There is a useful survey of the mail system at this time in the section headed 'Letters across the Atlantic' in Gigante, *KB*, pp. 238 ff.

<sup>10</sup> That is, to the end of the first part of this letter, written by Samuel Harris; the remaining part was completed by his son.

<sup>11</sup> The length of time taken between dispatch of letters on one side of the Atlantic and their receipt on the other side does not seem to have diminished much in succeeding years. Thus, on the 3rd February 1835 Thomas Carlyle wrote from London to Ralph Waldo Emerson in Concord, Massachusetts, acknowledging the latter's communication of the 20th November in the preceding year, commenting, 'in spite of the swift ships of the Americans, our communings pass too slowly. Your letter... did not

does not leave for the reader too many hanging or unfinished affairs. We are able to read through them from start to finish hardly ever suspecting that any loss of information has occurred along the way. But having read them, and should the miracle ever happen that more be found, that would be a very welcome event indeed, though hardly now to be hoped for.

### ***Biographical notes on principal persons referred to in the Harris-Brown letters***

**Samuel Harris** (1767<sup>12</sup>-1832) was the third son of John Harris, of Bristol<sup>13</sup> (c. 1726<sup>14</sup>-1801), who in 1745 had been baptized on profession of faith and received into membership of Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol, where he served as deacon from the 28th August 1760 until his death in 1801.<sup>15</sup> John Harris held leading civic posts in Bristol: Sheriff (1776<sup>16</sup> and 1788), Mayor (1790<sup>17</sup>), and Alderman (1792).<sup>18</sup> John

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reach me till a few days ago... On the whole, as the Atlantic is so broad and deep, ought we not rather to esteem it a beneficent miracle that messages can arrive at all; that a little slip of paper will skim over all these weltering floods, and other inextricable confusions; and come at last, in the hand of the Twopenny Postman, safe to your lurking-place, like green leaf in the bill of Noah's Dove. Let us be grateful for mercies.' (*The collected letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. VIII [Durham, NC, 1981] pp 36 f.)

<sup>12</sup> In Letter 11, writing on the 29th April 1830, Harris remarked, 'I have advanced already twelve days in my sixty-fourth year', indicating his exact date of birth to have been the 17th April 1767. An apparent problem arises from the fact that the register of the Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol records the date of Samuel Harris's birth as the 21st March 1762, but since the Register of Burials, 1746-1791 (RG4 2871), against the date 10th March 1763 states that 'Mr John Harris's son Samuel was interred in Mr Bull's family grave,' it seems that our Samuel Harris, born 5 years later, was given the name of his predeceased sibling according to a fairly common practice, another instance of which is mentioned in note 130. (Thanks are due to Roger Harris Lloyd for clarification of this apparent inconsistency.)

<sup>13</sup> So it is stated in the *Gentleman's magazine*, vol. CII, pt. 2 (July-Dec. 1832) p. 652.

<sup>14</sup> This date is arrived at by reference to the announcement of John Harris's decease in the deaths column of *Bonner and Middleton's Bristol journal* for the 23rd May 1801, where the following report was published: 'Wednesday at his house in Stokes Croft in the seventy-sixth year of his age, the eminently good citizen, magistrate, and Christian John Harris Esq., alderman of the ward of St. Ewen in this city'. (Thanks are due to Roger Harris Lloyd for retailing this information to the editor.)

<sup>15</sup> 'Sketch of Dr. [John] Ryland's sermon, preached at Broadmead, Bristol, May 31, 1801; occasioned by the decease of John Harris, Esq., one of the aldermen of that city', *The Baptist annual register for 1801 and 1802*, pp. 603-610.

<sup>16</sup> In his capacity as Sheriff of Bristol he was the recipient in 1777 of the letter from Edmund Burke on the rights of Americans which was published under the title *A Letter from Edmund Burke, Esq; one of the representatives in Parliament for the city of Bristol, to John Farr and John Harris, Esqrs, Sheriffs of that city, on the affairs of America*. In this publication Burke presented a sympathetic view of the plight of Americans during the early years of the American War of Independence and sought to justify the Rockingham Whigs' secession from Parliament as a means of dramatizing their opposition to the British government's policy faced with the American Declaration of Independence.

<sup>17</sup> John Harris's mayoralty of Bristol was held by him 'during a time of great unrest in the city. In July 1791 he wrote to the Government after a letter had been received threatening that 900 mechanics would pull down all the Presbyterian meeting houses in the city. Instructions were sent for detachments of the 3rd Dragoon Guards at Trowbridge and Bradford on Avon to be ready to assist the Bristol magistrates if called upon' (Draft out-letter to [John Harris] Mayor of Bristol, ff. 254 f., National Archives), but 'in September the troops were stood down after no disturbances arose.' (*Wikipedia*, s.n. 'John Harris [Bristol]'.)

Harris's wealth was derived from a number of sources (see below), including sugar-refining, ultimately dependent on slave-based plantation farming in the West Indies, which brought him into dispute with his pastor, Caleb Evans, in the late 1780s.<sup>19</sup> This background no doubt lent the force of experience to his son Samuel's attempts to reason with slave-owners in the New World on the follies of continuing with the institution of slavery. Evidence in the Bank of England Will Extracts (entry 2486, 30th August 1804) indicates that in 1797 John Harris was in a business relationship with his fellow Baptist Joseph Mason Cox, the proprietor of the Fishponds madhouse near Bristol,<sup>20</sup> perhaps indicating the concern of John Harris in the treatment of mental disorder, a concern which might possibly have been passed down to his son Samuel, who in 1800 entered into partnership in Hull with the mental physician William Charles Ellis.<sup>21</sup> John Harris died on the 20th May 1801 and was buried at Broadmead Baptist Burial Ground in Redcross Street on the 29th May.

Samuel Harris might have received his Christian name in honour of a family link with Samuel Butler (bap. 1613-1680), the poet chiefly remembered for his anti-sectarian, satirical poem *Hudibras*.<sup>22</sup> The poet himself was the son of another Samuel, from whom the name Samuel may have more remotely derived. While this view regarding his family ancestry is open to question, it is nevertheless interesting that like Samuel Butler, Samuel Harris also shared a dislike for sectarianism.

Although the births of all three sons of John Harris sen. are recorded in the register of Broadmead Baptist Church in Bristol, only John jun. became a member of the church (in 1788<sup>23</sup>). While his elder brothers John and Francis continued in the business of sugar-refining in Bristol, following in the footsteps of their father, Samuel

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<sup>18</sup> He is listed as Mayor of Bristol in 1790 in J. Latimer, *The annals of Bristol in the eighteenth century* (1893) p. 536, where his occupation is given as 'hosier'. See also A.B. Beaven, *Bristol lists: municipal and miscellaneous* (Bristol, 1899) pp. 189, 227.

<sup>19</sup> See further in Whelan, *BA*, pp. 397 f. and *idem*, 'Robert Hall and the Bristol slave-trade debate of 1787-1788', *Baptist quarterly*, vol. XXXVIII (1999-2000) pp. 212-224.

<sup>20</sup> On whom see article in *ODNB*. We may additionally note that Joseph Mason Cox and John Harris sen. each served as president of the Anchor Society, a Bristol-based charity engaging in care for the elderly, founded in 1769 and still continuing: Harris in 1791 and Cox in 1803. John Harris's subscription for 1794 to the Anchor Society is noted in Harris, *1794PL*, 13 Nov.

<sup>21</sup> See note 53.

<sup>22</sup> A suggestion found in the unpublished autobiography (written in 1958) by Francis Edwin Harris (1878-1971), a direct descendant of John Harris, via John Harris jun., the brother of Samuel Harris. Francis Edwin Harris related that his own father, Francis Coleman Harris (1851-1917), had traced his family back as far as 1682, to another John Harris, an officer in the Duke of Marlborough's army, who married Sarah, the daughter of Samuel Butler. (The name Butler recurs, at least twice, in the naming of children in later generations.) Further, he related that John and Sarah had a son, Samuel Butler Harris (b. 1699), who was the father of John Harris (1726-1801), the father of Samuel Harris, the writer of these Letters. However, the *Bristol apprenticeship books* (and the *Burgess books* also) provide different evidence regarding the father of John Harris sen., stating as follows: 'John Harris son of John Harris late of the town of From in the county of Somerset clothier, deceased, bound apprentice to William Kingman linen draper and Sarah his wife for seven years.' Samuel Harris's father became a Bristol burgess on the 5th February 1750, having served his seven years' apprenticeship. (Information supplied by Roger Harris Lloyd.) Perhaps we should not overlook another possible family member, also named Samuel Harris, who was master of the Bristol-based ship *Tryton* (80 tons, 10 men), engaged in (probably slave) trade with Africa in 1722. See W.E. Minchinton (ed.), *The trade of Bristol in the eighteenth century* (Bristol Record Society, 1957) p. 12.

<sup>23</sup> John jun. was, nevertheless, in sufficiently high standing with Broadmead Baptist Church as early as 1784, when the church appointed him as one of the trustees of a legal deed designed 'to permit weekly services to be held at the Barn Chapel, Keynsham.' (Hall, *TC*, pp. 33 f.)



moved away from Bristol. We can only surmise regarding the reason for his not joining the Baptist church and it may indeed be suggested that he preferred a more open Christian fellowship than was possible under the strict Baptist principle, so that he moved into the Congregational or Independent fellowship.<sup>24</sup> However, Broadmead Church always had an open attitude regarding communion with those who were not persuaded by arguments upholding the principle of believer's baptism. It was never exclusively Baptist but held to the principle of 'open communion' that had been followed by such leaders as John Tombes (1602-1676), Henry Jessey (1601-1663), and Vavasor Powell (1617-1670). As Norman S. Moon has commented, providing historical evidence to substantiate his comment, its principles of communion may be compared to those of the Bedfordshire churches of the Bunyan tradition, where Baptists and Congregationalists did not separate on the issue of water baptism.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, the fact that Samuel left no record of his baptism in Bristol is not final proof that he was not baptized there despite the lack of a written record at Broadmead. It does not prove that he did not undergo believer's baptism in some other place (possibly at Abingdon during his time in Oxford; see below), nor indeed that he was opposed to the rite of believer's baptism in general. All we know from the present series of letters is that, like many other liberal Baptists, he did not feel it was correct to make baptism by immersion a necessary requirement for Christian fellowship.

Evidence points to the fact that Samuel Harris served his apprenticeship to the druggist trade in Oxford. The Register of Duties paid for Apprentices' Indentures, 1710-1811<sup>26</sup> has a Thomas Pasco of the University of Oxford paying the duty for his apprentice Sam Harris on the 28th May 1782, that is just after Harris's fifteenth birthday. The reason for Samuel Harris's being placed under Thomas Pasco becomes clear on examination of the Harris and Pasco family relations, since Thomas Pasco's wife, Sarah Pasco (*née* Allen), was the cousin of Samuel Harris.<sup>27</sup> If the apprenticeship was for a normal seven-year term, this would take us to 1789 for the completion of this phase in Harris's life as he reached his legal majority. Pasco, a respected chemist and druggist,<sup>28</sup> and a deacon of the Dissenting church meeting in

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<sup>24</sup> Although records do not survive to confirm the fact, it seems most probable that during his residence in Wigan Samuel Harris was attached either to St. Paul Independent Chapel or to Hope Street Independent Chapel. The former possibility seems to be excluded by a remark made by Harris in Letter 6 ('when a certain family came over to us from St. Paul's'), seemingly implying that he was then a member of another church, Hope Street Chapel appearing to be the most likely candidate, even though it has not proved possible to find his name in the early records of that or indeed any church in Wigan. However, whichever church Harris might have been associated with in Wigan, as remarks in this series of letters indicate, he felt himself free to accept invitations to preach elsewhere and indeed was welcomed in other places, including Lord Street Baptist Church.

<sup>25</sup> 'Caleb Evans, founder of the Bristol Education Society', *The Baptist quarterly*, vol. XXIX (1971) p. 178.

<sup>26</sup> Available in the National Archives.

<sup>27</sup> Sarah Pasco (d. 1815) was the daughter of Henry Allen (a clothier and Bristol burgess) and Hester (*née* Bull, b. c. 1718), whose younger sister Sarah Bull married John Harris and became the mother of the three brothers John, Francis, and Samuel Harris. (Registers of Broadmead Baptist Church in Bristol reveal that Hester Bull witnessed the birth of John Harris jun., her sister's son, in 1756.) The marriage of Sarah Allen to Thomas Pasco in Bristol on the 2nd June 1789 was announced in *The gentleman's magazine*, vol. LIX, pt. 1 (May 1789) p. 572: 'Mr. Pasco, druggist, of Oxford, to Miss Allen, of Bristol.' In 1803 the will of Ann Bull, younger sister of Hester Bull, made her niece's husband, Thomas Pasco, executor of her will, further linking the Bull and Pasco families. (Thanks are due to Roger Harris Lloyd for information relating to the Pasco, Allen, Bull, and Harris families.)

<sup>28</sup> He is listed in *Alumni Oxonienses* (vol. II [Oxford, 1891] p. 1077) as having matriculated as *alchymista, privilegiatus* (i.e. a privileged apothecary) on the 1st July 1777. The university's system of

New Road, St. Peter-le-Bailey in Oxford from the 1780s until his death in 1806, shared with James Hinton (1761–1823), the church’s pastor, the same liberal supra-denominational spirit in church communion that was also exemplified in the conviction and practice of Samuel Harris. The Dissenting church at Oxford was ‘formed on the plan of mixed communion’ and so ‘was composed of persons holding different sentiments on the subject of baptism.’<sup>29</sup> This same tolerance marked Harris

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*privilegiati* paralleled the town council’s licensing only its own freemen to trade in Oxford. Thus, for its particular needs the university matriculated its own tradesmen (who were not required to serve an apprenticeship), e.g. booksellers, bookbinders, barbers, dentists, and other medical men, who were however required to swear an oath of allegiance to the monarchy and to the established Church of England, thereby excluding Nonconformists from the service of the university. Exceptions to this requirement were, however, made, as in the case of Samuel Collingwood (1762–1841), an Independent member of the Dissenting church in Oxford who became Printer to the University and Superintendent of the University Press. Pasco must have been another exception to the rule, as he was already a respected member of the Baptist Church in Oxford at the time of his appointment to the university’s service. Thus, Hinton (*BPJH*, p. 108) wrote, ‘Of the two deacons of the church [Thomas Pasco and Thomas Newman] at the period now under review [c. 1790], both were much respected by the university, and one [Newman, cook and manciple of St. John’s College] was actually in the service of a college.’ See further on the status of ‘privileged persons’ in Oxford in E. Chance *et al.*, ‘Early modern Oxford’, in *A history of the County of Oxford*, vol. IV, the City of Oxford, ed. A. Crossley & C.R. Elrington (London, 1979), pp. 161–165 (<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/oxon/vol4/pp74-180>); and on Oxford University’s changing attitude to Dissenters in W. Stevens, ‘Oxford’s attitude to Dissenters, 1646–1946’, *The Baptist quarterly*, vol. XIII (1949) pp. 13 f. Pasco had come from London to Oxford in 1777 and it might have been Pasco’s advice to Samuel Harris that induced the latter to set up an independent business as druggist in London on completion of his apprenticeship in Oxford.

<sup>29</sup> Hinton, *BPJH*, pp. 143, 133. The extent of this practice is reflected in the fact that James Hinton’s own son (who bore the same name as his father) ‘had not been baptized when he began preaching (with his father’s concurrence) in the villages around Oxford.’ (T. Grass, ‘The restoration of a congregation of Baptists: Baptists and Irvingism in Oxfordshire’, *Baptist quarterly*, vol. XXXVII [1998] p. 286.) The church covenant of 1780 stated clearly: ‘And whereas some of us do verily believe that the sprinkling of the infant children of believing parents in the name of the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY SPIRIT, is true Christian baptism; and others of us do believe that true Christian baptism is that which is administered to adults upon the profession of their repentance, faith, and experience of the grace of God, by Immersion in the Name of the Sacred Three; yet, notwithstanding this difference of sentiment, we promise and agree to receive one another into the same affection and love; and for this, among other many reasons: because we can find no warrant in the Word of God to make such difference of sentiment any bar to Communion at the Lord’s Table in particular, or to church fellowship in general; and because the LORD JESUS receiving and owning them on both sides of the question, we think we ought to do so too.’ (Cited in M. Hopkins, *Congregationalism in Oxford*, University of Birmingham M.Phil. thesis, 2010, p. 150.) The covenant was probably composed by Daniel Turner (1710–1798), minister at the nearby Abingdon Baptist Church, to which members of the Oxford church continued to travel when seeking baptism, until the Oxford church built their own new chapel with baptistry in 1799. In fact, it was Daniel Turner who had fought to establish the principle of open communion in Abingdon, which became adopted also in Oxford and, interestingly, his fight against the Strict Baptist principle of restricted communion began when, so-called ‘transient communion’ had been denied to a lady visiting Abingdon who had travelled there bearing a recommendation from Mr Foot of Bristol, probably a member of the Broadmead Baptist Church from which Samuel Harris had also come. The principle of open communion was one which was held passionately by Turner, who (probably with the assistance of John Collett Ryland) in 1772 published, under the pseudonym ‘Candidus’, a sixteen-page tract entitled *A modest plea for free communion at the Lord’s table; particularly between Baptists and Poedobaptists [sic], in a letter to a friend*. (See M.G. Hambleton, *A sweet and hopeful people: a story of Abingdon Baptist Church 1649–2011*, rev. ed. [Fyfield, 2011] pp. 93–97. For a careful examination of the *Modest plea*’s authorship and the contribution also made to the debate by Robert Robinson of Cambridge, see Oliver, *HECB*, pp. 357–359, containing Appendix A: ‘John Collett Ryland, Daniel Turner, Robert Robinson, and the communion controversy, 1772–81’.) The debate between Baptist supporters of open communion on the one side and those in support of strict communion on the other side was reopened in 1815 with the publication, on the former side, of Robert Hall’s *On terms of communion; with a particular view to the*

throughout his subsequent career and is evidenced again in what he wrote in the series of letters now to hand. It is interesting also to note that Pasco maintained links with Bristol, the city of Samuel Harris's birth, even into his latter years keeping 'a steady eye' on the interests of the Bristol Education Society, founded in 1770 by, among others, Hugh Evans and developed by his son Caleb.<sup>30</sup> While no clear evidence has been discovered of Samuel Harris's membership of the New Road Dissenting Church,<sup>31</sup> we do learn from the biography of Hinton, penned by his son, that it was the youthful Samuel Harris who exerted his influence in 1787 to alter his fellow-church-members' first decision in favour of an unnamed student in the Bristol academy to assume the vacated pastorate in Oxford and instead to invite to the post his friend James Hinton, whom he had probably known at least since 1782.<sup>32</sup> It does seem that during this Oxford period Harris exhibited a good deal of the youthful zeal that tends to characterize one's late teens and that he threw his enthusiasm into his faith expressed through membership of the Baptist Church. In Letter 4 in this collection he came to reflect, 'I do not know how those feel who entered into the ministry early in life, but it is a subject of gratitude with me that I did not commence the work when it was first urged upon me in my seventeenth or eighteenth year,' a comment which seems to testify to the esteem that he had gained among his co-religionists during this Oxford period in his life and those people's wish to channel his zeal into the Baptist ministry, a calling which at that time he declined to follow.

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*case of the Baptists and Paedobaptists*, in which he attempted to counter the earlier publication, on the latter side, of Abraham Booth: *An apology for the Baptists, in which they are vindicated from the imputation of laying an unwarrantable stress on the ordinance of baptism; and against the charge of bigotry in refusing communion at the Lord's table to paedobaptists* (1778). (On this debate, see further Oliver, *HECB*, pp. 231-259; & G.R. Breed, *Particular Baptists in Victorian England and their strict communion organizations* [Didcot, 2003] pp. 9-28.) It seems likely that Samuel Harris took a personal interest in this issue, not least in view of his references in these letters to the ministry of Robert Hall and his knowledge that the wife of John Brown, the recipient of his letters, was the granddaughter of Abraham Booth. Letter 4 demonstrates how large a part this issue played in the preliminary discussions that Harris engaged in with Baptists in Aurora before being admitted to ministry among them.

<sup>30</sup> We may add that one of the society's original trustees was John Harris, father of Samuel Harris and another was Samuel's uncle John Bull jun., who served as secretary of the society from 1770 to 1783. See Hall, *TC*, pp. 27, 30.

<sup>31</sup> A membership list of the New Road church, dating back to 1780, has been preserved in the Angus Library of Regent's Park College, University of Oxford, but it does not contain the name of Samuel Harris (information provided by Emily Burgoyne, Library Assistant in Regent's Park College.)

<sup>32</sup> See Hinton, *BPJH*, pp. 19, 21 f. It is worth quoting Hinton's account of this event in full for the sake of context and insight into subsequent relations among brethren: 'Early in the year 1787 the church at Oxford, being then destitute, requested a supply from the academy at Bristol, and the president [Caleb Evans] wrote in high and deserved encomium of a student, whose talent and learning he regarded as eminently qualifying him for the station. When the recommendation of Dr. Evans was on the point of being accepted at the church meeting, a proposal was made that the services of Mr. Hinton should be particularly solicited; and this, though altogether unexpected, was at length agreed to, on the ground that some person in Oxford was acquainted with him, and thought him peculiarly suitable. A letter to this purport was accordingly sent, and the request, although not without regret, was ultimately granted. This singular turn of affairs was occasioned by the following circumstance: Mr. Samuel Harris (the son of Alderman Harris of Bristol) with whom Mr. Hinton had enjoyed an intimate acquaintance, and who had recently taken up his residence in Oxford, had recommended the application to Bristol, in the expectation that his favourite would be selected for the post; and his unwillingness to suffer disappointment, led him to use the personal influence by which their final determination was affected. The fellow student to whom he was thus preferred was Mr. Hinton's particular friend, and he often mentioned, as a source of honour to his companion and of pleasure to himself, that the circumstance occasioned no interruption to their mutual regard.'

In fact we discover that although during the Oxford period of his life Samuel Harris was apparently settled in open fellowship among Baptists and probably also Congregationalists, there are hints in these letters that at some time, possibly toward the end of the 1780s, he began to experience a crisis of faith. It was at this time too that a degree of conflict entered among members of the Dissenting church in Oxford and one wonders if it was in this atmosphere that Harris began to question some of his former certainties.<sup>33</sup> In February 1824 he wrote, ‘Alas! How many have I seen & known, who have been hurried into infidelity or Socinianism... through the necessity they fancied themselves under of declaring their sentiments before they were matured or even examined! I feel some inconvenience at times in consequence of the doubts which harrassed [*sic*] me thirty or forty years ago upon the most important points of Christianity.’ Again, in Letter 8, written in 1828, we seem to hear some echo of that crisis of faith undergone by Harris in the closing decades of the eighteenth century, for there he wrote, ‘Scott’s Napoleon I am now reading... In the perusal I am carried back over a large portion of my life, and find that much has been vanity.’ This does make us wonder whether the revolution in France and the succeeding Napoleonic Wars had exerted some deep influence, as they had on many other thinking people of the time, on the youthful Harris and whether, during those years, his enthusiasms had become channeled into rational and political thought.<sup>34</sup> Another clue to this, though clearly from some years later, may lie in his surprising choice of the name William Tell (a person referred to twice as the paragon of Swiss heroism in Scott’s nine-volume *Life of Napoleon Buonaparte*) for his son, the ‘Tell’ element being a choice that was distinctly exceptional for the time, when most parents would simply choose a name for their firstborn from among those of the parents, grandparents, or other relatives (but see next paragraph). Further, when in 1829 Harris sold a number of books from his library, he mentioned in particular J.-J. Rousseau’s *Confessions* (first published in 1782) and William Godwin’s *Enquiry concerning political justice* (published in 1793) as books whose departure was by this stage in his life ‘not regretted’. Yet, wrote Harris musing on his past intellectual and spiritual explorations, ‘on the whole I am benefited by that severe trial’ and the strength of Christian conviction that the experience ultimately instilled in him is reflected in the letters now before us.

We do not know precisely how long Harris remained in Oxford,<sup>35</sup> but by 1790

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<sup>33</sup> Hinton commented regarding the Dissenting fellowship in Oxford that there was toward the end of the 1780s and into the early 1790s some growing discontent and conflict, noting in particular that there was ‘in the body a portion of the leaven of antinomianism’, a brand of hyper-Calvinism which Harris criticized more than once in the present letters (*BPJH*, p. 108; see also p. 149).

<sup>34</sup> We may wonder whether in this attitude of mind Harris might again have come under the influence of Daniel Turner, the minister at Abingdon, for Turner openly expressed his support for the French Revolution in its early manifestation, as indeed did some other Baptist ministers such as Robert Robinson in Cambridge and Samuel Stennett at Little Wild Street in London (Oliver, *HECB*, pp. 61, 79, 122).

<sup>35</sup> It is possibly a confusion between Samuel Harris and his son William Tell that caused the author of *HDO* (p. 743), who, as we shall have cause to mention elsewhere, included in his account several confused statements, to record quite erroneously that William Tell Harris ‘at an early age was graduated from the University of Oxford,’ adding that ‘at the end of his collegiate course he was indentured to an apothecary, and serving a full apprenticeship received a diploma as a physician.’ (Thanks are again due to Roger Harris Lloyd, for providing information relating to Samuel Harris’s time in Oxford.)

he was living in London.<sup>36</sup> When we look more closely into this London period of his life we discover that it seems to have been centred geographically within a small area in the south-western corner of the district of Whitechapel. As the nineteenth century ran its course, Whitechapel became home to the destitute and the 'less fragrant' members of London's population, becoming not only the backdrop for the crimes of Jack the Ripper but, more mercifully, the place in which William Booth would found the Salvation Army. However, if we may appeal to the social survey of London carried out by another Booth, i.e. Charles Booth (1840-1916) in his *Life and labour of the people in London*, even in the latter decades of the nineteenth century the social status of the population in this part of Whitechapel was mixed, ranging from people characterized under the heading 'very poor, casual, chronic want' at one end of the social spectrum to 'middle class, well-to-do' at the other end. This area could therefore still have been viewed at the start of the nineteenth century as 'fashionable',<sup>37</sup> one in which Harris could foresee reasonably good prospects of running a profitable business, as had a large company of other suppliers of drugs and chemicals during previous decades.<sup>38</sup> At the northern point of the south-western corner of Whitechapel with which we are concerned was the place of Samuel Harris's residence within the parish of St. Ethelburga's, Bishopsgate and at the southern point was his druggist business at 166 Fenchurch Street.<sup>39</sup> Between Bishopsgate and

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<sup>36</sup> Records of the Sun Fire Office show that on the 26th January (and again on the 19th March) 1790 Samuel Harris, druggist and chemist, of 166 Fenchurch Street was insured by this firm (London Metropolitan Archives, refs. Ms 11936/367/565555 and Ms 11936/367/567140 respectively; information kindly supplied by Roger Harris Lloyd).

<sup>37</sup> Oliver (*HECB*, p. 48) commented that Goodman's Fields, in which the 'elegant eighteenth-century meeting-house' of the Little Prescott Street Baptist Church had been erected in 1730, was 'a fashionable area favoured by high-ranking naval officers and city merchants.'

<sup>38</sup> It has been noted that in 1715, when the famous Plough Court Pharmacy was established by Silvanus Bevan in a cul-de-sac off Lombard Street, just a short walk from where Samuel Harris's druggist business was destined to be located, there were in this area between Holborn and Aldgate no less than 39 druggists' shops, in addition to nine apothecaries and two chymists. (D. Chapman-Huston & E.C. Cripps, *Through a city archway: the story of Allen and Hanburys 1715-1954* [London, 1954] p. 15.)

<sup>39</sup> See also notes 36 & 826. His name also appears in Lowndes's *London directory* (1791), where he is described as a chemist and druggist with an address at 166 Fenchurch Street. The name 'Harris, Sam. Chymist & Druggist, 166, Fenchurch Street' is again entered in *Kent's directory for the year 1794*. His name does not, however, appear in the 1798 edition of Lowndes's *Directory*, nor in Boyle's *City companion* for the same year, although there are entries for a Samuel Harris in London for this time in different places, two of which are not far away from the previous address in Fenchurch Street: one at 3 Sion Gardens, London Wall and another at Garden Court, St Botolph, Aldgate (UK Land Tax Redemption, 1798), either of whom might, or might not, be our Samuel Harris. (Thanks are due to Roger Harris Lloyd for supplying this information.) 166 Fenchurch Street had been the address of a London druggist probably since at least 1779; see M.L. V\*\*\*, *Almanach général des marchands, négociants, armateurs, et fabricans de la France et de l'Europe* (Paris, 1779) p. 291, where at this address is listed 'Um. [sic] Viner, n., under the sub-heading 'Principaux droguistes et chimistes'. The person mentioned, William Viner, druggist and chemist, is again listed at this address in *The new complete guide to all persons who have any trade or concern with the city of London and parts adjacent*, 16th ed. (London, 1783) p. 310. William Viner died in June 1811, aged 79 and is said to have 'resided upwards of fifty years in Fenchurch street, London, in the drug trade, and [in 1799]... was nominated one of the sheriffs of the metropolis, but paid the usual fine rather than serve.' (*The monthly magazine; or, British register*, vol. XXXI [London, 1811] p. 489. It is difficult to know how to understand this statement, since Viner must have been about 58 years old when his druggist business in Fenchurch Street passed to Samuel Harris, unless 'upwards of fifty years in Fenchurch street' denotes only the time of his residence there, in his youngest years quite probably with his parents, and not to his druggist trade there.) Viner's will indicates that at his death he was in possession of substantial wealth, enabling him to make large bequests to three sisters, five nephews, two nieces, friends, and numerous charitable foundations including the London Lying-in Hospital, Bethlehem Hospital,

Fenchurch Street was Leadenhall Street, where in 1764, at number 148, William Fox (1736-1826), Harris's soon-to-be father-in-law, had purchased a large business concern, soon after removing to premises a little further to the west at 136 Cheapside and, after residing for two years in Donnyland, near Colchester, by the time Harris arrived in London, Fox had returned to London and was at some further remove to the north-west, at an address in Colebrook Row, Islington, where he remained until 1799.<sup>40</sup> On his twenty-fifth birthday, the 17th April 1792, Harris married Fox's eldest daughter **Sarah Fox**,<sup>41</sup> (whom in these letters he referred to by the familiar version of

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Gloucester Infirmary, the Worshipful Company of Bowmen (of which he was a member), and the poor of parishes in Gloucester and Badgworth village in Somerset. No mention is made of wife or children of his own in his will. Like Harris, he was a native of Gloucestershire and he probably sold his druggist business to Harris before retiring and returning to his home in Gloucester where he resided in Barton Street (*The Gloucester new guide* [Gloucester, 1802] p. 164) with his spinster sister Deborah (who died aged 90 in 1824), although, as his will indicates, he continued to own property in several places, including a house in Rood Lane, off Fenchurch Street in London.

<sup>40</sup> Ivimey, *MWF*, p. 111-3; Power, *RPSS*, pp. 59 f. A letter dated the 20th June 1796 was written from Colchester to Mrs. Mary Fox in Islington by her brother Samuel Tabor' (*FTGF*, pp. 81 f.), who, though originally from Colchester, resided in Rotterdam where he imported ceramics, notably from the Wedgwood factory in Burslem, for which company he acted as their Rotterdam agent from 1763 until his retirement from business in 1791. Some account of Samuel Tabor's business activities and the types of Wedgwood goods he imported to the Netherlands, based on letters in the Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston, is given by the museum's curator G. Blake Roberts, 'Wedgwood & the Dutch connection', in K.A. McLeod & J.R. Boyle (eds.), *The heritage of Wedgwood: articles from the proceedings of the Wedgwood International Seminars, held in Charlotte, Boston, [and] Dallas, 1991-1993* (Elkins Park, PA?, c. 1998) pp. 57-61; see also P. Lamp, *Drie eeuwen Wedgwood en Nederland* (Budel, 2004) pp. 63-69.

<sup>41</sup> The marriage was duly recorded in the parish register of St. Mary's, Islington, where Samuel Harris was entered as a 'bachelor of St. Ethelburga's, Bishopsgate'. The reason for the wedding's having been solemnized in Islington was, no doubt, that it was there from 1789 to 1799 that William Fox and his family had their abode. The Minute Book of Little Prescott Street Baptist Church testifies that in November 1786 William Fox, at that time referred to as 'Brother Fox of Cheapside', was appointed as a deacon of the church. The name of William Fox is found with an address at 136 Cheapside in directories from 1776 to 1790 (<http://www.edpopehistory.co.uk/entries/fox-william/1000-01-01-000000>; see also Power, *RPSS*, p. 83 and also p. 122) and while Power relates that William Fox prospered in the wholesale trade during his residence in that place (*RPSS*, p. 60), there is nevertheless evidence that a William Fox, warehouseman, of Bread Street, Cheapside found it necessary in 1788 to file for bankruptcy and take steps to settle with his creditors (*London gazette*, issue no. 13030 [30th September 1788] p. 476). Later, from May 1794 to March 1799, William Fox is referred to in the Little Prescott Street Minute Book as 'Brother Fox of Islington' (cf. Power, *RPSS*, p. 217). He is referred to as a senior deacon in March 1801. By 1818 he had an address in Mare Street, Hackney (Power, *RPSS*, pp. 26, 217), the street where, in 1812, the new Baptist Church, founded in 1798 in Shore Place, Hackney, removed to a newly constructed building. There the pastor, Francis Augustus Cox (1783-1853), published in that same year, 1818, *A letter on free communion from a pastor to the people in his charge*, a defence of the principle of open communion, contrary to the system of closed communion practised under Abraham Booth in Little Prescott Street. (See Oliver, *HECB*, p. 251 & J.E. Bennett, *Chronicles of the Baptist Church at Mare Street, Hackney, 1798-1898* [London, 1898] pp. 18, 38, 41, 66.) In an address given by Cox in 1846, reviewing the history of Mare Street Baptist Church, William Fox received particular mention among recollected members of the Hackney congregation: 'Fox, the modest, the gifted, the laborious and persevering promoter of the Sunday school, none can forget.' (*The Baptist reporter and missionary intelligencer*, n.s., vol. III [1846] p. 208. On F.A. Cox, see further J.H.Y. Briggs, "'Active, busy, zealous": the Reverend Dr. Cox of Hackney', in W.H. Brackney et al. [eds.], *Pilgrim pathways: essays in Baptist history in honor of B.R. White* [Macon, GA, 1999] pp. 223-241; *idem*, 'F.A. Cox of Hackney: nineteenth-century Baptist theologian, historian, controversialist, and apologist', *Baptist quarterly*, vol. XXXVIII [2000] pp. 392-411.) One may perhaps deduce that in the Hackney church, with its pastor's more open view of communion and its welcome of paedobaptists to specially arranged meetings for celebration of the Lord's Supper, William Fox's wife Sarah, who had come from a line of staunch Congregationalists (see note 47), might

her name, ‘Sally’). William Fox (1736-1826), like Robert Raikes (1736-1811), his co-worker in the campaign to promote Sunday Schools and Sunday School societies, was a native of Gloucestershire<sup>42</sup> and he became one of the deacons of the Baptist Church located in Little Prescott Street.<sup>43</sup> It is not clear how Harris first came into contact with William Fox and his family, whether through earlier contact in the Gloucestershire region, whether through business contact in Whitechapel, or whether perhaps through contact within the Little Prescott Street Baptist Church. With regard to the Baptist Church, it should be noted that while Fox (‘Bro. Fox’) receives frequent mention in the Little Prescott Street Minute Book, the records contain no references to his daughter Sarah Fox, nor do they mention Samuel Harris.<sup>44</sup> It remains possible, however, that while Harris (and indeed Sarah Fox) were not formally recognized members of the Little Prescott Street Church, they might nevertheless have formed part of the larger congregation. If we may speculate regarding what it might have been that kept Harris from applying for actual membership, that might well have been his strong commitment to the principle of open communion, which was contrary to the practice of strict communion in Little Prescott Street under Abraham Booth. It is, however, worth noting that William Fox, despite belonging to a church holding different convictions regarding open and strict communion, was also the personal friend of Daniel Turner,<sup>45</sup> minister at Abingdon, who had been so influential in promoting the principle of open communion in the Dissenting Church in Oxford, with which Harris had been associated until his removal to London. Further, when speculating concerning Harris’s reasons for moving to London on completion of his druggist’s apprenticeship in Oxford, it should not be overlooked that his master in the druggist’s trade had been Thomas Pasco, who himself had formerly lived in London

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perhaps have felt more at her ease and the Fox family together would have enjoyed a more open fellowship than that in Little Prescott Street, where William Fox’s family members seem to have remained outside the church membership. The wedding of Samuel Harris to Sarah Fox jun. was by license in the presence of William Fox (Sarah’s father), Sarah Harris (Samuel’s mother), Mary and Susanna Fox (Sarah’s sisters), and James and Susan Davidson. Announcement of the wedding was made in *The Bath chronicle and weekly gazette* for the 19th April 1792 and in *The Hereford journal* of the 25th April 1792 where it was reported: ‘At Islington, Mr. Samuel Harris, son of John Harris, Esq. Mayor of Bristol, to Miss Fox, eldest daughter of Mr. William Fox, of Cheapside, London’. The announcement was repeated, in slightly abbreviated form, in *The gentleman’s magazine*, vol. LXII, pt. 1 (1792) p. 384. The title ‘Mayor of Bristol’, applied to Samuel’s father, was retrospective, since John Harris had been succeeded in that office in 1791 and 1792 by John Noble and Henry Bengough respectively. (Thanks are due to David Woodruff, Librarian of the Strict Baptist Historical Society, as well as to Roger Harris Lloyd for supplying information used in this note.)

<sup>42</sup> William Fox’s earlier career bears some similarity to that of Samuel Harris. Both were natives of Gloucestershire, both served apprenticeships in Oxford (Fox as salesman in a mercer and draper establishment in Oxford, where he resided twelve years and rose to the position of proprietor), and both married and removed thence to London. Fox returned to Gloucestershire about the same time that Harris and his wife went north to Hull. (Ivimey, *MWF*, pp. 8 f.; Power, *RPSS*, pp. 216 f.) Letters written by Jonathan Tabor to his daughter ‘Mrs. Fox’ indicate that William and Sarah Fox were in Oxford in 1761 and 1763 (*FGTF*, pp. 8-11), remarking on which, however, Jonathan Tabor commented, ‘I am sorry you have no spiritual food administered to you at Oxford.’ For further information on William Fox and his brother Samuel Fox, see *ODNB* and <http://www.edpopehistory.co.uk/entries/fox-william/1000-01-01-000000>.

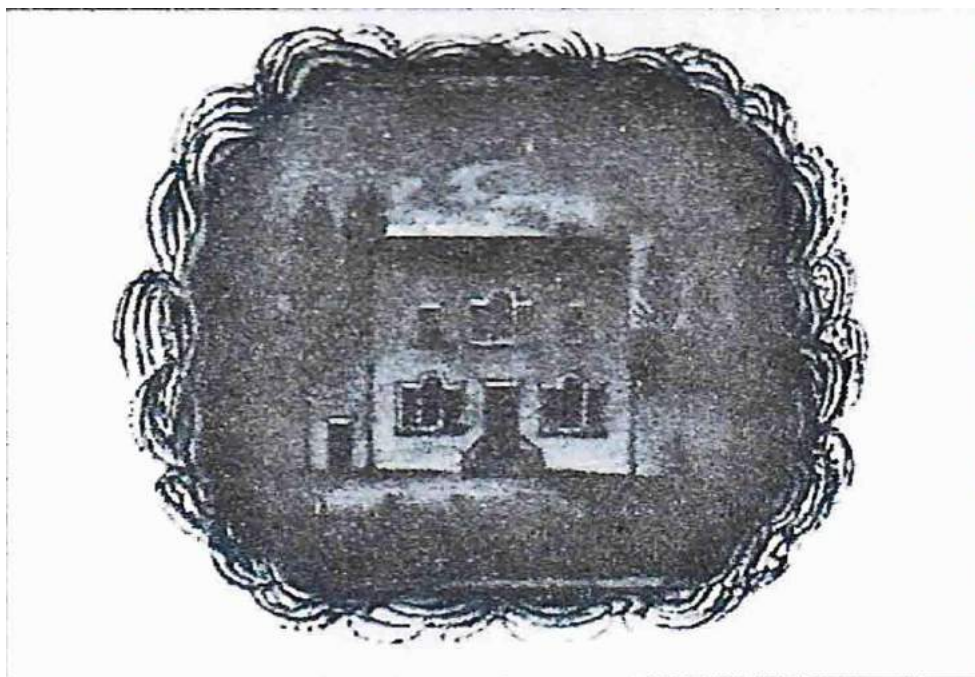
<sup>43</sup> When William Fox joined the Little Prescott Street Baptist Church in 1764, it was then under the care of Samuel Burford, but soon after came under the pastoral care of Abraham Booth, whose confidence and affection were shared by Fox. (Ivimey, *MWF*, pp. 5, 14.)

<sup>44</sup> Thanks are due to David Woodruff, the Strict Baptist Historical Society Librarian, for kindly searching the records of Little Prescott Street Baptist Church for references to Harris and Fox family members.

<sup>45</sup> See above note 29; and Power, *RPSS*, pp. 104 & 106.



and could possibly have advised Harris on matters relating to the setting up of an independent druggist's business under his own name in a suitable district of the capital city. In conclusion, we may speculate on the basis of evidence currently available that it was perhaps the joint influence of Pasco, Turner, and Fox that induced Harris to travel to this part of London and the Baptist Church there, where, if the meeting had not occurred earlier, he in due course met his future wife.



**The house in Colchester in which Sarah Fox (later Harris) was born<sup>46</sup>**

We ought to consider for a moment the wider experience that Sarah Fox brought into the life of her husband Samuel Harris. Mary, the mother of Harris's bride Sarah, was the daughter of the eminent Colchester merchant and Congregationalist Jonathan Tabor (1703-1778)<sup>47</sup> and registers of Lion Walk

<sup>46</sup> Taken from *FTGF*, p. 17. Unfortunately, only a monochrome microfilm copy of the original has been available, which explains the overall poorness of the image. However, it is sufficient to indicate the relative prosperity and comfort enjoyed by the Fox family and testifies how Sarah's resettlement in later life with her husband Samuel Harris in the newly claimed lands of Indiana was in some real sense an inversion of the maxim 'from log cabin to White House'.

<sup>47</sup> Jonathan Tabor sen. (1703-1778), a merchant who traded with the continent as well as in the coastal trade, and his sons Jonathan Tabor jun. (1733-1782) and Robert Tabor (1736-1795), were leading members of the Lion Walk Congregational Church in Colchester. (See Blaxill, *HLWCC*, *passim* & S. D'Cruze [ed.], *Colchester people: the John Bensusan Butt biographical dictionary of eighteenth-century Colchester*, vol. II [2010] pp. 311-313.) This quite possibly explains Samuel Harris's references in Letters 10 and 11 to his 'regular pittances from Colchester' having failed and the estate from which they were derived having nearly been 'thrown into Chancery'. The most obvious explanation of these references would seem to point to an estate that came to him via his wife ultimately from her mother's family in Colchester. In fact, Sarah Harris's grandfather Jonathan Tabor, left sums of money to his children Jonathan jun., Grimston, Mary, and Susanna. (N.B. a letter written by Susanna ['Miss Susan Tabor'] is cited in Blaxill, *HLWCC*, p. 16). Another son, Samuel, is omitted from the beneficiaries, perhaps because he was already well established in business in Rotterdam. In addition, Jonathan Tabor bequeathed property (warehouses, quays, wharfs, coal yards, gardens, etc. in Wivenhoe and the parish of St. Leonard, Colchester) to his son Robert, whom it would appear Jonathan



Congregational Church in Colchester<sup>48</sup> record that she was born in Colchester on the 29th March 1764, making her almost twenty-eight (three years older than her husband Samuel Harris) at the time of the couple's marriage. In fact, members of the Tabor family were so closely involved in the Lion Walk Congregational Church that Mary's brother Robert was married to Hannah, the daughter of John Collins, pastor of the church from 1728 to 1737, while her sister Susanna was married to John Crisp, pastor of the church from 1764 to 1773. The eminence of the Tabor family members was possibly one reason why, in the 1820s, Samuel and Sarah decided to name their new homestead in Aurora 'Mount Tabor'.<sup>49</sup> Some little light is shed on the early life of Sarah Fox in the series of letters that has been preserved by members of the Tabor family, including several written by the three sisters' grandfather Jonathan Tabor (1703-1778) and their uncle Samuel Tabor (1731-1801)<sup>50</sup> to the sisters' parents William and Mary Fox and also to this couple's children individually including Sarah Fox. Thus, we learn that on midsummer day 1783 Sarah was staying in Colchester with her uncle Samuel, who duly informed her father, 'Your daughter Sarah and I are in the way of well doing and well being, and we both poor souls have begun drinking asses milk in bed, very regularly every morning; she to quicken her spirits, I to quicken my appetite.' Less than a month later, having returned to his home in Rotterdam, Samuel wrote again to his sister Mary and her husband William Fox. It is not altogether clear whether Sarah had also travelled to Holland with her uncle, but the letter contains an interesting account of the 'hue and cry' there had been a short time before in Rotterdam attending the preaching there of John Wesley. The following year Samuel Tabor, whose own letters manifest a natural wit and ease of expression, wrote to advise Sarah on appropriate reading, specifically recommending Addison's *Spectator*, John Mason's *Self-knowledge*, and Isaac Watts's *The improvement of the mind*. From Rotterdam on the 5th June 1789, Samuel wrote a letter once more to Sarah, some part of which we shall quote in this place:

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expected to carry on his father's business. Jonathan Tabor further requested in his will (National Archives, PROB 11/1047, proved 7th Nov. 1778) that from the monies they received from him his children would likewise pass money down to their own children when the latter reached majority or married, and furthermore he placed on trust with his grandchildren's fathers £100 for each child, to be handed over to them either when they reached the age of twenty-one or married. Sarah Fox would therefore have benefited from such payments when she married Samuel Harris. We may note further as evidence of property owned by Sarah Harris's parents in the Colchester area that William Fox at one period in his life 'relinquished his business in London to his sons, and removed to a delightful country village called Donnyland, near Colchester, the native place of Mrs. Fox.' (Power, *RPSS*, p. 149; see also pp. 160 ff.)

<sup>48</sup> Held in Essex Record Office.

<sup>49</sup> Family memory had it that the Tabors derived their name from the Czech town of Tábor (*FTGF*, p. 3), previously part of the Austrian monarchy (hence the German spelling Tabor). 'The town was founded in the spring of 1420 by Petr Hromádka of Jistebnice and Jan Bydlínský of Bydlín from the most radical wing of the Hussites, who soon became known as the Taborites' (*Wikipedia*). See further on Mount Tabor in Appendix VI: 'Property acquired by Samuel Harris'. The name 'Mount Tabor' may later have been used of the whole surrounding area, since the deed conveying lots 39 and 40 from the Aurora Association to Samuel Harris in 1823 specifically refers to those lots as being 'in the area known as Mt. Tabour' [*sic*]. (Information kindly supplied by Chris McHenry, Secretary of the Dearborn County Historical Society, who states that after the Lawrenceburg Court House burnt down in March 1826, the deed was re-recorded in Book AA, p. 31.) As we shall notice later (see notes 395 & 459), Mount Tabor was used to designate an area distinct from Aurora as a whole, an area containing sufficient accommodation for the meetings of a Sunday School of some 100 scholars. Lots 39 and 40 are clearly marked 'Mount Tabor/W.T. Harris' in the lower right corner of the *Map of Dearborn County, Indiana* published by Thomas Pattison in 1860. The location is an elevation just to the south of Aurora town centre and overlooking the Ohio River to the east. See also note 1079.

<sup>50</sup> On Samuel Tabor, see note 40.

Do pray oblige me with an answer to let us know you shall come, because then I shall set down and enjoy it by anticipation. I shall make many a social meal upon the prospect of it. You must know I deal largely in anticipation, and rumination. I have not yet done with my last visit to Donnyland: there's a good piece left, that relishes vastly well with my evening pipe. I go over it, and over it; and think of one and another; and see all the events rise and pass in order before me, just as they took place.

I never come to England now but I think it will be my last look; my Pisgah view of friends and country!...

When you see aunt Cornell,<sup>51</sup> fail not to present my affectionate duty to her, and tell her I am with her on Saturday afternoons, and let me know how my dear sister your mother has been, and is, with the particulars of your journey down &c. I shall depend on a long letter soon. Oh for a walk with you now to Rowhedge!<sup>52</sup>

The evidence from the surviving records of the Tabor family makes it clear that Sarah enjoyed a warm and privileged upbringing among devout Dissenters, who imparted to her their own sure faith and their love of high culture. These were clearly matters that she shared closely with her husband Samuel Harris and it seems most likely that it was Sarah's influence that brought him into the wider Dissenting fellowship that embraced those of the paedobaptist persuasion among Independent (or Congregational) Christians.

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<sup>51</sup> Margaret Cornell was the sister of Jonathan Tabor sen.'s wife Susanna (*née* Grimston); she married the Rev. Ebenezer Cornell, who preached the sermon at the wedding of Sarah's parents William and Mary Fox (*FTGF*, pp. 103-106).

<sup>52</sup> *FTGF*, pp. 46 f., 53, 80. Rowhedge, situated on the bank of the River Colne, formed part of the parish of East Donyland, about two and a half miles from Colchester.



*To the AFFLICTED with RUPTURES.*  
**JAMES THRELFALL,**  
 DRUGGIST,  
 NEW - STREET, LANCASTER,  
**B**EGS leave to inform the public, that  
 he is appointed AGENT for selling the  
 NEW - INVENTED SERPENTINE CURVED  
 ELASTIC SPRING TRUSSES, made by JOHN  
 WRIGHT, Liverpool. The great success the in-  
 ventor has met with, pronounces their superiority  
 over any yet offered to the public, as they are war-  
 ranted to effect a Cure of the above Complaint, if  
 due attention is paid to the directions which are  
 given with each Truss. J. W. makes a NEW-IN-  
 VENTED NAVAL TRUSS, superior to any yet  
 offered to the public.  
 Sold also by J. MOUNSEY, druggist, Preston, and  
 S. HARRIS, druggist, Wigan.

An advertisement from the *Lancaster gazette*, 24th September 1814, referring to Samuel Harris's druggist business in Wigan

In Letters 3 and 7 in the present series, omitting mention of Oxford where he had served his apprenticeship, Harris remarked that he had previously dwelt in London, Hull (for 5 or 6 years),<sup>53</sup> and Wigan (for 15 or 16 years).<sup>54</sup> Thus, on the

<sup>53</sup> Hull (an abbreviation of the fuller name Kingston upon Hull) is situated on the east coast of Yorkshire, England. During his sojourn in Hull, Harris worked in partnership with the 'chemist and druggist' William Charles Ellis, who was later knighted for his work to promote care of the mentally ill. See J.A.R. & M.E. Bickford, *The private lunatic asylums of the East Riding* (Hull, E. Riding Local Hist. Soc., 1976) p. 14, where it is noted that in 1800 Ellis took 'a Mr. Harris' into partnership, until Harris was succeeded by William Snow Betty. On W.C. Ellis, see *ODNB* and H.W. Ellis, "*Our doctor*;" or, *memorials of Sir William Chas. Ellis, M.D., of Southall Park, Middlesex* (London, 1868). Like Harris, Ellis was strongly motivated by his Christian faith. The copartnership of Ellis and Harris was dissolved by mutual consent on the 13th September 1805 (*London gazette*, issue no. 15847 [28th September 1805] p. 1238).

<sup>54</sup> These are the periods stated by Harris in Letter 7. In Letter 9 he mentioned having come to Wigan in 1805 and, in accord with this date, in Letter 3 he wrote of having resided 16 years in Wigan, a period which of course terminate in 1821 when he emigrated to America. We need, however, to take some account of the statement published in Lake, *ADCI*, p. 12 (and repeated in *HDO*, p. 742), that 'Samuel Harris settled in Aurora in 1821, emigrating from near Leeds, England. He had been for many years a clergyman of the Church of England.' There are, in fact, two errors in this statement since it was from Wigan, Lancashire, where Harris had worked as a druggist (see Letter 1), that he and his family emigrated to America, and not 'from near Leeds', a phrase which might perhaps have arisen from knowledge that it was from near Leeds that his daughter Susanna had set out in returning to Aurora in

basis of the evidence available, we may summarize that he was in Oxford from 1782 to 1789/90, in London from 1789/90 to 1799/1800, in Hull from 1799/1800 to 1805, and in Wigan from 1805 to 1821. In all of these places, as we have seen so far and as occasional notes testify elsewhere,<sup>55</sup> he appears to have worked as a druggist.<sup>56</sup> In Wigan his premises were located in Market Place and since John Brown's printing and bookselling business was located at 2 Standishgate, i.e. immediately the first building met with when moving from Market Place in a northwards direction, Harris and Brown must have been close business neighbours over several years. We have no information explaining why Harris removed from Hull to Wigan and can only suppose that he saw there an opportunity of managing his own druggist business, perhaps for the first time. In his later letters to John Brown he seems always to have been respectful of Wigan and the friends that he made there, but a saying attributed to him by his niece Elinor Tuckett may suggest that he recognized in the people of Wigan a particular roughness of character that he had not met with in his previous places of residence. She recorded, 'My great Uncle Samuel lived in Wigan before his departure for America, and so uncultivated were the people that he used laughingly to say "It had been made late on a Saturday night, and was the fag end of creation."'<sup>57</sup>

It is not clear exactly when Harris retired from the druggist trade, but his business had passed into the hands of John Sowerby at the latest by November 1820<sup>58</sup> and possibly earlier, since a notice for the letting of his business and premises appeared in a Manchester newspaper of the 6th April 1813.<sup>59</sup> If, as this notice might suggest, the business was rented to another druggist for a term of seven years, that would take us down to one year before Harris left Wigan and emigrated to America. However, as Harris himself remarked in Letter 1, one of the first persons he met on arriving in the USA was an unnamed young man who had seen Harris the druggist in Wigan some four years previously, which would imply that he continued in that business at least until 1817. Even so, it seems possible that for a short period at least before sailing to the USA, Harris, with his wife and son, dwelt in Southport on the

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later years (see on Susanna below). In addition, Samuel Harris's ecclesiastical allegiance had been to Dissenting bodies including both Congregationalists (or Independents) and Baptists, rather than to the Church of England (of which he wrote somewhat scornfully in these letters), though his denominational feelings were weak and he felt free to move among other communions, as remained his practice after settling in Aurora, Indiana.

<sup>55</sup> In Letter 11, for example, he disclosed that his account books had been left in the shop of Francis Dutton, who, as a contemporary directory recorded, ran a druggist's business in Market Place, Wigan, clearly the successor to Harris's business following John Sowerby's short interim tenure of the business. (*Pigot's directory of Wigan, 1828-9.*)

<sup>56</sup> The name 'Samuel Harris, druggist', in a household consisting of three males and three females (Samuel and Sally Harris with son and daughter, and possibly two servants, or lodgers, one of whom might have been an apprentice) appears in the 1811 Census returns for Market Street, Wigan (Market Place seems to have been absorbed within Market Street for census purposes at this date). Harris is similarly listed as one of three persons engaged in the business of 'Druggist' in Market Place, Wigan in Pigot, *CD* 1818.

<sup>57</sup> Tuckett, *Mem.*, p. 11.

<sup>58</sup> See note 309.

<sup>59</sup> The advertisement stated: 'To be let, by private contract, for a term of seven years, from the first day of May next, a dwelling-house, and shop, being in one of the best situations in the Market-place, in Wigan, now in the possession of Mr. Samuel Harris, druggist; together with a ware-house in the yard. The premises are well suited for a druggist, grocer, draper, or any other trade, where much room is required. Mr. Harris will shew the premises; and for further particulars, or treaty, apply to John Lord, in Standishgate, Wigan.' (*Manchester mercury*, 6th April 1813.)

Lancashire coast.<sup>60</sup> There is no evidence in the letters included in the present series that Harris continued to work as a druggist after settling in America, albeit Letter 8 does contain an interesting request made by him to his correspondent in Wigan for seeds of the ‘valuable medicinal plant, called foxgloves’. Furthermore, we cannot help noticing elsewhere in the letters his remarks relating to the subject of botany and, although self-doctoring was the norm among pioneer families, we note that Harris himself administered medicine, including an opiate, to his wife shortly before her death. The year 1821, when Harris and his party arrived in Philadelphia, happened to be the year that saw the founding of the College of Apothecaries in Philadelphia and the establishment of the first American school of pharmacy, yet these landmark events passed completely unnoticed in Harris’s first letter written in that year from the city of Philadelphia to John Brown, indicating perhaps that he had set his druggist work and interest behind him before seeking a new kind of life in the American west. Times of peace (though not yet prosperity in Britain) seemed before him, as the Anglo-American War had come to an end in 1815 and the death of Napoleon on the Atlantic island of St. Helena, which occurred precisely while the Harris party was sailing that same Atlantic towards the New World, had put a terminus to the long European wars, so that the days ahead seemed richer in promise than any yet witnessed in the nineteenth century.

The question naturally arises: what was the source of Samuel Harris’s wealth and how had it been possible for him to accumulate sufficient funds to take his wife and two children to the New World and there buy land and property capable of sustaining independent livelihoods for three families? Comments made here and there by Harris in writing his letters suggest that he was very careful in managing money, a character trait that he had no doubt acquired in the course of his business activities in an England that had been passing through some decades of severe economic hardship. However, the amount of savings he might have been able to amass during his career as a druggist, from finishing his apprenticeship about 1789 to leaving his business in Wigan in 1821, could not have been immense as he had all the regular outgoings of a man trying to make a living and provide for a family during a time of general economic depression. We need therefore to step back in time and to inquire a little as to the likelihood and the extent of monies that he might have acquired and carefully invested during his former life in England.

The personal wealth of Samuel’s father John Harris was derived from many sources, including inheritance, the hosiery trade, and sugar-refining. He came from a family of clothiers, who had probably made money, some of which passed down to

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<sup>60</sup> In Letter 1 Harris actually stated that he began his journey to America from Southport, although in Letter 2 he also mentioned that on his last Sunday in England, 8th April 1821, he preached in Lord Street Baptist Church in Wigan. We may note further that Samuel Harris’s son William Tell, who was married on the 24th April 1821, is described in the marriage register as ‘a gentleman of North Meols’, i.e. of a parish which formerly included much of the conurbation that later assumed the name Southport (consisting of North Meols, Birkdale, and Ainsdale), a name apparently originating with the erection of the South Port Hotel by William Sutton (1752-1840) at the end of the eighteenth century. The new name ‘Southport’ seems to have come into vogue c. 1809, as Nelly Weeton made reference in May 1808 to ‘the Meols’, while in May of the following year she referred instead to ‘Southport’ (*JG*, vol. I, pp. 86 f., 168). (For discussion of the origin of the name Southport, see F.A. Bailey, ‘The origin and growth of Southport’, *The town planning review*, vol. XXI [1950] pp. 301-305.) We should note further Samuel Harris’s particular interest in George Greatbatch (see note 515), who was very active at this time in establishing Congregationalism in Southport.

himself.<sup>61</sup> In addition, John Harris was a man who, in financial terms, seems to have married well. His first wife was Sarah Adams, whom he married at Almondsbury on the 15th March 1753 but who died, possibly in childbirth, in the following year. Sarah's personal wealth is apparent in her will of 1754.<sup>62</sup> John Harris's second wife, Sarah Bull, whom he married on the 1st October 1755, the mother of John jun., Francis, Sarah,<sup>63</sup> Samuel, and Anne Harris, was the daughter of the wealthy Bristol Baptist clothier, John Bull, who left her £1,000 in his will of 1742.<sup>64</sup> In 1753 in the will of his first wife, John Harris is already described as a gentleman as well as a linen draper and later he is referred to as a hosier.<sup>65</sup> It seems it was only from about the mid 1770s that he and his two elder sons, John jun. and Francis, became involved in

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<sup>61</sup> We know that an earlier Samuel Harris, son of a John Harris, was baptized in Rodborough, Gloucestershire on the 15th September 1699 and the latter's will, proved on the 24th May 1738 in the Diocese of Gloucestershire, indicates that he left some of his wealth to his son Samuel (1699-1750) and grandson John, the latter of whom could have been the Bristol father of our Samuel Harris (1767-1832).

<sup>62</sup> We may perhaps consider its sources and whether any part of it might, after her decease, have passed into her husband's possession. Sarah was the daughter of George Adams, whose will of 1730 reveals that he was a 'gardener' and yet, despite the unassuming title, a person who owned land and property all around the prospering city of Bristol. He was a burgess of Bristol and married twice: first, Sarah Avery and, second, Sarah Papwell (the multiplication of Sarahs becomes somewhat tedious for the genealogist!). His second wife bore him three children: Ann (1707-1764), George (b. 1711), and the Sarah who concerns us here since she became the first wife of John Harris. George Adams sen. provided in his will for his son of the same name, but also for his daughter Sarah. Ann married twice. Her first marriage was to William (?) Cheney, by whom she had a daughter, Papwell Cheney, who married an apothecary by the name of Leight and bore a daughter whom they named Ann Papwell Leight. Ann's second marriage was to a Mr. Roscoe, so that she became financially provided for principally by her husbands. George jun. inherited the bulk of his father's wealth, which was very extensive. In the way of offspring, he had only one daughter, who predeceased him in 1753, so that his estate at death passed to his sister Sarah. John Harris's first marriage was, therefore, to a wealthy woman, who, however, was somewhat advanced beyond the normal child-bearing age and, as noted above, might have died in childbirth. On her death, her estate should have reverted to her Adams relatives according to her marriage settlement, but her only surviving sibling by this time was her sister Ann, who was already provided for by her husband. John Harris was, in fact, the designated executor of her will and in a codicil to that will certain changes were made. Much of Sarah's estate did go back to the Adamses, not only to her sister Ann, but also to the latter's granddaughter Ann Papwell Leight, who married into the Brigstock family of gentry. Nevertheless, it remains an open question whether some of Sarah's estate might have been retained by her husband John Harris.

<sup>63</sup> Sarah Harris (1759-1798) seems to have been the last of John Harris's children to marry and leave home. Her father's pocket ledger of 1794 provides evidence of her acting in some capacity as housekeeper for her father in her mid thirties (Harris, *1794PL*, 11th February, 17th December). On the 7th May 1795, however, she married Samuel Rogers, a brewer of Portland Square, in St. Paul's, Bristol. She died not long after in 1798 and was interred in the Broadmead Baptist Church burial ground on the 17th February. Samuel Rogers married twice again and died in 1817. He was described as a vinegar merchant in his will. (Information supplied by Roger Harris Lloyd.)

<sup>64</sup> John Bull further bequeathed 'several messuages or tenements, buildings, outlets and appurtenances thereunto belonging' in Ellbroad Street within the parish of Saint Philip and Jacob, Bristol and similarly '6 messuages or tenements' in Ann Street without Lawfords Gate within the outparish of Saint Philip and Jacob in the hundred of Barton Regis, Gloucestershire'. It seems possible that when his surviving wife, Hester Bull (*née* Elliot), executed her husband's will and possibly after her own death, the value of these properties was passed down to her children, including John Harris's wife Sarah. Sarah Bull's two brothers, John Bull jun. (c. 1726-1783) and Francis Bull (c. 1727-1788), were, like members of the Harris family, affiliated to the Broadmead Baptist Church in Bristol and they became wealthy clothiers. See further Hall, *TC*, p. 27.

<sup>65</sup> In 1765, on the birth of his daughter Ann; in 1774, in the St. James Poll Book; and in 1775, in James Sketchley's *Bristol directory*, where it mentions, first, 'Coleman, Harris, and Coleman, hosiers' at 41 Bridge Street and, second, 'Coleman and Harris, hosiers' at 71 Stoke's Croft. (Thanks are due to Roger Harris Lloyd for much of the information used here and in preceding notes.)

sugar-refining.<sup>66</sup> John Harris sen. was never, of course, directly involved in the slave trade and sugar plantations in the West Indies, but he undoubtedly benefited indirectly from this activity as a sugar-refiner. Wealth derived from this and his other activities would perhaps have been passed down during his lifetime to John's three surviving sons: John jun., Francis, and Samuel,<sup>67</sup> but by the end of his life, perhaps through business failures of his own, but also of his sons,<sup>68</sup> he might have become much impoverished, so that the administering of his will became a thankless task that the executor, his son Francis, never actually accomplished during his lifetime.

But to return to the main point after this retrospective digression, Samuel Harris, with capital partly handed to him by his father during his lifetime, partly earned, and perhaps also partly gained through his marriage,<sup>69</sup> would have been able to make use of this to purchase land in the New World, so that he appears to have been able to live off the proceeds derived both from these property investments and from cash deposits with bankers, and to turn his attention in retirement away from monetary cares and instead to matters of the soul. He was fortunate in having arrived in Indiana at a moment particularly favourable to incomers with ready capital. With the end of the 'second war of independence' that had raged from 1812 to 1815, Native American tribes, who had formerly been in alliance with the British, were removed either voluntarily or forcibly from the western territories, so that a wave of settlers from the east began to pour into the new lands of Indiana and beyond. There was for a time a great boom in property and staples prices, which could not however be sustained. The bubble of abnormally high prices burst in 1819, whereupon 'a profound depression gripped the state.'<sup>70</sup> It was in this economic climate that Harris was able to buy lands in Indiana at very depressed prices. He would pay, for example, in 1822 a mere \$300 for 145 acres of undeveloped land situated 11 to 12 miles inland from Aurora and in 1824 he paid \$240 (part in silver and part in barter) for partly cultivated and fenced land closer to Aurora, including a good log cabin. These and other land purchases would become valuable investments. It was only in

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<sup>66</sup> In 1784 John Harris and Co. occupied the oldest of the Lewin's Mead sugar houses and *Matthews's new Bristol directory for the year 1793-4* refers to 'Daubeney and Harris', sugar-refiners in Bridewell Lane.

<sup>67</sup> They would receive nothing in the way of bequests, as John Harris sen.'s will made bequests only to his surviving wife and the *children* of his three sons: John's (a quarter share), Francis's (a half share), and Samuel's (a quarter share). This may perhaps suggest one reason why it was ultimately Francis's daughter Sarah Ann who in 1825 somewhat belatedly administered the will of her grandfather according to the will's codicil under which the survivor (i.e. Sarah Ann, Francis's eldest surviving child) of the will's executor (i.e. Francis Harris alone, after the death of his mother in 1806) should administer the will. It is difficult to be certain why John Harris's will, though proved in 1801 by Francis Harris and his mother, remained unadministered until 1825, but a clue might possibly lie in the codicil that Harris added to his will just a few days before his death. The codicil goes into some detail regarding the settlement of John Harris's debts, suggesting perhaps that for Francis and his mother the administration of the will might have been something of 'a mare's nest', to be put off for as long as was possible, particularly since Francis had himself been made bankrupt in 1799 and had still not repaid his debtors in full by the time he emigrated to the USA in 1823 (see further below in the section dealing with the biography of Francis Harris).

<sup>68</sup> He was, for instance, the most likely source of funds to liquidate his son John's debt of £1,149 in 1787 and he possibly made some expenditure to assist his son Francis when he became bankrupt in 1799. We shall have occasion to note later that just before his death in 1801 he also came to the rescue of his son Samuel when the latter failed to administer funds from the Bernard Foskett's Gift for Poor Welsh Ministers (see note 147).

<sup>69</sup> On this possibility, see note 47.

<sup>70</sup> Cady, *MBCI*, p. 20.

1829, when he found himself unable to draw on funds in Britain because of a legal complication, that he felt himself compelled to take up employment for a short time as tutor to the children of a family living in French Grant, Ohio, but at other times he seems to have been free from the necessity to engage in paid employment.

In November 1822, Harris reported that his wife was happily settled in Aurora, although it seems evident that she did not enjoy good health, which had become seriously weakened by excessive anxiety during her son William Tell's travels in North America during the years 1817-1819.<sup>71</sup> The following year she contracted an illness, from which she died on the 15th August 1823. For the remainder of his pilgrimage, Samuel Harris would live a life alone, although assisted for a little while by the generous care of his niece Sarah Ann, the daughter of his brother Francis. Details of his later years are recorded in excellent detail in the present series of letters. They relate, for instance, his relinquishing some parts of his property that he had bought when first settling in Indiana, his retreat to what he referred to as his 'hermitage' on a plot of land owned by his friend Reuben Graves across the Ohio River near to Petersburg in Kentucky, his travelling to French Grant, Ohio to tutor the children of a family living there, and his last journey from Aurora in quest of a new paradise yet further to the west in Illinois, a journey which was curtailed by death in Cincinnati.

There can be few more testing challenges in life than those confronting the emigrant to a new land. Paradoxically the experience of the settler can be severely unsettling, so that the wrench of tearing up one's native roots and struggling to find sustenance in new soil is not always a successful adventure. In fact, great uncertainty often attaches to the immigrant's status in the new land and only a percentage of questing emigrants seem to make the transition successfully. Perhaps circumstances have altered somewhat in more recent years, but with far easier means of travel in modern times, there are probably still a great many more people who bounce backwards and forwards between the land of origin and the land of destiny, so that one gains the impression that it is really only the second generation who truly settle in the new domain. The trouble with the human condition is that, in times of difficulty and stress, the grass over the fence always appears so much the greener. It happens too frequently that when the longed-for 'milk and honey' of the new land are actually tasted, in one location or another, that disappointingly they seem to pall on the palate. These letters do make mention of the disappointment followed by return to England of some of those with whom Harris travelled to the New World, but exceptionally Samuel Harris himself seems to have suffered from none of the disillusion tending to cloud the emigrant's experience, not even after the loss of his wife and companion pioneer. As we have noted, he was from youth a man who was not afraid to 'launch out into the deep', leaving behind the apparent comforts of his native heath and moving on, again and again, to new locations and different environs, both in England and in the New World. At no time did he long to be back among his old familiar faces in Britain, even though nearly all of those who accompanied him on the western voyage did return, including his own daughter, who came to typify the lot of the 'bouncer' emigrant, ultimately making the transatlantic voyage no less than five times,<sup>72</sup> the odd number confirming the ultimate success of her migration. Describing

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<sup>71</sup> See note 82.

<sup>72</sup> So it is related by J.C. Power, *RPSS*, p. 231.



the optimism and experience of pioneer settlers in Indiana subsequent to the achievement of statehood in 1816, J.H. Madison penned the following sentences, which could well sum up the outlook and personality of Samuel Harris as reflected in the present series of letters:

...for most pioneers it was a frontier of success and abundance. There was no starving time in Indiana: the land was rich, the forests bountiful, and the pioneer knew how to reap and profit. They came, most of them, looking for a fresh start, a better material life. Most achieved it. With good reason pioneer Hoosiers developed a strong sense of optimism, a conviction that progress was natural, a confidence that this was the best that America offered. Near the end of their lives many would look back on their decision to move to the Indiana frontier as proof of God's blessing and as guarantee that their lives and those of their children were better as a consequence.<sup>73</sup>

All this was true of Samuel Harris, but there was one additional ingredient in the mix that went to make up his optimistic outlook and this deserves our attention before passing on.

The expression 'going west' has both a literal and a metaphorical meaning. In the morning of his life, Samuel Harris moved eastward toward the sunrise, from Bristol to Oxford, and then from Oxford to London. In his later years he took the opposite direction, toward the sunset in the west, typifying in a very literal sense Eliot's line from 'East Coker': 'old men ought to be explorers.' John Cheever's story 'Boy in Rome' contains a description of boat-loads of emigrants, who will never be seen again, sailing from Naples for life in the New World as an old Italian lady calls continually to them across the water, 'Blessed are you, blessed are you, you who will see the New World.' At first, the boy in Rome takes all this at face value, but by the end of the story, after he seems to have exhausted all possibilities of discovering satisfaction in the present world, he realizes that the old woman was calling attention rather to a New World superior to the earthly one as joy is superior to pain. The letters we now have before us illustrate the fact that Harris saw himself as one engaged not merely in another earthly migration but also in a spiritual quest for the city of God. He is a man settling accounts with the present world and preparing for departure to a better one. His contentment with his lot in the New World, unfazed by adversity, can only fully be accounted for in his Christ-inspired other-worldliness, the conviction, echoed in the last song he sang, one of his own composition, that this world was not his home and that he had a better country reserved for him in the heavens to which he was assuredly progressing and, in view of which, he was happy to divest himself of so much of his carefully gathered property while he still sojourned in the present world. These letters therefore contain more than mere historical and geographical interest for the careful reader.

The circumstances attending the death of Samuel Harris are recorded by his son in the final letter of this series, where he takes up his father's unfinished letter to John Brown and uses the remaining paper space to relate to his father's old friend in England the way in which Samuel Harris's life suddenly reached its close in Cincinnati. Suffice it here to note that after receiving news written by his daughter on the 29th August 1832 of the ravages of cholera in England and dismissing the threat

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<sup>73</sup> *IW*, p. 58. See testimony to this effect in note 94.

as a thing they took no notice of where he was then living,<sup>74</sup> quite unexpectedly a few weeks later, in October, he himself was struck down by the disease while visiting Cincinnati, where he had gone, it would appear, to settle some business prior to his setting forth to visit the Flower Settlement at Albion, Illinois. He expired on Friday the 19th October and must have been buried the following morning, just before his son William Tell reached Cincinnati, responding to a letter he received that morning informing him of his father's dangerous condition. In the 'Quarterly list of deaths of clergymen and students in theology, and missionaries' published in the *Quarterly register and journal of the American Education Society* for February 1833 (p. 256), announcement was made of the death of Samuel Harris, aged 65, described as a Congregational clergyman, in Cincinnati, Ohio. In England announcement of his death was made in the prestigious *Gentleman's magazine*.<sup>75</sup> Lake commented on his life: 'He was a man of great learning. His library was for many years the most extensive and valuable one in the State,<sup>76</sup> and especially rich in theological works, which were presented after his death, by his son W.T. Harris, to the Hamilton Theological Seminary.'<sup>77</sup> As a token of the love and esteem that Samuel Harris evoked among family and friends, it will be noted in the course of analysis developed below that both a grandson (Samuel H. [probably Harris] Power) and a step-grandson (Samuel Harris Webber) were, as far as we can tell, named after him.

The year 2016 marks the bicentennial of Indiana's admission to statehood and five years later will be the bicentennial of the hopeful settlement of Samuel Harris and his family members in Indiana. It therefore seems circumstantially fortunate that as these anniversaries approach two significant reminders of those historic events should now be coming to light. First, the publication of the present series of letters will, it is hoped, draw many people's attention to the foundation laid in this picturesque corner of the State of Indiana in years gone by, and, second, Dearborn County heritage is equally fortunate in the resurrection from the past of the first log cabin that became home to the Harris family back in 1821 or 1822. The cabin, which is believed to be among the oldest pioneer cabins remaining in the State of Indiana, has been demonstrated through dendrochronological examination to have been built from timber harvested c. 1821-2 (precisely the time when the Harris family settled on this land). It was hidden for decades within the home of Ray and Marge Markwalter and was discovered when, in 1958, the Markwalters began remodeling part of the building that had been constructed around the cabin and they intentionally left some of the

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<sup>74</sup> On the underlying confusion between classical cholera and 'cholera morbus', see note 904.

<sup>75</sup> Vol. CII, pt. 2 (July-Dec. 1832) p. 652, where his age at death was correctly stated as 65, but error was made in recording the date (stated as the 3rd October 1832) and the place (stated as Aurora, North America) of his death. An obituary notice in *The Liverpool mercury* of the 11th January 1833 was also topographically and temporally astray, the latter perhaps on account of a typesetter's error, omitting the character '1' in the date reference: 'On the 9th Oct., at Aurora, North America, aged 65, the Rev. Samuel Harris, late of Wigan, and third son of the late Alderman Harris, of Bristol.'

<sup>76</sup> The statement accords with Harris's own remark made in 1827 (Letter 6): 'There are very few libraries in this State. I am told that mine is the chief, both for size and value.'

<sup>77</sup> Lake, *ADCI*, p. 12 (repeated in *HDO*, p. 742). Hamilton Theological Seminary became absorbed by what would become Colgate University in Hamilton, New York. An enquiry submitted in 2013 to the Library of Colgate University failed unfortunately to result in the discovery of any definite historical acquisitions that could now be connected with Samuel Harris or with his son William Tell, though it remains possible that such items may be identified in the future. As comments in the present series of letters suggest, during his lifetime Samuel Harris passed down to William Tell volumes from his own collection and after William Tell's death these would have become the property of Hannah Webber Vail, according to the terms of William Tell's will (see Appendix VII).

cabin's logs exposed in their front room. The property was later purchased by Aurora business owner Marty Rahe and, as later additions were demolished, the internal log structure was revealed. In time, Marty and his wife Mary Beth donated the cabin and land to the neighbouring Hillforest Historical Foundation. Unfortunately, reflecting the haste with which early settlers threw up their early homes, the foundation of the cabin showed signs of severe deterioration and some \$71,250 were required to undertake the necessary renovation work (Harris would have smiled), but the Hillforest Historical Foundation has been fortunate in receiving, among other donations, a \$25,000 grant from the US Department of the Interior<sup>78</sup> to assist with the cabin's stabilization and rehabilitation. The first part of the project, which commenced in early April 2013, includes lifting and shoring the log structure, installing poured-in-place concrete piers, and reconstructing the adjacent wall assemblies. This unique structure will, it is hoped, contribute to the heritage tourism of the area, aided by its proximity to the Hillforest National Historic Landmark and its location along the Ohio River Scenic Byway.

**William Tell Harris**, who was born in London on the 25th December 1794, acted in some sense as a scout on behalf of his father, mother, sister, and quite possibly others as well<sup>79</sup> when he travelled through the newly settled regions of the United States<sup>80</sup> and wrote his report of what he found there in his publication of 1821: *Remarks made during a tour through the United States of America in the years 1817, 1818, and 1819*.<sup>81</sup> Many sites and people caught his attention, not least the museum in an upper storey of the Philadelphia court-house, where a pair of Lancashire wooden clogs was attracting greater notice from visitors than was the massive skeleton of a mammoth exhibited nearby. William Tell also visited the Shaker settlement in Lebanon, Ohio, founded just 13 years prior to his visit and only 44 years after Ann Lee and the first Shakers had set foot in America after leaving their place of origin, Manchester, England, just a few miles distant from Harris's own town of Wigan. From Lebanon William Tell concluded his almost 900-mile walk through Ohio territory northwards of Cincinnati and returned to that place, which would be the nearest city when viewed from Aurora, Indiana, where he, his new wife, and his father and mother would settle in 1822. While there was much in W.T. Harris's

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<sup>78</sup> Other donors include the Efroymsen Family Fund within the Central Indiana Community Foundation, the Carol Ann and Ralph V. Haile Jr./US Bank Foundation of Cincinnati, and a number of private donors. See Chandra L. Mattingly, 'Groundwork underway at 1821 cabin', *The Dearborn County register* (May 2, 2013), p. 3A (copy kindly supplied by the editor through Chris McHenry).

<sup>79</sup> Thus, he paid particular attention to describing the constitution and government of the State of Indiana as these were subjects worthy of careful description since, tacitly acknowledging his parents' personal interest in the matter, they were, as he wrote, among those that 'materially interest such as are, or contemplate the probability of being, its citizens.' (*RTUSA*, p. 136.)

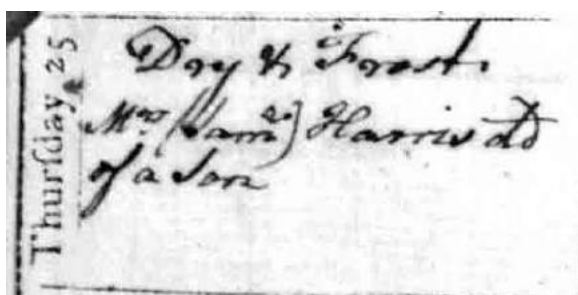
<sup>80</sup> Under the terms of the will of John Harris (National Archives, PROB 11/1359, proved 13th August 1825), grandfather of W.T. Harris, he and his sister Susanna would have inherited equal shares in the moiety of their grandfather's estate apportioned to them (one eighth share each). It seems possible that this inheritance might have enabled W.T. Harris to undertake these travels in America, but only if his uncle Francis had exercised the liberty permitted under John Harris's will for Francis, as executor, to make sums available from the estate of his father for use of the grandchildren 'during their respective Infancies' and, as we have previously observed, John Harris's will remained unadministered until 1825.

<sup>81</sup> William Tell's *Remarks* must have received some currency in Wigan, as it is found listed as item no. 21 in the *Catalogue of books in R. Cocker's Circulating Library, Market-Place, Wigan* (Wigan, 1840) p. 7. It was also translated into German by C.Fl. Leidenfrost and published in Weimar in 1822, complete with folding maps, which was an improvement on the English original.

letters sent homewards to fill his mother's heart with fears for her son's safety and indeed survival,<sup>82</sup> there was some comfort too in the reports he sent of his meeting with prospering and hopeful immigrants, some of whom had recollections of places in the Old Country that were familiar to both parties, as for instance the family from Holderness, near Hull whom he met sailing down the Ohio in a large covered skiff. Indeed, it was from settlers near Cincinnati, originating, like himself, from Wigan, that he brought a good report of the land, as he did from other settlers he met on his travels during those years. Not least among people and places remarked on by William Tell were the Swiss settlers in Vevay, a little further down the right bank of the Ohio, who were devotees of their national hero William Tell, after whom he himself had been named. Summing up his experiences gained in the New World, in his last letter, written just prior to his docking in Liverpool in 1819, he wrote,

I retract nothing; but am fully persuaded, that to the sober, industrious, and judicious in agricultural pursuits, no country under heaven that I know or have ever heard or read of, affords such facilities of obtaining a *comfortable independence* as the United States.<sup>83</sup>

Thus, the die was cast in these pioneering journeys and the future of the Harris family was in some sense then determined as lying henceforth in the New World.



#### **Memo of the birth of William Tell Harris in his grandfather John Harris's pocket ledger for December 1794**

But meantime William Tell had been in quest of a wife and as he reached his twentieth year he seemed to have recognized the young woman who most suited his imagination. Unfortunately, exception was taken to the fact that she was a first cousin: Elinor (1797-1872), the daughter of his uncle Francis Harris, who as Samuel Harris mentions in Letter 5, came to stay with them in Wigan in the years 1813-1814. The best account of this amatory awakening is preserved in the memoirs of Elinor's daughter Sarah Ellen Tuckett and, for the light it sheds on subsequent events, it is worth quoting here in full:

My dear father [Philip Debell Tuckett] often visited at my grandfather's [Francis Harris's] house, and when my dear mother was about 15, thinking the tall Quaker<sup>84</sup> was

<sup>82</sup> There were, for instance, his reports of the following causes for anxiety encountered in the course of his travels: his suffering an attack of typhus; the savage backwoodsmen and wild ruffians who were skilled, for example, in gouging out their enemies' eyes; the settlers from Liverpool who died from diseases soon after settling in Georgia; the crashing ice blocks to be dodged in the rivers crossed; the howling wolves that encompassed Harris's bleak resting place one night; the danger he faced when surrounded by various tribes of Native American Indians; his danger of being called up for militia duty against the Seminoles; dangers at sea; and the near shipwreck off the coast of Ireland on his return voyage (see e.g. *RTUSA*, 63 f., 66, 71, 73, 104, 113 f., 117 f., 194 f.).

<sup>83</sup> *RTUSA*, p. 194.

interested in her, they sent my mother to visit Uncle Samuel Harris in Wigan, when she became much attached to my cousin William Tell, but my grandfather so strongly objected to first cousins marrying that he decidedly refused to consent, saying he would rather follow her to her grave. William Tell went to America, and wrongly, because in pique, married someone [Catalina Wadsworth] he did not care for, and when 19 my dear mother also took, I think, a very unwise step, for finding my father liked her very much and that her father and brother and sisters liked and admired him, she accepted him, though without loving him as she ought to have done. She has several times told me, that not knowing how to decide, she went into her room, opened her Bible, and prayed that she might be rightly guided. She came to the words “Your light afflictions which are but for a moment etc.”, when she thought “Oh! if I have at last the exceeding weight of glory,<sup>85</sup> I will not mind the troubles by the way”, and so accepted him, thinking she must marry someone, and that as he loved her, that should be enough. Had her mother lived,<sup>86</sup> I do not think she would have taken such a step. It was not right for either of them. They were married [on the 18th September 1816] at St. Paul’s, Portland Square, Bristol, and left on their wedding tour; my Mother wearing a riding habit and square lace veil!<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> The Tucketts were an old-established Quaker family of Cornwall (Tuckett, *Mem.*, p. 7). John Tuckett, the father of the Philip Debell Tuckett (1787-1841) who married Elinor Harris, was step-brother to another Philip Debell Tuckett (1749-1816), who himself fathered a third Philip Debell Tuckett (1801-1872) and, among other children, Francis Tuckett (1802-1868) and Alfred Tuckett (1804-1889). These last four all receive brief biographies in E.H. Milligan’s *Biographical dictionary of British Quakers in commerce and industry 1775-1920* (York, 2007) p. 444. The name Philip Debell Tuckett was, in fact, perpetuated through three successive generations of the last mentioned person of that name (see R.S. Benson, *Photographic pedigree of the descendants of Isaac and Rachel Wilson 1740* [Middlesbrough, 1912] pp. 201, 204.) On Tuckett family members, see also J. Foster, *A revised genealogical account of the various families descended from Francis Fox, of St. Germans, Cornwall, etc.* (London, 1872) p. 20. The household of Elinor and Philip Debell Tuckett managed to blend their Quaker + Baptist heritage so that, for instance, as their daughter Sarah Ellen, recounted, ‘We used to go to Friends’ Meeting Sunday morning, and to Broadmead Chapel in the evening. [Later] I was baptised at Broadmead Chapel and sometime afterwards my mother, dear Sarah Ann and Isabelle. I continued at Broadmead with dear Aunt Sarah Harris [i.e. Samuel Harris’s niece], who often stayed with us... I began to teach in the Friends’ Sunday School for the poor children in the neighbourhood... I taught until my marriage in that School.’ In the same passage Sarah Ellen stated that her mother Elinor and aunt Sarah Ann joined Brunswick Chapel, where Sarah Ann also taught in the Sunday School. (Tuckett, *Mem.*, pp. 19, 24). Brunswick Chapel was an impressively built Independent meeting place, constructed in 1835, so that Sarah Ann eventually emulated her uncle Samuel Harris in freely going between Baptists and Independents.

<sup>85</sup> 2 Corinthians 4. 17: ‘For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.’ We may pity the young girl in her mental struggle as she came to the view that for her marriage would have to be viewed, at best, as a ‘light affliction’, to be outweighed by contemplation of an exceeding glory beyond this life. Nevertheless, from what we know of her life, narrated by her daughter (Tuckett, *Mem.*, *passim*), it was her faith which upheld her throughout the many trying circumstances of a difficult marriage and adverse events (see below note 87).

<sup>86</sup> Isabella Harris had died in 1810.

<sup>87</sup> Tuckett, *Mem.*, p. 14. Some weak personal characteristics must have been noticed in Philip Debell Tuckett. Although he was recognized to be ‘clever, handsome, [and] gentlemanly’, he is said to have ‘become a slave to intemperance’ and a failure in business, placing great strain on his family. He disappointed his Quaker elders and angered his upper-class family relations (the Frenchay Tucketts) when he sank in desperation to begging for an accountant’s job in the warehouse of the Quaker tea dealers Hunt, Wright and Co. He nevertheless enjoyed the affection of his family, though he seems to have caused an amount of pain. In the last sentence of Sarah Ellen Tuckett’s reminiscences she stated, ‘My mother’s life, *after her marriage* (italics ed.), was uniformly happy.’ (Tuckett, *Mem.*, pp. 17 f., 21, 24, 26.) Elinor outlived her husband Philip Debell Tuckett by some 31 years.

While Elinor embarked on marriage with Philip Debell Tuckett, William Tell soon after embarked on a ship for North America. Nearly five years later, having returned to England, on the 24th April 1821, in Eccleston, Lancashire, William Tell, who is described in the marriage register as a ‘gentleman of North Meols, Lancaster’,<sup>88</sup> married by licence **Catalina** Wadsworth,<sup>89</sup> described as a ‘spinster of Eccleston’,<sup>90</sup> one of the daughters in the family of Mrs. Catalina Wadsworth, who is referred to with some frequency in these letters, and of the late Rev. John Wadsworth,<sup>91</sup> a Church of England rector who had died in January 1820, aged 56, and was buried at the church of St. Mary the Virgin in Eccleston, Lancashire.<sup>92</sup> The couple, along with other members of the Harris and Wadsworth families, all set sail together from England very soon after the celebration of the marriage of William and Catalina.

For William Tell the years that followed his migration proved to be a time of mixed joys and trials. It seems that prior to emigration in 1821, he had been engaged in the same profession that occupied his father, since both are registered as chemists in the ship’s passenger manifest.<sup>93</sup> After arriving and settling in Aurora, it is not clear what kind of work he was then engaged in, although his father does mention that in 1822 he was working in a cattle yard and we find later mention of his carting lumber down to the Ohio River to stoke the boilers of the river steamers, and later still he is mentioned as being engaged in plowing with a yoke of oxen, digging, cutting wood, and building stone walls, while his wife Catalina milked the cows, cooked the meals from fresh produce, made sausages, scrubbed in the washing-tub, and generally attended to all the manifold duties of housekeeping. In other words, William Tell and Catalina busied themselves in all the practical physical labour of agriculture and elementary home-making entailed by the purchase of new land and settlement on it. It is possible that William Tell also laid out funds and personal endeavour in building on land he acquired near Hogan Creek, as a letter written from Aurora on the 15th June 1829 by an unnamed immigrant, who arrived there destitute and in ill health with his wife and four children, recorded how the people of Aurora had come to his assistance, helping him to get on his feet on his own smallholding. ‘I now am working,’ he wrote, ‘for an English gentleman, named Harris, who is building in Aurora and owns four quarter sections up the [Hogan] Creek.’<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> North Meols is the title of a parish located to the north and east of Southport, Lancashire, a parish which used to include much of what is now Southport proper. Interesting in this connection is the fact that, although Samuel Harris had worked as a druggist in Wigan, in Letter 1 he writes of his having commenced his emigrant journey from Southport.

<sup>89</sup> It is interesting to note that Samuel Harris still referred to his daughter-in-law as ‘Catalina Wadsworth’ as late as the 12th February 1829 (see Letter 9).

<sup>90</sup> See the marriage register at [http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Eccleston/stmary/marriages\\_1813-1837.html](http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Eccleston/stmary/marriages_1813-1837.html). The parish of Eccleston comprised four townships: Eccleston proper, Heskin, Wrightington, and Parbold. It was in the last of these places that Catalina Wadsworth lived, as her father was Master of Parbold Hall Academy (see further in Appendix IV).

<sup>91</sup> Power, *HESSC*, p. 6.

<sup>92</sup> On Catalina Wadsworth and her family members, see Appendix IV.

<sup>93</sup> See Appendix III. W.T. Harris’s abilities in the druggist’s profession are reflected in his first reports sent home, which were penned after sailing for the USA in May 1817 on ‘the good American ship Favourite’, remarking on his having found the medicine chest he took with him very useful, as it enabled him, in some measure, to attend to the passengers’ indispositions, as it did again in his physicking a fellow-passenger when sailing down the Ohio River (*RTUSA*, pp. 9 f., 91).

<sup>94</sup> *Indiana palladium*, 26th September 1829. It remains just possible that the ‘English gentleman, named Harris’ could have been either Samuel Harris or his son-in-law Francis Harris (on whom, see

But all this hopeful endeavour in Aurora became clouded by increasingly strained relations between William Tell and his wife Catalina, a tension already hinted at in Samuel Harris's letter-writing of February 1824. This led ultimately to the break-up of their marriage and consequent divorce on the 20th April 1830, events which are described in some detail, from the elder Harris's point of view, in the last three letters contained in the present series. In fact, although it is not specifically recorded in this series of letters, Catalina died (apparently in childbirth) before these letters reached their conclusion. Surprisingly, she was only 28 years old at the time of her death on the 31st January 1831. Her gravestone records that she was then the wife of W.T. Harris's cousin Francis Harris<sup>95</sup> and that her two infants (who, it seems, never received names and probably died with their mother) were buried with her.<sup>96</sup>

Time went by, during which Samuel Harris died, and on the 6th March 1834, in Dearborn County, his son William Tell became married again, this time to Sarah Webber. She was born as Sarah White on the 8th June 1791 in Middleborough, Plymouth County, Massachusetts<sup>97</sup> and her first marriage, on the 4th November 1816 in Mason, Hillsborough County, New Hampshire, had been to Jonas Webber (b. c. 1789), who with his wife Sarah would have been among the earliest settler families of Aurora, Indiana,<sup>98</sup> quite possibly close friends of Samuel Harris since the family were members of the Baptist Church in Aurora and the Webbers' youngest son bore the name Samuel Harris Webber.<sup>99</sup> Jonas Webber is reported also to have died in Aurora,<sup>100</sup> although he was still alive in 1830, when the Census records that his household consisted of himself, three boys in the age range 3-5, another in the age range 5-10, and a girl in the age range 10-15.<sup>101</sup> The last mentioned was Hannah White Webber, who was born in 1818 and who in 1845 became married to Benjamin

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below), but at this time Samuel was relinquishing rather than acquiring property and, from the available evidence, Francis does not seem to have been either in a financial position or personally disposed at this time to acquiring property in Aurora. But see further in note 1075. The correspondent in the *Indiana palladium* added comments expressing his overall satisfaction with life in Aurora in words that strongly echo those of Samuel Harris, 'Much good land can be bought not distant for 1 dollar and ¼ per acre, and improved land not much more: indeed, so good is the prospect for a man who must live by industry, that I wish all my friends and acquaintances were here with me. I can safely say, I would not, nor would my Mary, return to England on any account whatever.'

<sup>95</sup> Whom she married on the 10th August 1830.

<sup>96</sup> Catalina Harris's grave is in Woodland Cemetery, Xenia, Greene County, Ohio and an image of the headstone may be viewed at <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=46787358>. The inscription reads: 'In memory of Catalina, wife of Francis Harris, a native of O[Id] E[ngland], who departed this life Jan. 31st 1831, aged 28 years. Also her two infants'. (Thanks are due to Chris McHenry for drawing the editor's attention to this information.)

<sup>97</sup> In the Censuses of 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880 Hannah's place of birth is given variously as Massachusetts (her mother's place of birth) or New Hampshire (her father's place of birth).

<sup>98</sup> It is stated in *HDO*, p. 970 that Jonas Webber came to Aurora in 1819.

<sup>99</sup> Information posted on the website <http://www.genealogy.com/ftm/c/a/s/Edward-Caster/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-0708.html> indicates that Samuel Harris Webber was born on the 16th January 1830 in Aurora, Indiana. On the 16th October 1853 he married Elizabeth Kaster in neighbouring Ripley County, Indiana and the couple had eleven named children. He died on the 24th May 1880 in WaKeeny, Trego County, Kansas

<sup>100</sup> Information derived from the Family Search website.

<sup>101</sup> Since Sarah Webber is absent from the 1830 Census in which her husband Jonas and her children are listed, we must assume that she was somehow overlooked or that she was away from Aurora at that time and returned after what seems to have been a temporary absence.

Vail.<sup>102</sup> It was to this Hannah Webber Vail that her stepfather William Tell Harris would bequeath his property and most of his effects, leaving in addition a sum of money to his daughter Sarah Ann Harris and the residue of his estate to his second wife's son William Webber.<sup>103</sup> From the facts adduced above it would seem that Jonas Webber died sometime between 1830 and 1834. The second marriage of William Tell in 1834 was thus a marriage between a widower and a widow from two closely knit families, and Sarah brought with her three Webber children: William (b. c. 1821-2), Charles (b. c. 1824-5), and Samuel Harris Webber (b. 16th Jan. 1830).<sup>104</sup> The couple continued to reside, with growing children, in Aurora for the remainder of their lives, and seem to have prospered. Thus, William Tell served as a trustee of Dearborn County Seminary in the 1840s<sup>105</sup> and from the 30th September 1844 he held the office of probate judge in Dearborn County.<sup>106</sup> The 1850 Census gives the value of William Tell's real estate as \$5,600,<sup>107</sup> while the 1860 Census records a real estate valued at \$8,000 and a personal estate valued at \$6,000. According to the inscription on the headstone of Sarah Harris's grave, she died in 1863<sup>108</sup> and, as with William Tell, her remains were removed from the old Conwell Street Cemetery and reburied in River View Cemetery, Aurora in 1885. It was quite probably the death of his wife Sarah in 1863 that prompted him to write his will in the following year, providing for Sarah's daughter Hannah<sup>109</sup> and the latter's brother William, as noted above.

While father and son Harris were forced to attend to the practical and physical work necessitated by pioneer settling, they nevertheless found or made time for the cultivation of the mind, not least by reading and the building of remarkable private

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<sup>102</sup> Benjamin Vail (1800-1879), one of the sons of General Abraham Vail (1771-1851) and Ester (*née* Rockwell) Vail (1769-1811), was born in Goshen, Orange County, New York and died in Henryville, Monroe township, in Clark County, Indiana, having previously dwelt in Wilmington, Dearborn County (1850 Census) and Aurora (1860 Census). A younger brother, Peter Bloom Vail (1810-1852), established the first drugstore, and also bookstore, in Aurora, Indiana, where he also served for a time as postmaster (*HDO*, p. 635; Shaw, *HDC*, p. 272). We may perhaps suspect the influence of Samuel and William Tell Harris in encouraging these interests in the younger man. In 1842 Peter Bloom Vail married Mary Ann Lewis Holman (b. 1824), one of the daughters of Samuel Harris's friend Jesse Lynch Holman, but sadly Mary Ann died in the same year.

<sup>103</sup> See Appendix VII: The wills of Samuel Harris and William Tell Harris. On William Webber see *HDO*, pp. 310, 315, 330, 353, 970, where it is further noted that among William Webber's six children was one who bore the name Harris Webber, probably in honour of William Tell Harris.

<sup>104</sup> The 1840 Census records that the household of William Tell Harris was then made up of the following:- males: 1 in age range 10-15, 2 in age range 15-20, 1 in age range 40-50 (i.e. W.T. Harris); and females: 1 in age range 10-15, 1 in age range 15-20, and 1 in age range 40-50 (i.e. the mother Sarah Harris); as well as 5 in the age range 70-80 (whose identities presently remain unknown). In view of the known ages of the persons involved, it seems more logical to deduce that William Tell's daughter, Sarah Ann Harris, rather than his stepdaughter Hannah Webber, was the female in the age range 15-20. (Thanks are due to Roger Harris Lloyd for information used here.)

<sup>105</sup> Dearborn County Commissioners' Records, March 1843, March 1844, and March 1847.

<sup>106</sup> See the Dearborn County Directory, 1845 at <http://myindianahome.net/gen/dearborn/records/directory/1845.html>.

<sup>107</sup> The 1850 Census also lists the three male Webber children—William (aged 29), Charles (aged 26), and Samuel Harris (aged 20)—with the note that they were all born in Indiana.

<sup>108</sup> Possibly in December of that year, since the Family Search website records a death on the 3rd January 1864, which might be the date of registering the death.

<sup>109</sup> The Census of 1870 records the value of Benjamin Vail's real and personal estate respectively as \$2,000 and \$6,000, while Hannah W. Vail's real estate is valued at \$5,000, reflecting her inheritance from William Tell Harris of the Mount Tabor property.



libraries,<sup>110</sup> a principal contributor to which must have been John Brown, the recipient of these letters, and contributions were also possibly made by Samuel's brother Francis, who became a bookseller in Bristol in the latter part of his life. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a somewhat lengthy narrative was published intending to illustrate the great learning of William Tell and, while it contains some historical inaccuracies and possibly a degree of imaginative fiction, it nevertheless testifies to the developed literary and book-collecting interests that William Tell took into his retirement years. After a sketch of his early years and of his character, it relates a visit made to him by the 8th Governor of Indiana, James Whitcomb<sup>111</sup> sometime between the years 1848 and 1852, during which a sort of conversational contest ensued in which Harris and Whitcomb sparred with each other to have the last word in a display of linguistic prowess and scholarly learning. It is said to have been extracted from a memorial of William Tell Harris written by George W. Lane and it has been preserved in two late publications relating to the history of Dearborn County, Indiana.<sup>112</sup>

William Tell Harris died two years after his second wife, Sarah, and his grave may today be visited in River View Cemetery, Aurora, Dearborn County, Indiana. The headstone bears the dates 1794-1865.<sup>113</sup>

**Susanna Josephine Harris** (who is consistently referred to as Susan in her father's letters<sup>114</sup>) was born c. 1798 in London, the only daughter of Samuel and Sarah Harris. She migrated to America with her parents in 1821 and at that time was single. 'On or about'<sup>115</sup> the 15th August 1822 she became married to Samuel Lawford, who is to be identified with the 'S. Lanford' listed in the passenger manifest of the vessel that bore Harris and his family to the USA in 1821.<sup>116</sup> Samuel Lawford,

<sup>110</sup> William Tell Harris even carried with him a library of some sort on his first journey to America in 1817 (*RTUSA*, p. 11).

<sup>111</sup> James Whitcomb (1795-1852) was born in Vermont, but moved to Kentucky where he studied law, and then to Bloomington, Indiana in 1824. From 1830 to 1836, he served as a Democratic Party member of the Indiana State Senate. In 1836 he was appointed commissioner of the General Land Office in Washington, DC by President Andrew Jackson, but resigned from office when he was elected to the US Senate in 1848. Like Samuel Harris and his son William Tell, Whitcomb was an ardent bibliophile and amassed a very large private library, which he left in his will to the Methodist Asbury College (now known as DePauw University).

<sup>112</sup> Lake, *ADCI*, p. 12; repeated (with some additions) in *HDO*, pp. 743 f. A biography of George W. Lane, who supplied much of the material contained in *HDO*, may be found on pp. 807 f. of that work.

<sup>113</sup> See <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=pv&GRid=14473257&PIpi=72355135>. In fact, W.T. Harris, like his sister and uncle Francis, was first buried in the old Conwell Street Cemetery on the south-west edge of Aurora, but by 1885 their remains were removed to the new River View Cemetery (established in 1869), some miles south of Aurora close to the Ohio River. (This cemetery is sometimes referred to as Riverview Cemetery, but River View is apparently the correct spelling. 'The second wrought iron arch over the Entrance reflected the name RIVERVIEW, which led to confusion of the spelling and official name of the cemetery and has been corrected to read RIVER VIEW in 2011'. [*RVC*, p. 16.]) The old burial ground near Conwell Street was later used (appropriately) to accommodate an expansion of the business premises of the Aurora Coffin Co., founded in 1890 by Col. John J. Backman. This company's early workforce of some 25 men is depicted in Awad, *LLA*, p. 44.

<sup>114</sup> Perhaps to distinguish her from his wife's sister Susanna Fox, for whom Susanna Harris might have been named.

<sup>115</sup> This is the phrase used in referring to the date in Lawford, *1843LD*, where we also learn that the marriage ceremony was conducted in Aurora by Jesse Lynch Holman in the presence of Susanna's parents Samuel and Sarah Harris, William Tell Harris, and Joanna Fox (N.B. no mention is made of William Fox; see on 'William and Joanna Fox' in Appendix IV).

<sup>116</sup> See Appendix III.

who was probably born in 1800,<sup>117</sup> came from a family engaged in a woollen-blanket manufacturing business located in that part of the West Riding of Yorkshire, England known as the 'heavy woollen district'. After arriving in the USA, the newly married couple Samuel and Susanna Lawford took up residence on a large estate, owned by Samuel Harris, of some 540 acres situated in Sparta township, about 11-12 miles inland from Aurora (i.e. roughly westward from the Ohio River), which her father characterized as 'the neighbourhood of bears, wolves & rattlesnakes'.<sup>118</sup> She bore a daughter Sarah Fox Lawford (who however passes unnamed in Harris's letters) in October or November 1823, but by March 1827 she had returned with Samuel and their daughter to England, where her husband was taken into partnership with his brother John Lawford in the family business at Mill Bridge, near Leeds, Yorkshire.

In reading Samuel Harris's letters one cannot escape the feeling gained that much more has been left unsaid about his daughter Susanna. First, it is a pity that the occasion of her wedding to Samuel Lawford goes unmentioned in her father's letters, probably because of the loss of one or more letters between Letters 1 and 2 in this series. In the extant letters we may only glean short scraps of information about the life and affairs of Susanna and her husband. At first, all seems to go well enough and a daughter is born to the couple in 1823. We learn that in the following year Samuel Harris has placed Susanna and her husband on a large acreage of land situated inland from the Ohio River at Aurora, where Samuel Lawford tries his hand at cattle rearing, at which unfortunately he is unsuccessful, but, writes her father, he hopes 'to be fully independent within five years.' We read very little more about the young family and, after their return to England in 1827, Samuel Harris began to complain in his correspondence with John Brown of the infrequency of news from his daughter, although he had learnt from other sources that Susanna desired and intended to return to Aurora. Complaints of no news from Susanna continued and Harris requested news of her via members of the Brown family (i.e. John Brown's former neighbours, but unrelated to him). Some comments were made on Samuel Lawford's going into partnership in the woollen-blanket business with his father and brother, and Harris expressed the hope that 'they will be wise enough to return to their Winthrop estate [their property in Sparta township, Dearborn County] before they lose all they are now gaining at Mill bridge, near Leeds.' On the 30th April 1830, Harris wrote somewhat forsakenly to Brown: 'Have you ever seen Susan yet?' That was just four weeks after Harris had taken out a mortgage on land in Hamilton County, Ohio, raising \$2,183.07, which must have been transferred to Samuel Lawford, perhaps to enable his family's resettlement in England or to finance a business venture there, since in his will (see Appendix VII) Harris stated that the mortgage and interest payable on it were to be transferred to Samuel Lawford on Harris's death. By this time, however, Harris had learnt that his daughter now had three children: 'two boys born since their return and the girl who began to talk before they left Indiana.' He added, 'She still groans under the headache, but her husband describes her as being very fat or plump.'<sup>119</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Samuel Lawford's age is given as 19 in the *Halcyon's* passenger manifest of the 25th June 1821 (see Appendix III), but his baptismal date is given as the 22nd March 1800 in E.B. Armytage (ed.), *The parish register of Hartshead in the county of York, 1612-1812* (Leeds, 1903) p. 262: 'Samuel son of Habraham [sic] Lawford of Hightown, clothier'.

<sup>118</sup> For identification of this land, see Appendix VI.

<sup>119</sup> From the 1841 Census we learn that Susanna and Samuel Lawford (described as a woollen manufacturer), both then aged 40, were living in Mill Bridge Lane, Liversedge, Yorkshire with two

In succeeding years a period of severe marital unhappiness ensued for Susanna and Samuel Lawford. Statements made in the cause papers relating to Susanna's libel<sup>120</sup> for divorce from Samuel submitted on the 2nd March 1843 alleged that trouble between the couple had commenced about the month of March in 1840, although we may suspect that the causes were of longer standing and had been simmering for some years. The document went on to relate nine specified occasions on which Samuel Lawford had used abusive, violent, and threatening language, including threats to kill Susanna, accompanied by violence to his wife's person using fists, feet, and a walking stick over succeeding months and years. The climax was reached on the significant dates of the 25th and 31st December 1842 and New Year's Day following, which may perhaps suggest how these holiday occasions, perhaps inflamed by alcohol (which is not, however, mentioned) might have brought matters to boiling point between the couple. We may quote the libel document as it described the events at this season. First, it was submitted that on or about the 25th December 1842,<sup>121</sup>

Samuel Lawford after expressing a wish that his... Wife would die and saying "that it should not be his fault if she did not as he would do all in his power to hasten it for it would be a day of rejoicing for him" struck her... several times over different parts of her person and otherwise abused and illtreated her...

It was further alleged that on the 31st December 1842,

Samuel Lawford without any cause or provocation being given to him addressed to his... Wife... the following insulting and gross language "Damn thee I'll knock thy damned brains out thou damn'd Old Whore" and then with violence he... kicked her... over the lower part of her person...

Samuel's anger had not abated by the following morning, so that on New Year's Day 1843 he

again used abusive and threatening language towards his... Wife... and without any provocation struck her two violent blows on the head with his closed hand and otherwise greatly abused and illused her. That in consequence of the unkind, cruel, and brutal conduct of... Samuel Lawford... Susannah Josephine Lawford, dreading the effects of his violent disposition and having great reason to expect further ill treatment from him if she remained under his roof and having discovered the adulterous intercourse he had been carrying on... was obliged to quit and did quit his house on the said first day of January last and went to reside with her friends until the seventh... of January... when she went into Lodgings which she had taken for herself and daughter at Brighthouse in the Parish of Halifax... where she has continued to reside ever since.

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children: Sarah (aged 15) and Frederick (aged 13). At first sight there would appear to be a problem with the age stated for Sarah (born, as Samuel Harris's letters relate, in 1823), but the discrepancy may merely reflect the tendency of the 1841 Census to round down people's ages. The third (male) child of Susanna and Samuel, referred to in Samuel Harris's letter, was James Lawford, who was baptized on the 26th February 1830 at Liversedge, but died on the 28th May 1831, aged 17 months, as his gravestone at Liversedge stated. (Lawford, *1843LD*.)

<sup>120</sup> In ecclesiastical law a libel is 'the first plea, or the plaintiff's written declaration or charges, in a cause' (*OED*).

<sup>121</sup> The following quotations contain frequent ellipses, where legal verbosity, unnecessary for our present purposes, have been omitted.

Susanna's libel related further that Samuel Lawford was in an adulterous relationship with a woman named Jane Padman<sup>122</sup> over a long period commencing in January 1841 after she had been introduced into the Lawfords' home. His affair was described in dramatic language in the libel document, prefaced by the statement that Samuel Lawford,

being unmindful of his conjugal vow and not having the fear of God before his eyes but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil and his own carnal lusts... at Mill Bridge... and divers other places within the Parish of Birstal... [did] carry on and repeat a lewd and adulterous intercourse with one Jane Padman Spinster and did frequently commit the foul crime of adultery with her... without the privity or knowledge of... Susannah Josephine Lawford his Wife...

In about the month of November 1841, Jane Padman had assisted in the nursing of Susanna, who was then suffering under an attack of typhus fever, but thereafter she remained and shared a bedroom with Samuel and Susanna's daughter Sarah. Sadly, Sarah was not protected by her father from knowledge of his adulterous affair and it seems it was she who eventually apprized her mother of what was taking place in their home. Having recovered from her feverous attack, Susanna went during the summer of 1842 on a three-months visit into Lancashire, possibly to be among old friends in Wigan, but during her absence, her husband Samuel seems to have lost almost all restraint, so that he

frequently called... Jane Padman from the bed room of his daughter Sarah Fox Lawford (in which room during the absence of... Susannah Josephine Lawford... Jane Padman slept) into his own bedroom and on such occasions... Jane Padman remained with him during the remainder of the night... Samuel Lawford also frequently... fetched... Jane Padman from her bed in the room of his... daughter (where it was supposed by them... that his... daughter was asleep) took her with him into his own bedroom and on such occasions they remained alone together during the remainder of the night or a very considerable part of it... Samuel Lawford was also several times observed during the absence of his Wife... at other times during the day time in bed with... Jane Padman...

The account goes on to relate a series of adulterous relations between Samuel and Jane and it would appear that the daughter Sarah had kept a record, either mental or written, of these events, which became incorporated into the account.

Susanna's libel was submitted to the Consistory Court of the Archbishopric of York. It was in reality a first plea, which, prior to the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857, it would have been impossible to carry any further without the ability to command substantial wealth, since at this time in England divorce could only be obtained through private Acts of Parliament and was thus virtually a privilege reserved to the upper-class male. The step that Susanna took in initiating her libel probably reflects the extreme anger she must have felt against her husband Samuel Lawford and the latter's own terror at the prospect of her proceeding to legal action is reflected in two letters he wrote, via an intermediary, to Susanna before she took her action. These two letters, which were attached as exhibits to Susanna's libel, are worth citing in full in this place, as they seem to testify to the intense emotional blackmail that Susanna was placed under at this time. Both were written in neat

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<sup>122</sup> The 1841 Census (taken on the 6th June) shows Jane Padman, aged 20 (perhaps a rounded figure, her true age being perhaps 22 or 23), born outside the county of Yorkshire, living with Samuel and Susanna and their two children aged 17 and 13. Perhaps significantly she is not described as a servant.

professional script (we should remember that Samuel was denoted a ‘clerk’ in the passenger manifest of the ship *Halcyon* - see Appendix III) from Mill Bridge and delivered to Susanna in Brighthouse, where she had taken refuge in hiding from Samuel.

(1) 17 Jan. 1843. Dear Susan, I yesterday waited upon Mr. Barber for the purpose of as[c]ertaining your *whereabouts* with a view of having a personal interview, and to effect such a reconciliation as that you might return to your home and family with comfort to yourself and others. Mr. Barber, however, declined informing me of your residence, but promised to forward any communication I might wish to make to you if addressed to him under cover; in consequence of which I now write.

You surely cannot be aware of the consequences of the Law-suit which you have commenced, or you would not have taken that step – if you have no regard to the ruin of your husband, do – pray do look at the *infallible ruin* of your children, for it must necessarily result in that; and I think you would not like to see *them* reduced to complete beggary. This will however certainly be the case unless the suit is *immediately* stopped – and there is but a very short time to do it in. Think of this, and many other things which your reason will suggest; and I am not without hope that your feelings also, both towards myself and children will induce you instantly to stop progress, and once again resume your proper station. If you will drop me a line by return of Post stating your residence, I will wait upon you, and shall be able to throw such a light on many things as will entirely remove any ill-feeling which may unfortunately exist. If you do this, you may expect to find me ready and willing to forgive and forget; and hope you will be in the same disposition.

Your still affectionate husband,  
Saml. Lawford

P.S. I have had a letter from Henry Fox, and have seen Mr. E. Bent.<sup>123</sup>

(2) 25 Jan. 1843. Dear Susan, I am extremely sorry to find from Mr. Cooke’s report that you are still bent upon the ruin of your family. You do not seem to be aware that there are two very heavy claims on our real property still unsatisfied, but liable to be called in at any moment, neither are you aware that my last advices from America state, that the Mortgage is unable to pay up the interest – the power of Attorney died with the Judge, and I neither know the conditions of the mortgage, nor the Town or County in which the property is situated.<sup>124</sup> If you persist in your present course, the whole establishment will unavoidably be broken up, and you will see your son doomed for life a journeyman – with what feelings, in that case, will he regard you & how can you ever bear to see him? It will be impossible for me, should you proceed, ever to establish him in business, as the enormous expences of the law-suit (which you little dream of) and your demand, will utterly ruin me. I should very much like to see you; and if you have a particle of a wife’s, a mother’s or even a woman’s feelings in you, you will neither bite, nor sup nor sleep, till you have let me know that I have leave to do so. You need not fear my being angry – that is past – I wish to explain more fully than I can by this means, many particulars, and to convince you that it is not only your duty but will be to your comfort to return home & live with me as tho’ nothing had happened between us. You may rely upon it, *I will not hold life* on the poor tenure of being a journeyman or of seeing your son such. I am already driven nearly to distraction, and you may rest assured I shall never live [*sic*] to see the thing come to a trial. Let me see you immediately, and for God’s sake, give instant orders to stop the suit. I am on the look out for a situation as an apprentice for Frederick, as it will not do for him to be idling his time away in the house, fitting himself for neither business nor any thing else that is good. Let me have your reply by return of Post, or bring it yourself, which would be much more agreeable.

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<sup>123</sup> The Henry Fox referred to here might perhaps have been related to Samuel Lawford’s brother-in-law, William Fox. If Mr. E. Bent was the attorney Edward Bent (see note 314), Samuel Lawford might have added the postscript to warn Susanna that he too was taking legal advice.

<sup>124</sup> Here Samuel Lawford is perhaps referring to the mortgage taken out on a tract of land in Hamilton County, Ohio, provided for in a codicil to the will of Samuel Harris (see Appendix VII).

As I said in my last, I am prepared to forgive & forget, and to live comfortably without a hint being ever thrown out about the past.

Your affectionate husband  
Saml. Lawford.

The threatening tone of this last letter is scarcely veiled. Samuel seems all too willing to use their children as pawns in his conflict with his wife and his threat of personal suicide if Susanna were to proceed in her efforts to gain freedom from him must have taken a very strong will to withstand. She nevertheless clearly felt that she had suffered enough at her husband's hands and so she stood her ground. As previously noted, their daughter Sarah, then aged about 20, had become entangled in the affair of her father with Jane Padman and when at last, on the 1st January 1843, Susanna fled from her husband, her daughter went with her, first to seek sanctuary with friends and then into lodgings in Brighouse. Very soon afterward, on the 16th February, Sarah then residing in Brighouse, became married in Elland parish church, Halifax to George Wood, a machine-maker,<sup>125</sup> but he may already have been involved in work on the canals as he was described as a waterman by the time the couple's son Joseph was baptized on the 19th October 1846. Sarah may have been desperate to escape her father's clutches and a free-roaming life on the canals with George Wood may have seemed to her a very enticing prospect compared with the soured atmosphere of life under her father's roof. Sadly, however, not long afterward Sarah died while living in the Dewsbury area and was buried on the 9th February 1849, aged only 25.<sup>126</sup>

Susanna and Samuel's son Frederick must have suffered badly from the marital break-up of his parents during his teens, but he did not end so badly as Samuel Lawford had attempted to predict. Frederick, who had been baptized on the 23rd February 1827 at Liversedge, Yorkshire, married, first, Sarah Law Fearnside in September 1848 at Batley, but Sarah must have died soon afterward, since on the 7th February 1850 at Elland parish church, Halifax, where his sister Sarah had been married, Frederick married Elizabeth Whittel. Whereas he had been described as a farmer at the time he had married Sarah Law Fearnside, he was by contrast described as a gentleman and widower when he married Elizabeth Whittel, perhaps because by this time he had received money from his father and mother's administrations. According to the 1851 Census, when he was 23, he was still living in Mill Bridge, with his wife Elizabeth (aged 26) and son George Henry (2 months), and he gained his living as a landlord ('proprietor of houses'). It is clear that he did not long retain the status of gentleman, as is indicated by the fact that by the time of the 1861 Census he was a beerhouse keeper living at Mill End, Liversedge with his wife and two additional children: Albert, aged 7 and Edwin, aged 5. Frederick died in 1871, leaving less than £100.<sup>127</sup> His wife Elizabeth outlived him and at the time of the 1871 Census, when she was 45, she was the licensed victualler at the Liversedge Hotel.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> See <http://www.freebmd.org.uk/cgi/information.pl?cite=cEyAFSfct9fZ00wv6%2BQ3NQ&scan=1>. Later Censuses describe George Wood as a 'master' [i.e. captain], 'waterman', or 'boatman'.

<sup>126</sup> National Burial Register. See also <http://www.freebmd.org.uk/cgi/information.pl?cite=HDIxAcYXnHuorNIEq8q%2B6w&scan=1>. Sarah left at least one child, Joseph Wood, born 22nd September 1846 in Mirfield (1851 Census, which also lists another child, Mary Ann, aged 1). On the 3rd April 1851 George Wood became married again, this time to Sarah Bateman.

<sup>127</sup> National Probate Calendar.

<sup>128</sup> Thanks are due to Roger Harris Lloyd for much of the family data reported here.

Returning to their mother Susanna Lawford, it would appear that no sentence was given in consequence of the libel for divorce which she instigated, so that, in fact, Susanna did not obtain her divorce in England in 1843. It is possible that soon after this event she may have travelled to join her brother William Tell in Aurora, but returned to England for some reason possibly connected with the settling of legal matters, before making her final trans-Atlantic crossing, perhaps in 1846, to spend the remainder of her days in Aurora.<sup>129</sup> Changes relating to divorce law in the State of Indiana had during this time made it much easier for women to obtain a divorce than was currently the situation in England. Ironically, much of the liberal approach to legislation regarding women's suffering in the domestic sphere had come about through the influence emanating from the utopian New Harmony settlement of Robert Owen,<sup>130</sup> the man whom Susanna's father had accused of being 'the opposite of a philanthropist'. The groundwork laid in Indiana by Owen in favour of complete equality for women gained clarification and ratification under the Revised Statutes of 1843, enabling judges to grant women the right to divorce under an extended range of provocations including, among other offences, adultery and cruel treatment by their husbands, precisely the causes pleaded by Susanna. Her brother William Tell Harris must have been well aware of these moves, both because of his own divorce and because of his holding the office of probate judge in Dearborn County. It seems most likely that he aided his sister in obtaining a legal divorce from Samuel Lawford and enabled her to spend her last years in Aurora. Thus it was that on the 17th November 1846, the Dearborn County Circuit Court granted Susanna a divorce from Samuel Lawford.<sup>131</sup> At the same time the court ordered Samuel Lawford to pay Susanna \$5,000 and to pay off the mortgage previously referred to, the liability now standing, with \$100 of interest, at \$2,283.07.<sup>132</sup> Samuel Lawford, however, died just three months later on the 24th February 1847 and so failed to pay the charges, in consequence of which a sheriff's auction sale was enacted on his property in the USA and the large farm, probably that on which Samuel Harris had settled the couple years before, was sold. The buyer was Susanna's brother W.T. Harris and we can only surmise that he took this step in order to aid his sister.<sup>133</sup> Susanna died in Aurora on

<sup>129</sup> This seems at present the most likely way of understanding the report of her brother's son-in-law, John Carroll Power, that Susanna crossed the Atlantic no less than five times (J.C. Power, *RPSS*, p. 231).

<sup>130</sup> See T. Crumrin's article 'Women and the law in the early 19th century' at <http://www.connerprairie.org/Education-Research/Indiana-History-1800-1860/Women-and-the-Law-in-Early-19th-Century>.

<sup>131</sup> Entered in Circuit Court Order Book 18, p. 255. Thanks are also due to Chris McHenry for some information relating to Susanna's latter days.

<sup>132</sup> Even though having returned to England, Samuel Lawford continued to have legal responsibilities in the USA, as for instance in his capacity as a trustee, with two other persons, of a school lot to the north of Lawrenceburg (under the Congressional township and range system, in township no. 6, range no. 1 west). On the 6th January 1831 a state act was approved to permit the trustees to sell this school section, under certain conditions, to three named applicants. See *Special acts passed at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1831) p. 101. It is worth noting that one of Lawford's fellow trustees was named as Abraham Everson, which we may suspect being an error for Abraham Eversole, a notable resident of Sparta township (see *HDO*, p. 560; & *Indiana palladium*, 13th July 1822), which may perhaps be additional evidence of Susanna and Samuel Lawford's former homestead being situated in that region (see further in Appendix VI: Samuel Harris's Property and Dwelling Places in Aurora and Elsewhere).

<sup>133</sup> No mention of this property is made in the will of William Tell Harris and so we must conclude that he sold it before his death in 1865, perhaps (but this is speculation) using funds raised by the sale, to assist Susanna's children in England.

the 16th July 1849, just a few months after her daughter Sarah had died in England. She was buried in the old Aurora Cemetery on Conwell Street (but later removed to the current River View Cemetery).<sup>134</sup>

**Sarah Ann Harris**, the daughter of William Tell and Catalina Harris, was born on the 1st October 1824. Sarah had the good fortune to begin life in a very literate household and, as the letters reveal, she was early taught to read by her grandfather. Following her parents' divorce and after two years during which she was cared for by her father and grandfather, in 1832 she was placed in the care of foster parents, living across the Ohio River from Aurora, perhaps members of the Bullittsburg Baptist Church located a little to the north of Petersburg, but by 1840, when she no longer required close care and supervision, she was probably living once more with her father in Aurora.<sup>135</sup> Later she received education in private schools and further benefited from a four-years course in Granville Female Seminary, an Episcopalian institution at Granville, Ohio, from which she graduated in 1842. On the 14th May 1845, she became married, in Aurora, to John Carroll Power. Her husband came from farming stock and by the time he arrived at manhood, he had received virtually no education, so that, in effect, his wife Sarah became his educator. After their marriage, 'at his request she [Sarah] directed his studies, and when he began to write for publication she became his critic; in that way rendering the best possible assistance' to her husband.<sup>136</sup> The 1850 Census indicates that Sarah and her husband (whose occupation is given as 'blacksmith'), aged respectively 25 and 30, were then living a little distance to the west of Aurora, in Brown township, Ripley County, Indiana, lodging with another couple: Thomas C. Benson, a physician (aged 32 of Massachusetts), and his wife Martha J. Benson (aged 28, of Ohio), along with their labourer James J. Cooper (aged 20, of Pennsylvania). Also registered in the Census is a two-year-old child, Samuel H. Power, who, it seems reasonably safe to assume, was named for Sarah's grandfather, the writer of the present series of letters. The 1860 Census indicates that Sarah Ann Power and J.C. Power, then aged respectively 35 and 40, were by that year living in Peoria City, Illinois and J.C. Power's occupation was registered as 'plow maker'. However, no children are named as then living with the couple. By 1879 the couple were settled in Springfield, Illinois.<sup>137</sup> Sarah died on the 30th August 1891 and was buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield. She was described as 'a woman of education and refinement... well known in this city [Springfield] for her kind and amiable disposition and for her numerous acts of charity and kindness to all whom she knew'.<sup>138</sup> Her husband, John Carroll Power (1819-1894), became Custodian at the National Lincoln Monument in Oak Ridge Cemetery from 1874 to 1894, and was on duty the night of the 7th

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<sup>134</sup> Her headstone bears the inscription: 'Susanna Josephine Lawford of England, who died at Aurora on the 16th of July 1849 aged 51 years'. It would seem most likely that the headstone and the information recorded on it were the work of Susanna's brother William Tell Harris, so that reports made of Susanna's age in other places (e.g. in the Philadelphia Passenger Lists, 1800-1945, where she is stated to have been 21 on the 23rd June 1821; and in the 1841 Census, where her age is given as 40) should be regarded with some suspicion.

<sup>135</sup> See note 103.

<sup>136</sup> Sketch of John Carroll Power, from *The United States biographical dictionary, Illinois volume*, reproduced in Power, *HESSC*, pp. 5 f.

<sup>137</sup> The *Springfield city directory* for 1879 lists 'John Carroll Power, author and publisher, and custodian of the National Lincoln Monument, res. ws north 5th, where the street railway enters Oak Ridge Park.'

<sup>138</sup> See <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=24520935>.



November 1876, when grave robbers attempted to steal the body of the late President. Power published a number of books, among them works on Lincoln and his monument. In 1891 he was elected to the Illinois Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. Three years later, following Sarah, he too was buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery.<sup>139</sup>

**Francis Harris**, the brother of Samuel Harris, was born on the 21st March 1758. In 1773 he became apprenticed to Edward Brice,<sup>140</sup> a sugar-refiner, and his wife Christian for seven years. Having served his time, in 1780 he became a Bristol burgess as a duly credited sugar-refiner in the firm of John Harris and Sons. The Bristol poll book indicates that he was a sugar-refiner in St. James, Bristol. On the 19th May 1783 he married Isabella Coldstream (b. 31st May 1758 in Dale, Pembrokeshire)<sup>141</sup> and took up residence in Lewin's Mead, Bristol.<sup>142</sup> During the years 1791-1795 Francis was in partnership with George Daubeney (the third of that name) in the business of 'Daubeney & Harris, sugar refiners'.<sup>143</sup> In the 1790s his elder brother John, also in the sugar-refining business, met with serious financial difficulties which ultimately led to the dissolving of his business and his becoming committed on the 1st December 1796 to the King's Bench prison in London, until he became discharged of his debts (amounting to the very substantial sum of £1,149) after the 1st August 1797 under current insolvency law,<sup>144</sup> which was at that time in a state of flux. It seems possible that it was for this reason that, instead of John, his younger brother Francis was made the legal executor (with his mother) of their father's will when John Harris sen. wrote it out on the 15th March 1800,<sup>145</sup> but yet we know that Francis too got into debt when he became bankrupt in 1799,<sup>146</sup> so there was perhaps more underlying what seems to have become a family rift that excluded John

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<sup>139</sup> See <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=21260>, where his portrait and an image of his gravestone may be viewed.

<sup>140</sup> Like John Harris, Francis's father, Edward Brice held high civic offices in Bristol: Sheriff in 1775 and 1779, and Mayor in 1782. See A.B. Beaven, *Bristol lists: municipal and miscellaneous* (Bristol, 1899) p. 227.

<sup>141</sup> Her family home was in the village of Dale, on the Milford Haven estuary. Coldstream Lodge in Dale, an eighteenth-century house, remodelled in the early nineteenth century, which may have been the family home, became a grade II listed building in 1997. Details of the careers of Isabella's siblings and their children, several in naval service, are contained in Tuckett, *Mem.*, pp. 11 f.

<sup>142</sup> See [http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/BRISTOL\\_AND\\_DISTRICT/2009-04/1240681867](http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/BRISTOL_AND_DISTRICT/2009-04/1240681867).

<sup>143</sup> See I.V. Hall, 'The Daubenys: part II', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. LXXXV (1966) pp. 194 f. for further details relating to the activities of John Harris sen., John Harris jun., and Francis Harris in the sugar-refining industry of Bristol in the eighteenth century.

<sup>144</sup> Information derived from the PRIS 10 Commitment Books in the National Archives and the *London gazette*, kindly supplied by Roger Lloyd Harris.

<sup>145</sup> The will may be viewed at <http://www.mawer.clara.net/willsH.html#harris>. Thanks are due to Roger Harris Lloyd for the above biographical information concerning the brothers Francis and John Harris.

<sup>146</sup> *London gazette*, issue no. 15188 (28th September 1799) p. 1002: 'Whereas the acting Commissioners in the Commission of Bankrupt awarded and issued forth against Francis Harris and Samuel Grove, of the City of Bristol, Merchants and Partners, have certified... that the said Francis Harris hath in all Things conformed himself according to the Directions of the several Acts of Parliament made concerning Bankrupts; This is to give Notice, that, by virtue of an Act passed in the Fifth Year of His late Majesty's Reign, his Certificate will be allowed and confirmed as the said Act directs...'

jun.<sup>147</sup> than is altogether clear to us at this remove in time. With the failure of the sugar-refining business towards the end of the eighteenth century, Francis made a business move into a new venture, in 1806 entering into a copartnership with four

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<sup>147</sup> There is much to suggest an ostracism of the elder brother John, not least Samuel Harris's complete failure to make any mention of him in the present series of letters, other than in the general phrase 'my brethren's [*sic*] children' (Letter 3). This apparent 'slip of the pen' may itself be telling. It seems as if he began to write 'my brother', a phrase which elsewhere in the letters he most frequently employed in reference to his brother Francis, but in the midst of writing the phrase he remembered the children of his other brother John and so finished the word as if he intended to write 'brethren', but without altering the vowel in the first syllable of the word. It may perhaps indicate that in his thinking, consciously or unconsciously, John was still a brother, but only as an afterthought. A possible clue to the family rift may perhaps be recognized in the wording of John Harris sen.'s will, made on the 5th May 1801, in which he bequeathed his wealth and property first to his wife Sarah and then among the children of his three sons: John, Francis, and Samuel. The wording is interesting: in the case of Francis's children he wrote, 'all the children as well born as to be born of my said son Francis Harris'; in the case of Samuel's children he wrote, 'all the children of my son Samuel Harris by his present wife'; while in the case of John's children, who are mentioned first, he wrote, 'all the children of my eldest son John Harris by his first wife'. John jun.'s first wife was Jane Good, whom he married in Shaftesbury, Dorset in 1781 but died on the 26th January 1787 and was buried in Broadmead, Bristol. The last phrase in John Harris's will, referring to the first wife of John Harris jun. would seem intended to protect the rights of John Harris sen.'s grandchildren through his eldest son's first marriage—Francis Coleman Harris (born 1784) and Jane Good Harris (born 1786)—making no provision for children of any subsequent marriage of his eldest son and thereby leaving that responsibility, should the event come to pass, to John Harris jun. himself. (It was some years after his father's death that John Harris jun. married his second wife, Sophia Smith Crosley, on the 26th April 1814, by which time and indeed for the rest of his life he seems to have become an Anglican, having left his Baptist heritage behind.) However, notes referring to John Harris jun. and his children in his father's pocket ledger (where his noted expenses included shoes and repair to shoes for his son John's children) do not suggest any family estrangement by the year 1794 (Harris, *1794PL*.) Even so, further evidence of John Harris jun.'s exclusion from family business matters is reflected in the way that his father dealt with his responsibilities as administrator of the Bristol charity known as Bernard Foskett's Gift for Poor Welsh Ministers (referred to by John Harris sen. in his pocket ledger [*1794PL*, 3rd March & 28th August 1794]; Bernard Foskett had been the first Principal, 1720-1758, of Bristol Baptist Academy) since, during his illness 'about the month of February 1802' (which must be an error of dating, since John Harris sen. died in May 1801), being personally unable to dispense £200 of funds to impoverished ministers (Messrs. Williams and Moses), he entrusted the matter not to his eldest son John, but to his son Samuel. Yet it is recorded that Samuel 'unfortunately failed with it in his hands', whereupon the matter was dealt with by his father John, who paid out £100 of the funds in hand, with the promise that Samuel Harris would pay the interest of the remaining £100 and, 'when in his power, the principal.' It is added that bank interest on the invested endowment had been regularly paid out by Francis Harris, Samuel's brother, 'down to the present time' (approximately 1831), 'but Mr. Francis Harris is now gone to America, without making provision for the continuance of the payment; but the congregation are in hopes of receiving it from America, through some agent of his.' (T.J. Manchee [ed.], *The Bristol charities, being the Report of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning charities in England and Wales, so far as relates to the charitable institutions in Bristol*, vol. I [Bristol, 1831] pp. 289 f. On Bernard Foskett and his special concern for the Welsh Baptist churches, see R. Hayden, 'The contribution of Bernard Foskett', in W.H. Brackney *et al.* [eds.], *Pilgrim pathways: essays in Baptist history in honor of B.R. White* [Macon, GA, 1999] pp. 189-206.) This outstanding liability is possibly referred to later in Samuel Harris's letters (see note 919). Clearly, all of the Harris brothers seem, at one time or another, to have incurred a degree of financial embarrassment. The report of Samuel Harris's failure to administer the funds was taken by the editors of the 1831 publication from 'a little memorandum book, containing an account of the moneys distributed by the deacons of the Baptist church of Broadmead, Bristol, from bequests and subscriptions from September 8th, 1797, to August 1st, 1810, in the handwriting of Mr. [Edward] Ransford, one of the deacons.' Since Harris rebuked Thomas Chamberlain for leaving debts outstanding in England before he migrated to the USA soon after Harris (see Letter 2), we must assume that Harris repaid to the fund the outstanding money for which he was responsible before he sailed for the USA in 1821, otherwise he would have been guilty of gross hypocrisy. But see further note 300.

other persons in a stationery and printing establishment in Corn Street, Bristol, which was, however, dissolved on the 1st October 1808.<sup>148</sup> Francis's wife Isabella died on the 10th May 1810<sup>149</sup> and in that same year he took out a lease to become a stationer apparently on his own account, again occupying premises in Corn Street.<sup>150</sup> This time the business seems to have thrived, assisted no doubt by the cultured milieu of Bristol that had been praised by Robert Southey, remarking, 'Bristol deserves panegyric instead of satire. I know of no mercantile place so literary.'<sup>151</sup> A directory for 1814 again lists Francis as a stationer, bookseller, and manager of a state lottery office with premises at 52 Corn Street, and private residence at 15 St. James's Square, a very prosperous part of the city of Bristol in that day.<sup>152</sup> In addition, an advertisement in the *Bristol mercury* newspaper indicates that he was still acting as an insurance agent for the County Fire-office and Provident Life-office as late as the 7th October 1822, although in fact his stationery and bookselling business had been sold to Edward Marchant Page by the end of September of that year.<sup>153</sup> By 1823, however, he had clearly taken the decision to settle his accounts in Britain before following his brother Samuel's lead in emigrating to the USA, so that we find newspaper advertisements in the first two months of that year announcing the sale by auction of his household property, which was not insignificant. First, on the 29th January, there was a sale of his paintings and engravings, including works by Carlo Maratti, Claude Lorraine, and Jacob van Ruysdael. This was followed by sales taking place on the 11th and 12th February of Francis's household furniture, library, more pictures and prints, china, antiquities, and other assets which included 'a Gentleman's turning lathe, with tools'.<sup>154</sup> Further measures to settle his obligations under the bankruptcy served on

<sup>148</sup> *London gazette*, issues nos. 16126 & 16134 (8th March & 5th April 1808) pp. 362 & 492.

<sup>149</sup> For data relating to Isabella, see <http://www.geni.com/people/Isabella-Harris/6000000004968239637?through=6000000003576908849>.

<sup>150</sup> *Holden's London and county directory* for 1811.

<sup>151</sup> Letter from Lisbon, 1st February 1796, in J. Cottle, *Early recollections*, vol. II (London, 1837) p. 6.

<sup>152</sup> As possibly further evidence of Francis's wealth by this date, we know that on the 16th March 1814 he agreed to accept a bond for £1,000 along with John Alfred Whittard for the latter's marriage to Jane Good Harris, the daughter of his elder brother John by the latter's first wife, although it has to be borne in mind that such a bond was not uncommon and could be entered into without one's ever having the means to pay the sum, being perfectly satisfied that in reality one would never be called upon to do so. (Information kindly supplied by Roger Harris Lloyd.) A curious note was published regarding Francis Harris during the time of his residence in St. James's Square: 'The late Mr. Francis Harris, stationer, one morning found, in the garden of his residence in St. James's Square, the carcass of an exhausted sky-rocket. The writing-character attracting his attention, he unfolded the tube, and found it to be a particular narrative of [Oliver] Cromwell's public entry into the city [on the 17th July 1649]. A short time previous to Mr. Harris's departure for America (where he died, October 2 [*sic*], 1823) he told the writer that he lent the fragment to a gentleman who said he had lost it.' (John Evans, *A chronological outline of the history of Bristol, etc.* [Bristol, 1824] pp. 211 f.) John Evans, a Bristol printer, would have been acquainted with Francis Harris through the latter's stationery business in the city. Evans edited the *Bristol observer*, which coincidentally collapsed on the 1st October 1823, the day of Francis Harris's death. (C.R. Hudleston, 'John Evans of Bristol', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. LXI (1939) pp. 196-201.)

<sup>153</sup> Information here and in the remainder of this paragraph is derived from notices found in *The Bristol mirror*.

<sup>154</sup> Sarah Ellen Tuckett, who was only 5½ years old when her grandfather Francis sailed for America, nevertheless retained definite memories of Francis's collection of paintings, which must have made a great impression on the child. She wrote, 'I can well recollect his house in St. James' Square. I believe he had lived there many years, and had collected a great number of paintings. They were sold before he left for America, except a very few, among them an original portrait of "George Whitefield", bought many years afterwards by Mr. W.D. Wills, of Portland Square, and now in the possession of his son: at the time of the sale it was bought in at sixty guineas, and sold at less than one third that amount long

him in 1799, when he had been in business with Samuel Grove, were taken after his death, as a newspaper notice published on the 20th November 1824 announced a meeting to be held on the 11th December ‘in order to make a third and final Dividend of the joint Estate and Effects of... Francis Harris and Samuel Grove.’ A previous disbursement of dividends had been made following a meeting held on the 26th May 1815. We may deduce that Francis had made some partial effort over the preceding quarter of a century to liquidate his outstanding debts and that, following his demise, his executors made a final distribution of funds, which probably came to hand as a result of the aforementioned sales of Francis’s property.

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after. “The salutation of Mary and Elizabeth”, and “Admiral Lord Cochrane”, which I still have, and “Blind Bartimeus”, which is in [Sarah Ellen’s brother] Coldstream’s possession. There were others, but I do not remember what became of them.’ (Tuckett, *Mem.*, pp. 15 f.) (William Day Wills [1797-1865] was the famed Bristol tobacconist who headed the firm of W.D. and H.O. Wills. He had two sons: Robert Steven and William Henry. It was the latter who in 1904 presented the Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery to the people of Bristol.)

**THE FINE ARTS.**  
*Genuine and interesting Collection of Paintings.*

TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION,

By Mr. W. WISE,

(Without reserve) at the ASSEMBLY ROOM, in Prince's-street,  
 Bristol, (*removed, for convenience of sale, from St. James's Square*)  
 On WEDNESDAY NEXT, January 29, commencing at Twelve  
 precisely.

**T**HE entire, genuine, and well selected Collection  
 of Mr. FRANCIS HARRIS,  
 (*Who is going to reside abroad.*)

Comprising, among many valuable Specimens of Art, the following  
 celebrated and original PICTURES :

The Holy Family ..... by *Dominichino*.  
 Vision of Theresa ..... by *C. Maratti*.  
 Sacrifice of Elijah ..... by *Maar*, pupil of Rembrandt.  
 Two capital Landscapes..... by *Wilson*.  
 One ditto, very fine ..... by *Claude Lorraine*.  
 One ditto ..... by *Jacob Ruysdael*.  
 And an original and highly finished }  
 Portrait of the Rev. G. Whitfield } by *Hudson*.

ALSO,

*A complete Set of ENGRAVINGS of the Stafford Gallery.*

The whole must be peremptorily sold, on account of the Proprietor's immediate departure.

The Pictures may be viewed on Tuesday, and Catalogues sold,  
 at the Room, or at Mr. HARRIS'S, St. James's-Square.

[The Sale of the HOUSEHOLD EFFECTS will be announced in due time.]

Newspaper notice, 25th January 1823, referring to sale of Francis Harris's collection of paintings and engravings prior to his emigration to the USA

Francis was a widower aged 65 when he emigrated to America, sailing from the port of Bristol aboard the brig *Mount Vernon* and arriving in New York on the 9th June 1823.<sup>155</sup> More than three months later, at the terminus of their long journey, Francis and his two children, reached Aurora, Indiana, where they were met by

<sup>155</sup> New York Passenger and Immigration Lists, 1820-1850. Sarah Ellen Tuckett actually related that her grandfather Francis Harris 'sailed for America in the "*Lord Collingwood*", 6th. of April 1823, (and landed at New York on the 8th June)' (Tuckett, *Mem.*, p. 15.) See also note 357. Time must have played tricks with family memory, easily accounted for by the fact that in 1823 the *Lord Collingwood* was at the centre of a storm between the British and Spanish governments, after the vessel's capture and condemnation at Puerto Rico for alleged contravention of Spanish colonial laws, at a time when the Spanish South American colonies were engaged in a fierce struggle for their independence. See further M. McCarthy, *Privateering, piracy and British policy in Spanish America 1810-1830* (Woodbridge, 2013) pp. 102-135. Ultimately, on the last day of 1823, the *Lord Collingwood* was shipwrecked on the coast of Ceará, Brazil, while attempting to sail from Maranhão, Brazil to London.

William Tell and his father Samuel Harris. Sadly, however, Francis died in Aurora on the 1st October 1823, never having recovered from the jolts to his constitution sustained in making the transatlantic voyage and the journey inland to Indiana.<sup>156</sup> His grave is today to be found in River View Cemetery, Aurora.<sup>157</sup> Not only his wife but also a number of his eleven children predeceased him, yet he left five known offspring: Sarah Ann (1784-1866) (on whom see below), John Coldstream Harris (1790-1856),<sup>158</sup> Martha (*née* Harris) Walcott (1792-1861),<sup>159</sup> Francis (1795-1878) (on whom see immediately below), and Elinor (1797-1872), who married Philip Debell Tuckett (1787-1841) in 1816 (referred to in Letter 5 in this series) and named their third child, Francis Harris Tuckett, for her father.<sup>160</sup> Another, short-lived child, Sarah Anne, was probably named for Elinor's sister, Samuel Harris's favourite niece, who emigrated with her father to America but later returned to live with her sister Elinor.<sup>161</sup>

Francis Harris's son, also called **Francis Harris**, is a man of some notoriety in the present series of letters. According to records of the Broadmead Baptist Church in Bristol, he was born on the 6th September 1795 in the parish of Westbury,

<sup>156</sup> The following notice of his death was published in *The Bath chronicle and weekly gazette* of the 4th December 1823: 'At Aurora province [*sic*] of Indiana, United States, in his 66th year, Mr. F. Harris, 2d son of the late John Harris, esq; alderman, of Bristol.'

<sup>157</sup> See the headstone with its inscription, in which his date of death is stated to be one day later (in fact, the date of his burial) than the date given by Samuel Harris in Letter 4, at <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=Harris&GSfn=Francis&GSbyrel=all&GSdy=1823&GSdyrel=in&GSst=17&GSctry=4&GSob=n&GRid=36241338&df=all&>. In Letter 4 Samuel Harris informs John Brown that his brother Francis 'was interred by the side of my dear Sally's remains', which, if our deductions are correct, would imply that he was initially buried in the old Conwell Street Cemetery and his remains later transferred to River View Cemetery. The names of both Francis Harris and his sister-in-law Sarah Anne Harris were commemorated in his daughter Elinor's children: Francis Harris Tuckett (1821-1854), Sarah Anne Tuckett (1823-1823, see note 161), and a second Sarah Anne Tuckett (1825-1841).

<sup>158</sup> The 1851 Census reveals that he was a purser in the Royal Navy, living at 4 Tamworth Place, Bristol. Further anecdotes are contained in Tuckett, *Mem.*, p. 13.

<sup>159</sup> Further details relating to Martha, her husband of Irish descent, Samuel Walcott, and their children are contained in Tuckett, *Mem.*, pp. 13, 22.

<sup>160</sup> Francis Harris Tuckett is mentioned in his sister Sarah Ellen's recollections of the departure of her grandfather Francis Harris for America: 'In 1823 my dear grandfather left these shores, and to my dear mother it must have been a sore trial. I had been taken to their home in Gloucester a short time before and I can remember going in a carriage with my mother to take leave of them at a place where they had a farewell party, and though to a little child this would be thought a great treat, I had a feeling of sadness with regard to it; I have no doubt, caused by seeing my mother's grief... When we returned home in the evening I know Mama found my brother Francis Harris, then a child of two years old I think, was ill with measles. It was perhaps well for her, as she needed to give her time and thought to him. I have no doubt we also caught the infection, though I do not recollect; what I can remember was my dear mother's anxious face. I did not, at that time, know how much cause she had for anxiety... [Some years later] we were all ill with scarlet fever. Frank caught it first, and then we from him. My dear mother used to say if anything infectious could be met with, Frank was sure to have it. Both Helton and Frank were placed at the "Friends' Day School for Quakers", in the Friars, and a capital school it was.' (Tuckett, *Mem.*, pp. 16, 19.)

<sup>161</sup> Her elder sister Sarah Ellen remembered, 'Whilst in Gloucester, my little sister Sarah Anne was born, and lived only four months. My mother has told me she was very beautiful, and I believe during the four months of her life she only cried two or three times. I often rocked her cradle, learning hymns at the same time. She was placed in a little grey coffin on the drawers of my mother's room, and I know I felt an awe and dread of the sight. Trouble and sorrow seemed my mother's lot. About the time of little Sarah Anne's death, tidings came from America that my beloved grandfather had died a short time after reaching his American home.' (Tuckett, *Mem.*, p. 17.)

Gloucestershire and was baptized at Broadmead, along with his siblings, on the 12th January 1807. After serving a seven-year apprenticeship as a stationer, with his father as patron, he became a burgess of the city of Bristol in 1818.<sup>162</sup> He thus obtained experience in the stationery and bookselling trade, which, though not immediately, would later stand him in good stead in the New World.



**Portrait of Francis Harris jun., c. 1820, sold by Forsythes' Auctions, LLC, Cincinnati, 26th March 2006**

We cannot be certain as to what motivated him, along with his father and sister, to emigrate to Aurora, Indiana in 1823, but these three close relatives of Samuel Harris arrived there on the 19th September of that year and it was Francis jun. who was the first to appear from the Ohio River landing at Aurora, in much dishevelment, bringing news of his father's physical distress. Young Francis was then aged 28 and, according to his uncle Samuel's remarks in these letters, he had somewhat surprisingly left behind him in Bristol a reputation he had gained there for disreputable living. Having arrived in Aurora, his previous work as a bookseller and stationer did not, however, straightaway equip him for employment in such a business in Indiana. (It was possibly on learning of Francis's experience that Samuel Harris's correspondent, the bookseller John Brown, hesitated and in the end declined the overtures of Harris to join him in Aurora.) In fact, for some time Francis Harris jun.

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<sup>162</sup> Information derived from the *Bristol apprenticeship books* and supplied by Roger Harris Lloyd.

does not seem to have found any ready or congenial employment in the New World, although in 1828 his name is mentioned, with that of Horace Bassett (first town clerk of Aurora and 'a distinguished attorney of the state'<sup>163</sup>), as an assessor of taxable property in Aurora,<sup>164</sup> a post which could not have endeared him greatly to the settler population of Dearborn County. About this time, he went to lodge with his cousin William Tell Harris and his wife Catalina at their residence on Mount Tabor in Aurora. There unfortunately he became the catalyst in the break-up of a marriage which, it seems, had been less than satisfactory from its inception. Ultimately, William Tell Harris felt compelled to request Francis to leave Mount Tabor, but Catalina, who had been in an adulterous relationship with him, left along with him, leaving behind both her husband and her infant daughter, and lodged initially with the ferryman at the Ohio River crossing, before apparently going over to Kentucky with the intention of marrying Francis Harris after her divorce from William Tell in April 1830. Francis and Catalina did indeed become married on the 10th August 1830, but Catalina died, apparently in childbirth, on the 31st January 1831.



**Portrait of Margaret Sexton Harris in later life, sold by Forsythes' Auctions, LLC, Cincinnati, 26th March 2006**

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<sup>163</sup> Shaw, *HDC*, p. 267.

<sup>164</sup> *Indiana palladium*, 22nd November 1828. In the frontier region it probably required a lot of effort and persistence for the authorities to collect all the tax that was deemed due. For a sample of a pleading, indeed almost despairing, letter written by John Spencer (County Sheriff of Dearborn County 1822-1826 and 1828-1832) at virtually the same time as this newspaper announcement (20th November 1828), see Trollope, *DMA*, pp. 226 f.



We may trace something of Francis's progress beyond this date in the US Census reports and in directories. These indicate that in 1840 he was living in Xenia, Greene County, Ohio. Francis became married again, on the 5th September 1844, to Margaret Sexton of Virginia,<sup>165</sup> who was born on the 14th November 1805 and was reported to have been 'a West Indian heiress', a niece of Dr. Charles Edward Bernard (bapt. 1778-1843), who was born into a slave-owning family in St. James, Jamaica.<sup>166</sup> In the 1850 Census Francis was still living in Xenia, reportedly aged 53 (which seems a little short of the true count), working as a book merchant and with a real estate valued at \$2,000. Two children were also included in the Census report: J.C. Harris<sup>167</sup> and Isabella F. Harris, born in Ohio and then aged one. A business directory of 1853 listed him as a bookseller and also as an insurance agent in Xenia, Greene County.<sup>168</sup> In the 1860 Census, he was reported as living with his wife Margaret (her age oddly stated as 40) in Xenia and still working as a bookseller. On the 7th October 1868 his daughter Isabella became married to Robert Hamilton Ellison of Manchester, Adams County, Ohio, a man who made his wealth in banking, tobacco dealing, and as the county auditor, also contesting (and losing to J.B. Young) the ticket to represent Adams County in the Ohio Legislature in 1883.<sup>169</sup> By 1870, when he was 74, Francis had become a justice of the peace in Xenia. As the 1870 Census reported, he then had a real estate valued at \$6,000 and a personal estate of \$1,000, and on this occasion his wife's age was stated as being 63. Soon after this, Francis and his wife Margaret must have gone to live with their daughter Isabella and son-in-law Robert Hamilton Ellison in Manchester, Adams County, Ohio.<sup>170</sup> Francis had clearly made good in every worldly sense!<sup>171</sup> He died on the 28th January 1878 and was buried in the Oddfellows Cemetery in Manchester, Adams County.<sup>172</sup> His wife Margaret died on the 2nd May 1881 and was likewise buried in Adams County, Ohio.

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<sup>165</sup> The Sextons who migrated from Virginia to Xenia in Greene County were of Quaker stock. See under 'John Sexton' in M.A. Broadstone, *History of Greene County, Ohio*, vol. II (Indianapolis, 1918) pp. 404-6.

<sup>166</sup> Tuckett, *Mem.*, p. 13. See the obituary of C.E. Bernard in *The gentleman's magazine*, vol. XIX, pt. 1 (Jan.-June 1843) pp. 93 f. and the 'Legacies of British slave-ownership' database (<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/14918>).

<sup>167</sup> Said to have been a dentist 'living in the South' (Tuckett, *Mem.*, p. 13).

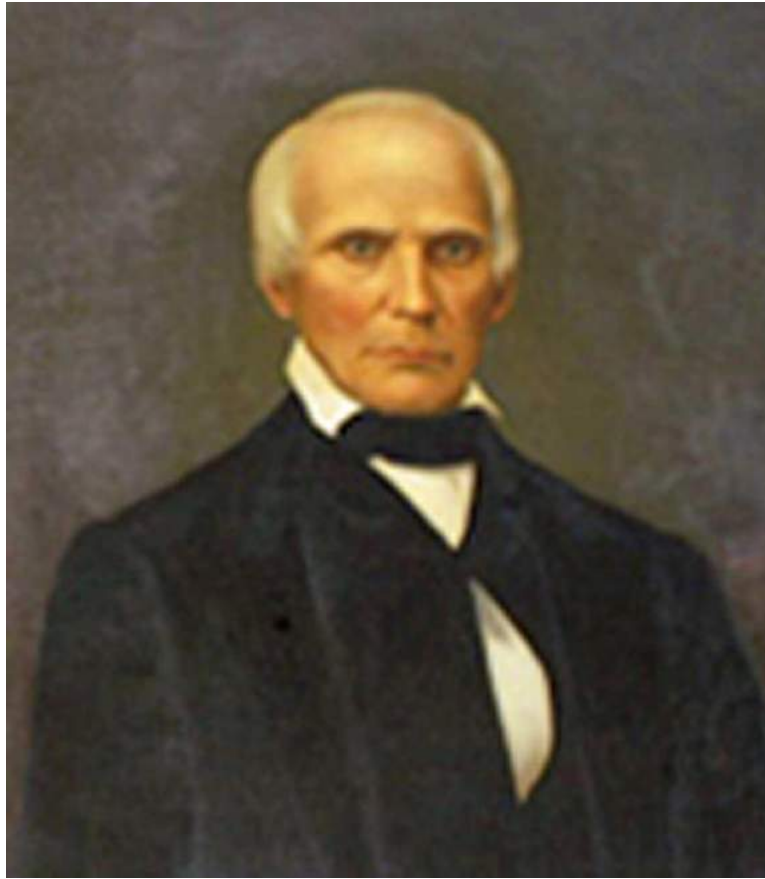
<sup>168</sup> *W.W. Reilly & Co.'s Ohio state business directory... for 1853-4* (Cincinnati, 1853) pp. 34, 78.

<sup>169</sup> N.W. Evans & E.B. Stivers, *A history of Adams County, Ohio* (West Union, Ohio, 1900) pp. 292, 735.

<sup>170</sup> On the 26th March 2006, at Forsythes' Auctions LLC in Cincinnati, items from the former estate of Isabella and Robert Hamilton Ellison came under the auctioneer's hammer. As well as pieces of furniture, they included a 1723 edition of the Bible that had belonged to Margaret Sexton Harris, a leather-bound cash book of Francis Harris from the 1860s, and several paintings, including portraits of Robert Hamilton Ellison (as a boy) and of Francis and Margaret Harris, which have been included in the text above.

<sup>171</sup> Thanks are due to Roger Harris Lloyd for much of the biographical data relating to Francis Harris jun.

<sup>172</sup> See the record at <http://maverick.tuscaroras.com/transfer/lines/steer/323.html>.



**Portrait of Francis Harris jun. in later life, sold by Forsythes' Auctions, LLC, Cincinnati, 26th March 2006**

**Sarah Ann Harris**, Samuel Harris's niece, the daughter of his brother Francis,<sup>173</sup> arrived in New York with her father and brother on the brig *Mount Vernon* on the 9th June 1823, when she was said to be 32 years old,<sup>174</sup> though in fact she must have been 38, and from New York she travelled with her father and brother to Aurora. After the death of Samuel Harris's wife Sally in August 1823 and her own father's death on the 1st October in the same year, Sarah Ann continued to reside with her uncle Samuel, in which situation she for some time made herself useful to him in the capacity of 'nurse and companion'. In March 1825, however, she set out on the return journey to England and, after disembarking at Liverpool perhaps in late May of that year, she travelled first to Wigan to visit her uncle's friend and correspondent John Brown, and from Wigan she travelled south to her sisters in Gloucester. One of the first tasks she undertook on her return to England was, on the 13th August 1825, to administer the wills of her grandparents John Harris sen. (d. 1801) and his wife Sarah Harris, a duty which, for uncertain reasons, had been left unfulfilled by her father Francis and also by his brothers John jun. and Samuel. She also administered the will of her father Francis Harris, which had been written on the 13th August 1825

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<sup>173</sup> She was born in St. James, Bristol on the 28th May 1784 (the date given in the records of Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol). This date accords with her age as given in the Censuses of 1851 and 1861. Along with her siblings she received baptism in the Broadmead Baptist Church on the 12th January 1807.

<sup>174</sup> New York Passenger and Immigration Lists, 1820-1850.

and through which he left no more than the sum of £20.<sup>175</sup> In November 1827 she is found lodging with her cousin, John Alfred Whittard, a draper of Bristol, and during the time she stayed in Bristol, she must have attended meetings at Samuel Harris's first church, Broadmead Baptist Church, for she wrote to him, sending favourable report of the ministry of Robert Hall, who was then serving as pastor of the church. By February 1829, however, she had removed again to Laugharne, Carmarthenshire, in Wales. Beyond this date we lose track of Sarah Ann in the present series of letters. However, it seems that her uncle Samuel Harris continued to cherish the thought that she would one day return to Aurora and so, writing his will on the 10th May 1826, his first provision had been to bequeath his 'farm called Mount Vernon'<sup>176</sup> in the Town of Aurora, being composed of out lots<sup>177</sup> Number fifty four fifty five and fifty six<sup>178</sup> to my niece Sarah Ann Harris, provided she shall personally claim the same within three years after my decease...' Sarah Ann, possibly still bearing heavily at heart the severity of the journey to Indiana, which had claimed her father's life, hesitated to venture again to lands in America and no doubt meanwhile feeling some personal fulfilment in assisting her sister Elinor in the care of the latter's children, she did not make claim to the estate referred to within three years of her uncle's death and decided instead to remain in England.

In March 1836 she went with her sister Elinor Tuckett and the latter's daughter Sarah Ellen to Stokes Croft, Bristol, where the women opened a tea dealers' shop, using the recognized good reputation of the late Francis Harris sen. as security.<sup>179</sup> Sarah Ann also lived for a time with her sister Elinor's near neighbours and close friends George and Ann Lunell on St. Michael's Hill, Bristol.<sup>180</sup> The close connection between Elinor's family and the Lunells probably had deep roots in the two families' shared Nonconformist convictions<sup>181</sup> and it is also reflected in Elinor and Philip Debell Tuckett's youngest child's being named George Lunell Tuckett. George Lunell and others in his family were Bristol burgesses and George's father William Peter Lunell<sup>182</sup> had amassed considerable wealth as a sugar refiner (thereby

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<sup>175</sup> Information kindly supplied by Roger Harris Lloyd.

<sup>176</sup> On the naming of Mount Vernon, see in Appendix VI: 'Property acquired by Samuel Harris'.

<sup>177</sup> The term 'out lots' indicates that these lots were never a part of those lots administered by the Aurora Association for Internal Improvements (on which see further Lake, *ADCI*, pp. 10 f.).

<sup>178</sup> See further regarding these land lots in note 440.

<sup>179</sup> The story of this venture is recounted in Tuckett, *Mem.*, pp. 23 f., where it is presented as an observed example of Elinor Tuckett's sincere faith and Providential guidance at a time of crisis in her family's affairs.

<sup>180</sup> 1841 Census, where George's occupation is given as 'ship-owner', with four Lunell children named; Tuckett, *Mem.*, p. 21, where the surname is mistranscribed as 'Funell'.

<sup>181</sup> George Lunell's name appears in the subscription lists to some Bristol Baptist publications, but his children's births were registered at Castle Green Congregational Church and later Brunswick Square Congregational Chapel, while his own birth was recorded at Lewin's Mead Presbyterian Church, all of which seems to suggest that Bristol Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Quakers who were traders not only met socially but also supported each other economically and were ready to attend other Nonconformist churches. (Thanks are due to Roger Harris Lloyd for much of the information used here.)

<sup>182</sup> William Peter Lunell (1757-1840), descendant of an Irish Huguenot family, had been a close friend of John and Charles Wesley and perhaps inspired by their teaching, played an active part in the anti-slavery movement, counting William Wilberforce among his like-minded friends. He was very successful in business and, with his sons George and Samuel, was a prominent member of the Society of Merchant Venturers. He devoted his energies to philanthropic ventures and was President of the Anchor Society in 1793 (John Harris sen. had been President in 1791 – see note 20). In 1828 he was Director of the National Assurance Company of Ireland. (J. Robinson, 'Peter Lunell (1652-1720) – an

bringing him into close business contact with the Harris family<sup>183</sup>), which enabled his sons George and Samuel to establish a shipping business in Bristol. George Lunell must have been an entrepreneur of some considerable wealth as he was the owner or part owner of some twelve ships,<sup>184</sup> engaged in ship-building between 1831 and 1851,<sup>185</sup> was a trustee of the Bristol General Steam Navigation Company, and plied a shipping trade between Bristol, Ireland, and South Wales.<sup>186</sup>

Sarah Ann appears later in Censuses for the years 1841, 1851 and 1861,<sup>187</sup> and is reported to have died, perhaps in the Clifton area of Bristol, aged 82, on the 21st June 1866.<sup>188</sup> During her continued absence in England the estate intended for her by her uncle Samuel came (as Samuel Harris had stipulated it should if Sarah Ann did not return and personally claim her inheritance) into the hands of her cousin William Tell Harris, as is confirmed by the fact that the latter's name appears over the land in the 1860 landowner map drawn by Thomas Pattison.

**Jesse Lynch Holman** (1784–1842) was a friend referred to with warm approval by Samuel Harris in Letters 5, 7, 8, and 9 in this collection, and was also one of the executors named in Harris's will.

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Irish Huguenot and his family', at <http://www.kildare.ie/ehistory/index.php/peter-lunell-an-irish-huguenot-and-his-family/>.)

<sup>183</sup> See the linking of the names Lunell and John Harris in R. Hayden, 'Caleb Evans and the anti-slavery question', *The Baptist quarterly*, vol. XXXVII (2011) p. 7.

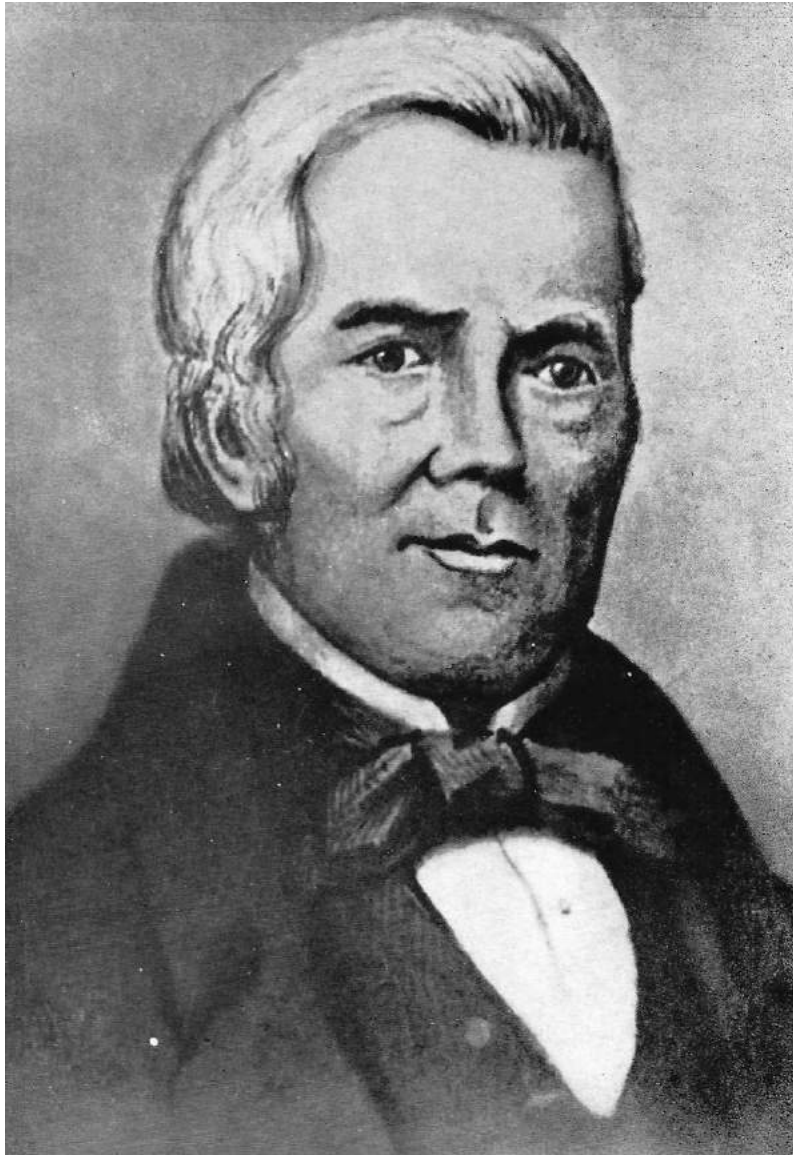
<sup>184</sup> See G.E. Farr (ed.), *Records of Bristol ships 1800-1838* (Bristol Record Society, 1950) pp. 85 f., 96-98, 103, 124, 141, 157, 164 f., 170, 183, 186 f., 205 f., 211.

<sup>185</sup> G. Farr, *Shipbuilding in the port of Bristol. (Maritime monographs and reports, no. 27.)* (National Maritime Museum, 1977) pp. 7 f., 40-44.

<sup>186</sup> *Extracts from the minutes of evidence given before a committee of the House of Commons on the Great Western Railway* (Bristol, 1834) pp. 6 f.

<sup>187</sup> In the 1851 Census Sarah Ann is registered as unmarried, aged 66 and living with her sister Elinor Tuckett and the latter's three children at 84 Stokes Croft, St. Paul's, Bristol. In the 1861 Census Sarah Ann is once more registered as unmarried, now aged 76, and residing as a housekeeper with Elinor Tuckett's son Charles Henry Tuckett (aged 30 and unmarried), a railway stationmaster, in Minchinhampton, near Stroud, Gloucestershire.

<sup>188</sup> *Bristol times and mirror*, 23rd June 1866; Tuckett, *Mem.*, p. 13 (where the date of her death is given as 30th June 1866).



**Jesse Lynch Holman (from I.G. Blake, *The Holmans of Veraestau*)**

Born near Danville, Kentucky, Holman grew up on the frontier and became a Baptist at the age of 17. He read law and was admitted to the Kentucky bar on the 2nd September, 1805. Holman established a private practice at Port William (later called Carrollton), Kentucky, and also practised law at New Castle and later at Frankfort, Kentucky. In 1808 he moved to the Indiana Territory, where he acquired land in Dearborn County, and in that same year he wrote a novel, *The prisoners of Niagara; or, errors of education*. In 1810 he married Elizabeth Masterson, the daughter of Judge Richard M. Masterson, a leading Kentucky jurist and major landowner. He brought his wife and first child to Dearborn County in 1811,<sup>189</sup> a

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<sup>189</sup> Some of Holman's recollections of his family's first arrival in the place that would later be named (by him) Aurora were reported by S.D. Owen in the *Baptist banner and western pioneer* and from there transcribed by 'J.M.P.' (i.e. John Mason Peck, 1789-1858, Baptist minister of Rock Spring, Illinois and one of the editors of the *Baptist memorial*) in his 'Sketch of the Late Hon. and Rev. Jesse L. Holman of Dearborn County, Indiana', published in the *Baptist memorial and monthly chronicle*, vol. I. no. 8 (NY, 15th August 1842) pp. 233-238. (Peck's authorship of this sketch is confirmed by M. Lawrence, *John Mason Peck: a biographical sketch*, MA thesis, University of Illinois, 1914, p. 83.)

move which, under Indiana law, entailed his freeing the slaves that Mrs. Holman had inherited in Kentucky,<sup>190</sup> and he built a home he named 'Veraestau' (an attempt to combine the Latin words for 'spring', 'summer' and 'autumn', leaving out the unwelcome 'winter') on a bluff overlooking the Ohio River at a distance of approximately 1½ miles to the south of what would become downtown Aurora in Dearborn County.<sup>191</sup>



**Veraestau about 1890 (from I.G. Blake, *The Holmans of Veraestau*)**

From 1811 to 1830 Holman maintained a private law practice in Aurora, and became a prominent politician and jurist. In 1811 he was appointed a district prosecuting attorney for Dearborn County, and in 1814 he was elected to Indiana's territorial legislature and served as president of the Indiana Territorial Council. From 1814 to 1816 Holman was a judge for the Indiana Territory's Second Judicial Circuit Court and in 1816 he also served as judge for the Third Judicial Circuit Court. When Indiana became a state in 1816, Governor Jonathan Jennings appointed Holman as one of the three judges of the Indiana Supreme Court, a post he held until the 28th December 1830. He was behind two important, landmark decisions in Indianan jurisprudence: (1) the prohibition of slavery in the new State of Indiana, and (2) the upholding of the death sentence against James Hudson, the first white man to be prosecuted for killing a Native American.<sup>192</sup> In addition to judicial duties, Holman was an active leader in Dearborn County's civic affairs. In 1819 he helped plan the town then called Decatur, using his influence to change its name to Aurora, in a gesture of one-upmanship to reflect its importance as 'the dawn', naturally preceding (in time and importance) the burgeoning town of Rising Sun in Ohio County, a few

<sup>190</sup> Holman personally, however, was only a 'moderate' abolitionist. He did not believe that negro people could ever be integrated into American society and looked instead for their removal to a freed slaves colony in Liberia. (Blake, *JLH*, pp. 28 f.)

<sup>191</sup> See further on Veraestau in note 479.

<sup>192</sup> J.G. Baker, 'Indiana judges: a portrait of judicial evolution', in D.J. Bodenhamer & R.T. Shepard (eds.), *The history of Indiana law* (Ohio Un. Press, 2006) p. 306.

miles downriver from Aurora. A Baptist from early youth, Holman was active in the church's missionary work and Sunday school programmes, helping to establish the First Baptist Church of Aurora in 1820 and the Indiana Bible Society in 1822.<sup>193</sup> Holman clearly shared the idealism of Samuel Harris in surmounting denominational barriers and the new Baptist church, the first meeting-house of any kind in the town, was designated for use by all denominations, 'as occasion might require'.<sup>194</sup> Holman also supported public education. He helped found Aurora's public library, was active in fundraising for the Aurora Seminary, and served as the superintendent for Dearborn County schools from 1832 to 1834. In 1834, during a break from political life, Holman became an ordained minister and preached at the First Baptist Church of Aurora. On the 16th September 1835, during a congressional recess, President Andrew Jackson appointed Holman to the US District Court for the District of Indiana. Although in 1831 Holman had lost a bid for a seat in the US Senate, after political disagreements among the Indiana delegation were resolved, he was formally nominated and then confirmed by the US Senate on the 29th March 1836. He received his commission the same day and served as a federal judge until his death in Aurora on the 28th March 1842.<sup>195</sup>

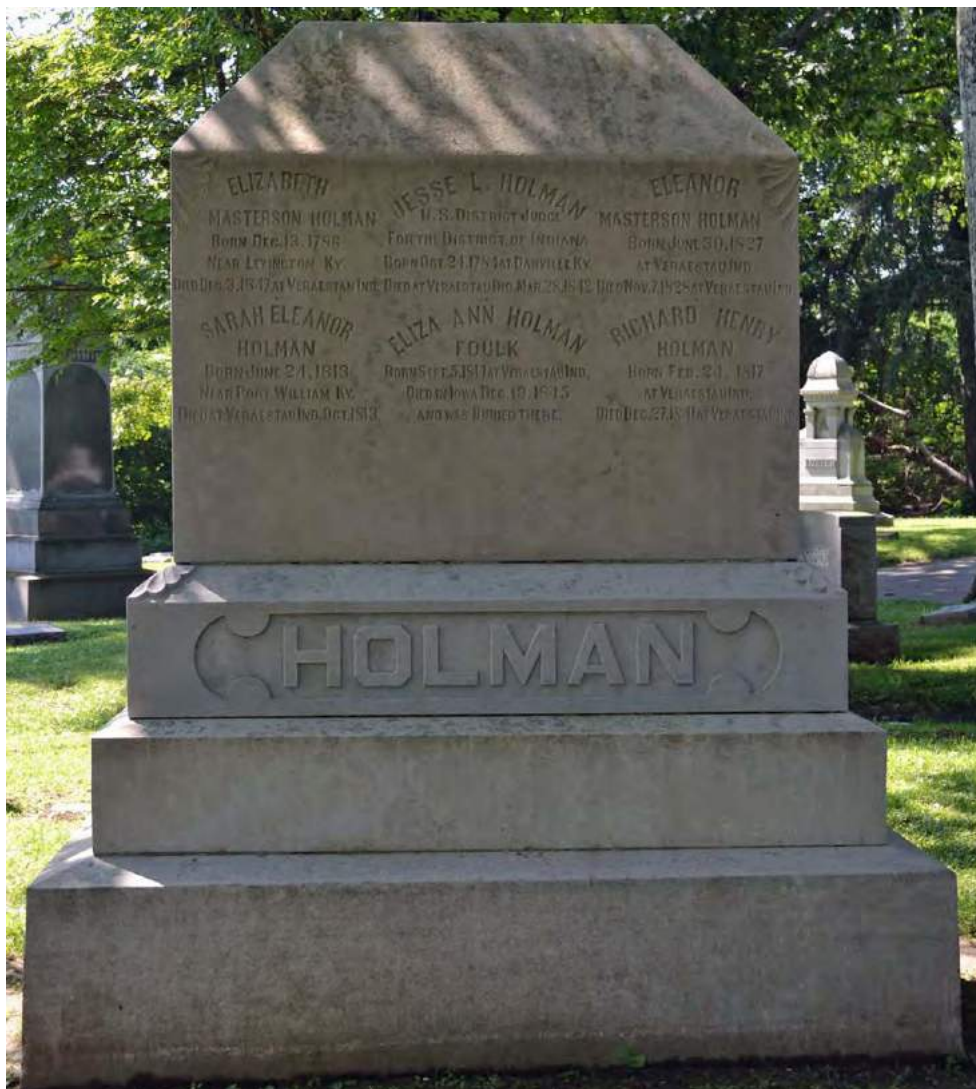
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<sup>193</sup> Some tokens of Holman's work on behalf of Bible Societies are presented in two letters included in Appendix I of the present study.

<sup>194</sup> Similarly in nearby Rising Sun, the Presbyterians and Methodists would first use the same school-house for their church meetings. (B.F. Morris, *Historical sketch of Rising Sun, Indiana, and the Presbyterian Church* [Cincinnati, 1858] pp. 17, 20.) This was, in fact, not an uncommon practice in frontier settlements, though perhaps not always motivated by the liberal spirit that prompted Holman and Harris. Thus, it has been remarked that 'when one denomination had strength in a given area a meeting-house was built and a minister chosen... In many instances the meeting-houses were used alternately by different religious parties. The settlers had many things in common (poverty, sickness, fear, insecurity), but organized religion was not one of these. If they worshipped together it was through expediency, not ecumenicity.' (Shaw, *HD*, p. 43; see also Bowers, *JP*, pp. 208, 211 for further examples of 'free to all' or union churches in contemporary Pennsylvania.)

<sup>195</sup> Information derived from Blake, *JLH*, pp. 25-51 & *idem.*, *HV*, *passim*; *A biographical history of eminent and self-made men of the State of Indiana*, vol. I (Cincinnati, 1880) pp. 34 f. See also Awad, *LLA*, pp. 9, 12 f. & 107, for portraits of Holman and of his home at Veraestau.





**Memorial monument to Holman family members in River View Cemetery, Aurora**

**John Brown**, the addressee of this series of letters, was born in 1786 in the village of Catterall, two miles to the south of the Lancashire town of Garstang.<sup>196</sup> He was thus some 20 years younger than Samuel Harris, who, in Letter 3, speaks of their relative ages under the figurative remark, ‘you are not many leagues astern’. John Brown was possibly the son of a father of the same name.<sup>197</sup> On the 2nd October

<sup>196</sup> The birth year 1786 is given on his grave inscription (see below).

<sup>197</sup> In 1795 the leading Scotch Baptist Archibald McLean (1733-1812) wrote a letter to ‘John Brown, Wigan’ in which he mentioned his having sent Brown his publication on the subject of baptism, referred to as ‘2 Copies of the Import<sup>e</sup> of Baptism’, which Whelan (*BA*, p. 78, n. 133) identifies as *A defence of believer-baptism, in opposition to infant sprinkling: in a letter to a friend, being an answer to a pamphlet entitled, Remarks on Scripture texts relating to infant baptism*, new ed. (Liverpool, W. Jones, 1800), but of course the date of publication of this new edition is too late, so that the reference must, in fact, have been to the first edition, in 82 pages, published by McLean himself in Edinburgh in 1777. Since our John Brown would have been about 9 years old in 1795 and since the tone and content of the letter is that of one adult addressing another, we must hesitate to accept Whelan’s suggested identification of the recipient of this letter with our Wigan bookeller (*BA*, p. 77, n. 131). He might perhaps have been the father of our John Brown and there is a possible clue pointing to this identification in the register of Lord Street Baptist Church, with which John Brown, our bookseller, was associated. In the register he is always referred to simply as ‘John Brown’, except on one occasion



1809 he became married in Mansfield to Mary Lee Wightman,<sup>198</sup> one of the two daughters (her sister was named Elizabeth<sup>199</sup>) of George and Elizabeth Wightman of Nottinghamshire.<sup>200</sup> Mary was born on the 25th January 1785 into a Baptist family in Little Prescott Street, Whitechapel, London, where her grandfather Abraham Booth served as pastor.<sup>201</sup> John and Mary Brown had three daughters (Elizabeth, 1811-1834;<sup>202</sup> Mary; and Frances, 1827-1909) and four sons (William, b. 1812;<sup>203</sup> George Wightman, 1813-1871;<sup>204</sup> Thomas, 1817-1894; and James, 1821-1882).<sup>205</sup> These

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(in the Baptistry Account of 1820 affixed in the front of this register), where his name is entered, against a relatively small donation, as 'Jn<sup>o</sup>. Brown Jun.', suggesting that there was a John Brown sen., father of our John Brown, the possible recipient of Archibald McLean's letter.

<sup>198</sup> *The Lancaster gazette* for the 7th October 1809 carried the announcement: 'On Monday se'nnight, at Mansfield, Mr John Brown, of Wigan, stationer, to Miss Whiteman [*sic*], daughter of Mr. Whiteman [*sic*], of the former place.'

<sup>199</sup> On Elizabeth Wightman, see note 916.

<sup>200</sup> See <http://www.airgale.com.au/booth/d5.htm#g5> and <http://www.airgale.com.au/booth/d6.htm#i39487>. Mary's father George Wightman is perhaps to be identified with the George Wightman of Mansfield who married Elizabeth Booth (born in 1758 in Kirkby in Ashfield, Nottinghamshire; see <http://www.airgale.com.au/booth/d5.htm#g5>) and who in 1810 retired from business and sold at auction his property consisting of a three-storey house, extensive malt offices, and a plot of land. (Sale announcement in the *Nottingham journal*, 18th October 1810.) In addition to the two daughters Mary and Elizabeth, he was perhaps also father of two sons, George and William Saxton Wightman, whose partnership as 'booksellers, seedsmen, etc. of Selston in Nottinghamshire' was dissolved by mutual consent on the 12th January 1842 (*London gazette*, issue no. 20102 [24th May 1842] p. 1398.) George Wightman jun. is thus perhaps to be identified with the London publisher George Wightman (with premises at 24 Paternoster Row, London), active between 1825 and 1841, who was responsible for publication of several journals including *The Baptist magazine* and the issue of works by some of the Baptist authors referred to by Harris, including John Gill and William Jones, as well as Joseph Jones. Writing to John Brown on the 11th February 1824 (Letter 4), Harris asked Brown when writing to London that he might 'remember me respectfully... to my old friend G. Wightman,' adding the comment, 'I think he *was* seriously inclined; is he so still? London is not favourable to young converts.' These remarks would seem to suggest that Harris had known George Wightman during the time of his own residence in London (1789/90-1799/1800) and that the latter's experience there might in some way have included dissuasions from piety that he himself had encountered there. Wightman's subsequent publishing activities testify to his strength of character in persisting in devoted Christian service. Rosemary Taylor has listed ten Baptist journals published at some time between 1826 and 1840 under the imprint of G. Wightman or Wightman & Cramp ('English Baptist periodicals, 1790-1865', *The Baptist quarterly*, vol. XXVII [1977-8] pp. 50-82). See also note 674.

<sup>201</sup> <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:NYBM-53T>.

<sup>202</sup> Elizabeth's death on the 17th January 1834, at the age of 23, is recorded in the burials register of St. Paul Independent Chapel, Wigan (see [http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Wigan/Wigan/stpaul/burials\\_1827-1837.html](http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Wigan/Wigan/stpaul/burials_1827-1837.html)).

<sup>203</sup> In February 1836 William Brown married Margaret Meltham in Eversholt, Beds and the couple had at least six children. Censuses show that they lived in Husborne Crawley (1841 & 1851) and Leighton Buzzard (1861). When he proved his father's will in June 1842, he was then living in Woburn, Bedfordshire, where he was serving as a Dissenting minister (Brown, *Will*).

<sup>204</sup> George Wightman Brown went on to become manager of the Whitehaven Bank in Cumberland. On the 28th October 1841, when still a banker's clerk, he became married to Caroline Elizabeth Culverwell at Rusholme Road Independent Church in Manchester, on which occasion one of the witnesses, a young deacon from the Baptist chapel in York Street, Manchester, was John Rylands, who would become one of the wealthiest cotton manufacturers and philanthropists in nineteenth-century England, a man in whose memory his last wife would erect and furnish the magnificent John Rylands Library in Manchester. G.W. Brown's wife was the daughter of Joseph Pope Culverwell, a Manchester manufacturer and warehouseman, and later secretary to the Dublin and Drogheda Railway Company. In 1842, while living in Manchester (so it is noted in Brown, *Will*), G.W. Brown, with his wife and children, joined in fellowship among those who became known as Plymouth Brethren. (Although space forbids elaboration in this place, there is some evidence too that John Rylands's personal convictions were much in sympathy with Brethren but he, like Samuel Harris, worked for a greater

account for Harris's occasional use in his letters to Brown of such expressions as 'your family' and 'your children', 'your eldest son' (Letter 4), and in Letter 6 (written in 1827), he comments, 'Your children are now rising men and women', though at that time there were certainly still infants in the Brown household.

John Brown was among the early printers in the Lancashire town of Wigan,<sup>206</sup> where he conducted his book-related business. The range of Brown's business activities is suggested by an undated bookplate, the text of which reads: 'This book belongs to J. Brown's Circulating Library, No. 2, Standishgate, Wigan,' followed by terms of membership and the following announcements: 'Books bound in elegant, neat, or plain bindings. Magazines, reviews, &c. regularly procured. Libraries, or parcels of books, purchased or taken in exchange.'<sup>207</sup> Other aspects of Brown's business included his agency in Wigan for the Protector Fire Insurance Company,<sup>208</sup> and also for the lottery tickets of the London firm of T. Bish.<sup>209</sup> Brown was listed as a bookseller in Millgate, Wigan in *Holden's triennial directory* for 1811,<sup>210</sup> but the imprints of his publications suggest that his main printing establishment was at no. 2,

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union between Independent and Baptist Christians. See further D.A. Farnie, *John Rylands of Manchester* [Manchester, 1993] pp. 17-19, 36; *idem*, 'The Wiener thesis vindicated: the onslaught of 1994 upon the reputation of John Rylands of Manchester', in D.J. Jeremy (ed.), *Religion, business, and wealth in modern Britain* [London, 1998], pp. 86-107.) G.W. Brown's first wife Caroline bore him at least two daughters and a son, John Joseph Brown, a Middle Temple barrister. Caroline died in 1853, after which, in 1861, George married again, this time Mary Walther (1829-1914), daughter of the London bookseller (thus, a marriage of two booksellers' children) David Walther, who was active in publishing numerous pamphlets within the readership circle of the so-called Plymouth Brethren. George and Mary had two children the second of whom was their daughter Edith Mary Brown (1864-1956). Edith was educated at Girton College, Cambridge, achieved recognition for her work in the Christian Medical College, Ludhiana, India, the first medical training institution for women in Asia, and for her services was honoured with the title Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire. (See R.B. Dietrick, *The man the church forgot and other early medical missionaries who made a difference* [n. pl., 2007] p. 120; & F. French, *Miss Brown's hospital* [London, 1954].)

<sup>205</sup> See <http://www.airgale.com.au/booth/d6.htm#i39487>.

<sup>206</sup> According to H. Fishwick (*A history of Lancashire* [London, 1894] p. 272), the first books began to be printed in Wigan about the year 1760. In fact, more than 40 books had been printed at the recusant press of Roger Anderton at Birchley Hall near Wigan in the first half of the seventeenth century, the last book being printed there in 1643, but there was no further printing in Wigan until William Bancks started production in the 1760s (Folkard [WD, p. 69] suggested the period 1766-1791 for Bancks's printing activities). Bancks was followed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by members of the Lyon family, including Dorothy Critchley (see note 301), and it seems possible that Brown bought his business from one of these.

<sup>207</sup> A specimen of this bookplate has been preserved in the Wigan Archives. A catalogue of John Brown's Circulating Library, stating its location as 'opposite the Royal Hotel, Standishgate, Wigan', was issued in 1821. Terms laid out at the beginning of the catalogue stated that in-town subscribers were to be allowed one set of books at a time, while country subscribers were allowed two. See <http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/guide/libraries/brown.html>. In addition, it has been observed that in his circulating library Brown was 'tailoring his business towards the particular reading needs (and, crucially, the much shallower pockets) of working people' by 'offering a flat-rate charge of just two pence for the five-day loan of a duodecimo volume and three pence for a full week in possession of an octavo.' (P. Garside & K. O'Brien [eds.], *The Oxford history of the novel in English, vol. 2: English and British fiction 1750-1820* [Oxford, 2016] pp. 67 f. [where Brown's first name is erroneously given as 'James']).

<sup>208</sup> His name appears frequently in the advertisements placed by this insurance company in *The Lancaster gazette*, e.g. on the 10th January 1831 and the 22nd June 1833.

<sup>209</sup> See the advertisement in *The Chester courant* of the 14th May 1816 and other dates.

<sup>210</sup> So Whelan, *BA*, p. 77, n. 131. The 1811 Census returns for Millgate, Wigan also contain an entry for 'John Brown, stationer', with a household consisting of three males and three females.

Standishgate.<sup>211</sup> He must have gained recognition as a leading citizen of Wigan since, in 1820, he was nominated and elected as one of the very few persons in the town to hold the rank of burgess, allowing him voting rights in parliamentary elections. In addition, he served as postmaster for Wigan from the end of 1831 until 1839,<sup>212</sup> when he resigned the post, perhaps foreseeing the radical alterations that would have to be made in the running of the post office with the introduction of the penny post in 1840. Like Samuel Harris, John Brown took an active interest in encouraging the work of Bible distribution in the early years when Bible societies were beginning to develop, so that we find his name, both as a subscriber and as one whose services were paid for, in a report of the Wigan Bible Society.<sup>213</sup> Brown also served as one of the trustees of the Wigan Institution for the Diffusion of Knowledge, a philanthropic activity concerned for the education of those not readily favoured with access to informative lectures and books.<sup>214</sup> His printing and publishing activities spanned three decades (1808-1838) and among more than 80 publications bearing his Wigan imprint that the present writer has been able to discover and which indeed must constitute only a portion of the printed items that Brown executed, we find a wide variety of religious works from the pens of Anglican, Roman Catholic, Unitarian, Congregationalist, Baptist, and Methodist writers. Brown's liberal attitude surmounting denominational blinkers is illustrated by his support, over at least a decade, of the Anglican-based Wigan Sunday Schools Penny Society. Thus, in a poster headed *Address to the public, Wigan, 24th of May, 1813*, containing a plea for support of this society and a list of resolutions made at the meeting held on that date, the 17th resolution recorded: 'That the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Brown, for his liberal offer of printing for the Society gratuitously; and also, for his kind Services on a former occasion.' John Brown's name appears again among the subscribers to funds in the *Report of the accounts of the Wigan Sunday Schools*, dated the 1st January 1823, and printed by John Brown himself.<sup>215</sup> As was to be expected, John Brown's printing output also included many jobbing works for various local societies, associations, and clubs.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> This is the address stated in many of Brown's imprints from at least as early as 1808. See also Pigot, *CD* 1818.

<sup>212</sup> See the Great Britain Philatelic Society's list of deputy postmaster appointments at <http://www.gbps.org.uk/information/po-appointments/dates.php>. Brown's appointment to the office of Postmaster of Wigan, 'in the room of Miss Lyon, deceased,' was announced in *The Lancaster gazette* of the 28th January 1832 (see also note 305). W.T. Harris acknowledged Brown's position by addressing the last letter in this series to 'Mr. John Brown, Post-Master & Stationer, Wigan'.

<sup>213</sup> In the *Seventh annual report of the Wigan Bible Society, 1815* the name of John Brown appears among those of other subscribers to the society, some of whom receive mention elsewhere in Harris's letters (e.g. David Brown, Mr. Bretherton, Thomas and James Newsham, Mr. Hammersley, Mrs. Lyon the bookseller, Mr. Tennant, Mr. Nevill, H. Gaskell, Mr. Stock, and Mr. Skirrow), and his name is given, along with that of another bookseller, Mrs. Lyon, as a person designated by the society to receive subscriptions on its behalf.

<sup>214</sup> See *Rules of the Wigan Institution for the Diffusion of Knowledge, established Jan. 12, 1838*, p. 2.

<sup>215</sup> Specimens of both these documents survive in Wigan Archives.

<sup>216</sup> Among these were: the Adult and Sunday Schools Friendly Society, Lamberhead Green Amicable Society, the Universal Friendly Society, Wigan Catch and Glee Club, and Wigan Operatives' Reform Association. The earliest and latest publications of John Brown that the editor has been able to trace are: Universal Friendly Society, *Rules and orders* (1808) and Benjamin Powell's *Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of Balcarres, in reply to the unfounded aspersions of his lordship on the character and conduct of the Rev. B. Powell* (1838). These two and many other publications by John Brown are listed in Folkard, *WD* and a fuller listing is in preparation by the editor of these letters.

John Brown was a member of the Baptist Church meeting in Lord Street, Wigan, having been baptized, along with five others, on the 14th February 1819 by James Lister at Liverpool and brought into membership of the church in Wigan on the 7th March following.<sup>217</sup> This was perhaps through his wife's leading, since the record indicates that Mrs. Mary Lee Brown had been baptized and admitted as a member of Lord Street Baptist Church more than six years previously, on the 30th August 1812.<sup>218</sup> Furthermore, there was a strong Baptist tradition in Mary Lee's family since she herself was the granddaughter of the renowned Particular Baptist minister and author Abraham Booth (1734-1806).<sup>219</sup>

In the letters written by Samuel Harris to John Brown, Harris often sought to persuade his friend in Wigan to emigrate with his family to the New World, and to this end he wrote detailed and helpful advice, gained from his own experience, on how to achieve the relocation. Remarks made by Harris do suggest that Brown was seriously minded to take the great step, but in the end, for whatever reasons, Brown decided to remain where he was in Lancashire. In fact, as his will, written on the 24th June 1835, shows, John Brown had saved and invested fairly widely in property in the Fylde region and in the valley of the River Wyre in Lancashire,<sup>220</sup> clearly with the provident aim of securing income in his retirement and of providing for his wife and the education and upbringing of his numerous children. It would not have been an easy matter for him to dispose of these properties and to contemplate other means of supplying the security that he had already worked for and provided for his family in England.

John Brown continued active in stationery-based activities until at least 1839, after which his business in Wigan came into other hands. The 1841 Census shows him living in retirement at a house called Pickerings<sup>221</sup> in his native Catterall, along

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<sup>217</sup> *BCBLSW*, p. 11.

<sup>218</sup> *BCBLSW*, pp. 1, 10.

<sup>219</sup> In his will signed and sealed on the 27th February 1805, Abraham Booth left to his granddaughter Mary Lee Wightman the sum of £150 (which would have an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £5,000/\$7,445 in 2016) in annuities, the capital and interest not to be released until Mary reached the age of 24. See E.A. Payne, 'Abraham Booth and some of his descendants', *Baptist quarterly*, vol. XVI (1955-6) p. 198. There is a link here with Samuel Harris, for Samuel's father-in-law, William Fox, had served as a deacon in the church of which Abraham Booth was the respected pastor. See Power, *RPSS*, p. 226.

<sup>220</sup> His estate included *property* in Esprick, near Greenhalgh on the Kirkham to Fleetwood road; in Out Rawcliffe; and in Stalmine, all in the Fylde district of Lancashire; as well as *shares* in the cotton factory in Higher Wyresdale (probably at Scorton); in sheep stock and machinery; and in the New Hollins public house in Forton, Lancashire; all in addition to household goods; money and securities; the stock and effects of his printing and bookselling business in Wigan; and a house which he later purchased and rented out to the family of his friend (not related) David Brown on Wigan Lane, Wigan. (Brown, *Will*.)

<sup>221</sup> A messuage known as the Pickerings had existed in Catterall since at least as early as 1712 (see indenture dated 14th February 1712 in Lancashire Archives, DDFZ/535), but the large house standing in its own grounds surrounded by tall trees and surviving into the twenty-first century was built in the late eighteenth century on the east side of Garstang Road, just south of the road's junction with Stones Lane. A former resident of the Pickerings was James Pedder while incumbent of St. Thomas's, Garstang, until 1835 when his father died and he succeeded him as vicar of St. Helen in Churchtown. Some history of the property and of those who dwelt there is given in A. Hewitson, *Northward: historic, topographic, residential, and scenic gleanings, &c., between Preston and Lancaster* (Preston, 1900) p. 48. During the time of John Brown's and his family's residence there, the house was probably owned by Henry B. Fielding, proprietor of the calico printing works (which collapsed in 1831) at Catterall on the River Calder near to its confluence with the River Wyre. (Some account of the

with his wife and two daughters: Mary (aged 20) and Frances (aged 13). On the 9th May 1842, still in Catterall, he died, aged 56,<sup>222</sup> and was buried on the 13th May at the Church of St. Helen in Churchtown, near Garstang in Lancashire.<sup>223</sup> His wife, Mary Lee, died on the 15th April 1847<sup>224</sup> and was interred in the same grave.<sup>225</sup> The memorial inscription over the family grave at St. Helen's, Churchtown reads as follows:

In memory of William Brown<sup>226</sup> of Garstang, who died June XIth MDCCCXXXII aged XLIII years. Also Ann, wife of the above, who parted this life September XXVIth MDCCCXXXV aged XXXIV years. Also of John Brown of Catterall, his brother, who died on the IXth of May, MDCCCXLII, in the LVIIth year of his age. Also of Mary Lee Brown, wife of the above named John Brown, who died XVth April, MDCCCXLVII, aged LXII years. Also of John Arminson, of Garstang, brother-in-law of the above, who died August 16th, 1856, aged 60 years. Also Elizabeth, wife of the above John Arminson, who died August 22nd, 1864, aged 67 years.

With regard to the couple inscribed last on the gravestone, John and William Brown's sister Elizabeth had married John Arminson of Burnley on the 15th September 1829 at St. Helen's, Churchtown.<sup>227</sup> The Brown names were perpetuated in the next generation, for William Brown Arminson was born to John and Elizabeth on the 27th December 1830 and the twins Mary Elizabeth and John Arminson were born to them on the 22nd May 1835.<sup>228</sup>

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Fielding calico printing works in Catterall may be found in C.A. Russell, *Lancastrian chemist: the early years of Sir Edward Frankland* [Milton Keynes, 1986] pp. 27-32, 42.) Sometime in the early 1840s, the property was renamed, somewhat oddly considering its size, 'Catterall Cottage', but the name 'The Pickerings' was reinstated when the property became a hotel and restaurant in the 1970s. The Pickerings closed suddenly in January 2013 and was later scheduled to be demolished after Wyre Council had given planning permission for ten new luxury homes to be built on the site.

<sup>222</sup> The date 9th May is that stated in the proving of John Brown's will. Similarly, the death announcement in *The Manchester times* for the 21st May 1842 read: 'On the 9th inst., at Catterall, near Garstang, Mr. John Brown, bookseller, late of Wigan.'

<sup>223</sup> *BCBSW*, p. 31; and burial register at [http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Garstang/sthelen/burials\\_1837-1842.html](http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Garstang/sthelen/burials_1837-1842.html). Confirmation (with photocopy of the entry) that Brown's age at death was entered as 56 in the original document and that the transcript in the web site referred to is correct (see above notes 196 & 197), has kindly been supplied by the parish clerk, Elaine Ashworth.

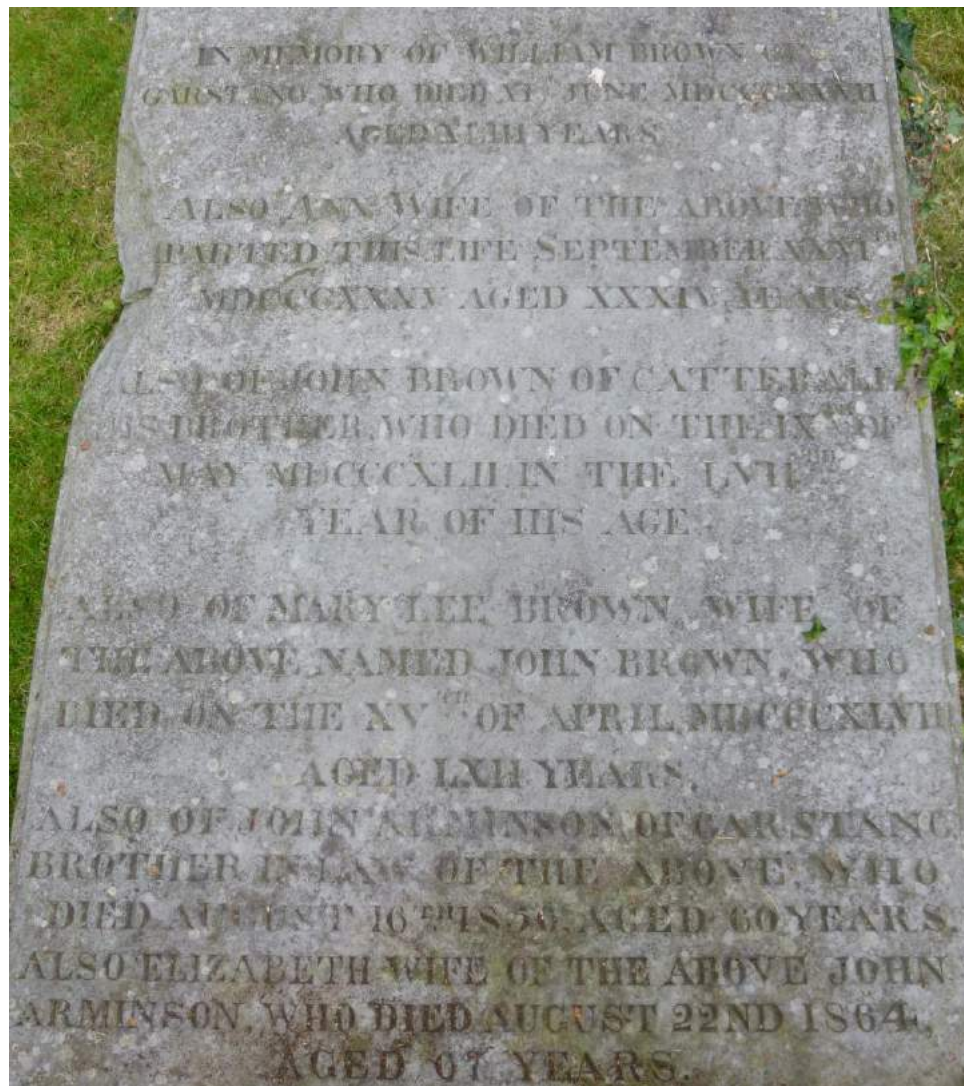
<sup>224</sup> Announcement of the death was made in *The Blackburn standard* for the 21st April 1847: '... after a short illness, at Bonds, near Garstang, aged 62, Mary, widow of the late Mr. John Brown, for many years bookseller, &c., in Wigan.'

<sup>225</sup> *BCBSW*, p. 1.

<sup>226</sup> This William Brown, the brother of John Brown, is not to be confused with the William Brown discussed among the 'other Browns' in Appendix II. A William Brown, shoemaker of High St., Garstang is listed in a directory of 1825 (Baines, *CPL*, vol. II, p.642).

<sup>227</sup> Interestingly, John Arminson, like Samuel Harris, was a druggist, Arminson having a business on St. James Street, Burnley (*Pigot and Co.'s national commercial directory for 1828-9*, p. 234).

<sup>228</sup> Baptismal register of St. Peter, Burnley.



**The memorial inscription stone over the grave of John Brown and family members in the burial ground of St. Helen's, Churchtown, Lancashire**

## A note on editorial policy

Every effort has been made to transcribe the letters in this collection as accurately as possible. To avoid too frequent use of [*sic*], however, silent amendments have been made to some of Harris's consistent idiosyncrasies, as for example his stumbling at the 'i before e' rule of orthography (thus: *neice*, *recieve*, and *cieling*), and his writing 'every one', 'any thing' and 'any one' rather than the composite words 'everyone', 'anything' and 'anyone'. He also tended to prefer the prefix *in-* to the more regular *en-*, so that words like *inforced*, *intirely*, and *inclosed* have been adjusted to their more normal spelling with *en-*. Past participles written with *-d*, instead of *-ed* have all been regularized to the *-ed* termination and *tho* has similarly been modernized to *though*. Harris, a native Englishman, was accustomed to English orthography in the pre-Webster mode and this has been preserved, so that American spellings are not adopted in this transcription. Harris employed an irregular punctuation system and for the sake of grammatical clarity, as he did not begin new sentences with capital letters, effort has been made in transcribing the correspondence to make the proper breaks between sentences and to punctuate according to modern standards. Modern usage in respect of capital initials has been employed throughout. Where Harris underlined words or passages, underlining has been replaced by italic font according to regular printing practice, to render the text easier on the reader's eyes. His occasional double underlining is represented by bold italics. Lacunae in the text are noted thus [.....] and uncertainty deriving from darkened and rubbed words near to the margins of the paper is represented by a question mark within brackets: [?]. Words accidentally omitted from Harris's text and words or parts of words supplied to fill out the meaning are similarly enclosed within brackets.



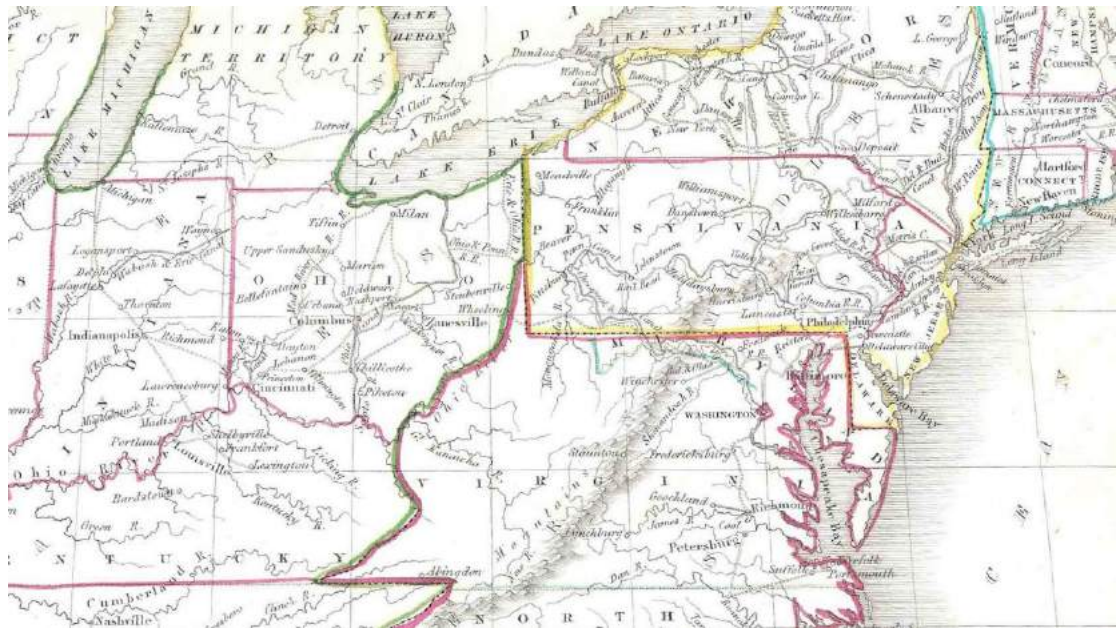








**A contemporary view of Wigan viewed from the north-west, painted by T. Whitehouse. The parish church of All Saints surmounted by mast and flag is seen on the right and to its immediate left the towers of the Town Hall and (possibly) the Commercial Hall. The rising ground on the horizon, beyond the undepicted River Douglas accommodates the districts of Whelley, Longshoot, and Scholes.**



**Sectional map of States of the eastern USA, from T.G. Bradford, *A comprehensive atlas geographical, historical, & commercial* (Boston, 1835), indicating the position of Philadelphia and the territory traversed to reach Aurora, Indiana, which lies slightly south of the point where the borders of the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky meet, just beneath Lawrenceburg, as indicated in the map**



## **Preliminary thoughts for historians**

*History is useful and I find it so.*

(Samuel Harris)

*Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost.*

(John 6. 12)

*The overseer of the farm of Martha's Vineyard, was a good sort of an old woman enough, if he had been left to himself. His name was Caleb, to which was added the surname of Strong, which whether it arose from his being a strong man, or a great lover of strong liquors, I cannot tell with any degree of certainty, and will not therefore pretend to decide. This I hope will be an example to all other historians who affect to know every thing.*

(James Kirke Paulding, *The diverting history of John Bull and Brother Jonathan*  
[New York & Philadelphia, 1812] p. 119)

*Whatever has happened lies out of reach, deep down, deeper than anyone can fathom.*

(Ecclesiastes 7. 24)

## The letters

### Letter 1: 7th-14th July 1821

Philadelphia  
7 July 1821

[Addressed to 'Mr. John Brown, Bookseller, Wigan'; and endorsed 'Rec[eive]d August 18th, 1821']<sup>229</sup>

Dear friend,

On the day after our arrival here<sup>230</sup> I addressed my brother<sup>231</sup> requesting him to advise you of our safety from Bristol. Time was not then sufficient to allow me to address to any of my northern friends. Our voyage was rather tedious,<sup>232</sup> but as the different heads of the families had determined there should be no discord, there was none. Among so many children, and not all of them the most orderly, it was a wonder to me that squabbles did not occasionally arise. As we were all mixed together many little incidents occurred, tending to develop character, and we consequently became better acquainted with each other, by being thus jumbled together for seven weeks, than we could have by occasional intercourse on land for seven years. Our state room was occupied by W.T.H.<sup>233</sup> & his bride,<sup>234</sup> & sister.<sup>235</sup> In the cabin slept, on the larboard side, Mr. & Mrs. Thos. Grundy – Mr. & Mrs. Edmund Grundy,<sup>236</sup> on the upper tier. Under them were four Misses Grundy, & three Masters Gr[undy]. On the upper tier starboard, myself & wife & two elder Misses Wadsworth; beneath, Mrs. Wadsworth & the two children,<sup>237</sup> and two more Grundy boys. In the steerage were

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<sup>229</sup> Unlike the other letters in this series, this one is without postal markings and no further destination address than 'Mr. John Brown, Bookseller, Wigan', suggesting that it was probably delivered by the hand of some person returning to Wigan (perhaps James Wadsworth; see remarks in Letter 2), as indeed is suggested by Harris's mention later in this letter of his seeking 'another medium for correspondence' in place of Dr. William Staughton.

<sup>230</sup> The Philadelphia Passenger and Immigration Lists, 1800-1850 record that Samuel Harris and his party arrived in that port on the 25th June 1821 aboard the vessel *Halcyon*, which must have sailed from Liverpool on or before the 15th April 1821 (but see note 364). Thus, the voyagers must have been in the mid Atlantic on the momentous day of the 5th May 1821, when Napoleon Bonaparte died in exile in the south Atlantic island of St. Helena. The *Halcyon* was a vessel of 312 tons burthen, 'Philadelphia built, of live oak and cedar, coppered and copper-fastened' (*Gore's general advertiser*, vol. LIV, no. 2688 [17th July 1817]), registered to the Philadelphia owners Benjamin Jones and Jonathan Leedom, and sailing under the ship's master Isaac S. Wooster. The Harris party's safe arrival in Philadelphia was announced in a letter written to the *Liverpool mercury* newspaper, published on the 31st August 1821. See the text of this letter and other passenger information in Appendix III.

<sup>231</sup> That is, his brother Francis, who was then resident in Bristol. Harris regularly uses the phrase 'my brother' of Francis, rather than of his eldest brother John, suggesting some family estrangement from the latter, on which see remarks under the section dealing with Francis Harris in the Introduction.

<sup>232</sup> Cf. the comment of Harris's fellow-traveller James Kay (see Appendix IV): 'a very unpleasant voyage'.

<sup>233</sup> That is, the writer's son, William Tell Harris, on whom see the Introduction.

<sup>234</sup> That is, Catalina Harris (*née* Wadsworth), on whom see the Introduction.

<sup>235</sup> That is, Susanna, W.T. Harris's sister and daughter of Samuel Harris, on whom see the Introduction.

<sup>236</sup> On Edmund Grundy and his son Alfred, see Appendix IV.

<sup>237</sup> On the children of Catalina Wadsworth, see Appendixes III & IV.

quartered forty-one, besides our negro steward.<sup>238</sup> During the first month, scarcely two hours passed in a day without a psalm sung either by Edmd. Grundy solus, or about twelve or more of us in band, and, when the weather permitted, assisted by a bass viol, two violins, two clarionettes, and two flutes. At these seasons it was generally my lot to parcel out the psalm.<sup>239</sup> Our pious steward appeared to enjoy our evening song, which was generally the 36th Rippons Sel.<sup>240</sup> The weather was such that we could have a regular Sabbath service only three times, though we were on board eight Sundays. The last<sup>241</sup> was spent in the Delaware, the hottest day known here this summer, almost a perfect calm, thermometer at 93<sup>242</sup> over the ship's side in the shade at 3 p.m. It was a laborious day to the crew.

On the Monday<sup>243</sup> a young man came on board to inquire if [there was] any passenger from Wigan or neighbourhood. The mate pointed me out to him, mentioning my name. He came to me, & asked if I were related to Harris, the druggist there, but would scarcely believe that I was the same he had seen there four years ago. He had married one of John Wallis[']s daughters,<sup>244</sup> as Lamb<sup>245</sup> told me

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<sup>238</sup> For the full register of Harris's fellow-voyagers, see the *Halcyon's* passenger manifest in Appendix III.

<sup>239</sup> The custom of parcelling, or lining, out in psalm singing had its origins in times of public illiteracy, but it continued in the Puritan mode of psalmody with a precentor 'parcelling out' the lines of psalms in a call and response system, the congregation echoing the words uttered by the precentor. The system was possibly employed by these voyaging Christians partly in view of some illiteracy among the children but also most probably on account of an insufficient number of hymn books then available to supply all the singers. Paradoxically, John Rippon in the Preface to his *Selection of hymns* (see following note) specifically argued against the current practice of parcelling out and advocated instead a brisker manner of hymn-singing, a practice which he said was 'gaining ground in some congregations of the first note in London, at Bristol [where Harris had passed earlier years in his life], and elsewhere'.

<sup>240</sup> John Rippon (1751–1836) was an English Baptist minister, who in 1787 published an important hymnal: *A selection of hymns from the best authors, intended to be an appendix to Dr. Watts's Psalms and hymns*, commonly known as *Rippon's selection*, which was well received, being reprinted 27 times in over 200,000 copies. The evening song referred to by Harris, no. 36 in the *Selection*, was appropriately 'The traveler's psalm' written by Joseph Addison (1672–1719), containing the lines 'When by the dreadful tempest borne, / High on the broken wave, / They know thou art not slow to hear, / Nor impotent to save. // The storm is laid, the winds retire, / Obedient to thy will: / The sea, that roars at thy command, / At thy command is still.' Another of Rippon's major literary contributions was *The Baptist annual register*, which he edited from 1790 to 1803. It is referred to by Harris in Letter 8. He was quite possibly personally known to Harris during Harris's residence in London during the 1790s, since Rippon served as pastor of the Carter Lane Baptist Church in Southwark, London from 1773 to 1836. See further S. James, 'John Rippon (1751–1836)' in M.A.G. Haykin (ed.), *The British Particular Baptists 1638–1910*, vol. II (Springfield, Miss., 2000) pp. 56–75; and note 683.

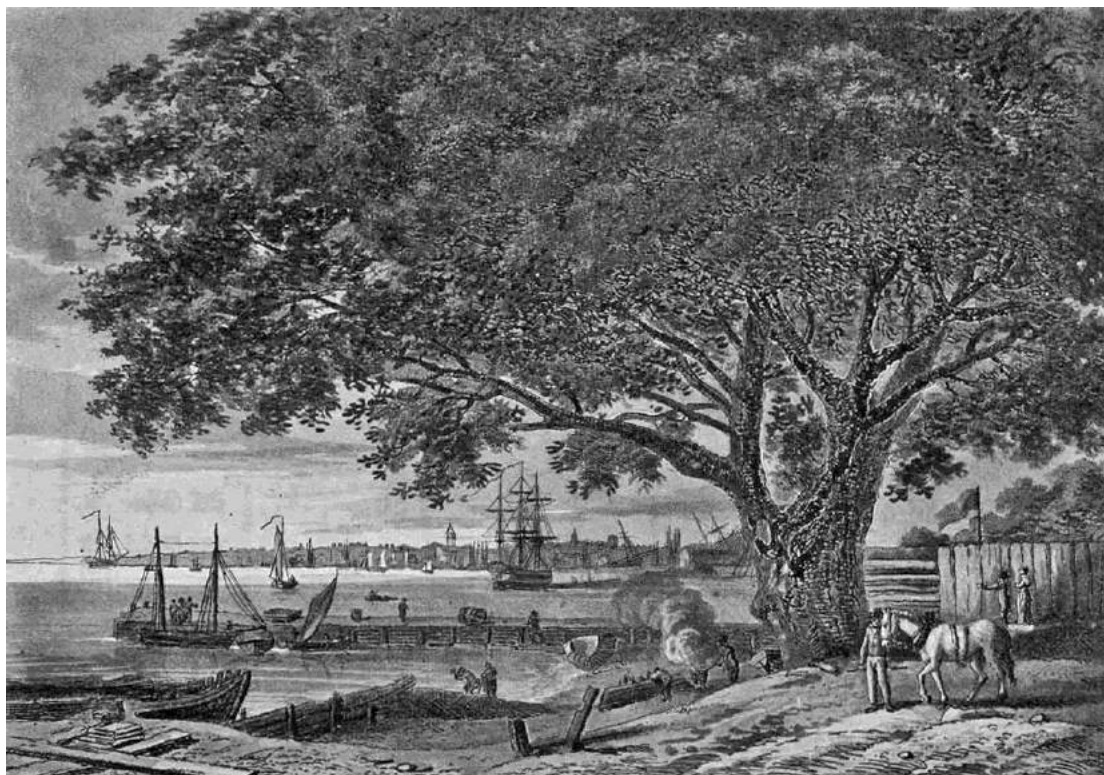
<sup>241</sup> That is, Sunday the 24th June 1821.

<sup>242</sup> Approximately equivalent to 34 degrees on the Celsius scale.

<sup>243</sup> That is, the 25th June 1821.

<sup>244</sup> It is clear that Harris wrote *John Wallis daughter's* and the incorrect use of the apostrophe has been omitted in the transcription. However, this is the only example in this series of letters of Harris's omitting the possessive termination 's after names ending in s, since elsewhere he writes e.g. 'Chalmers's', 'Harris's', 'Banks's', 'Jones's', 'Watts's', 'Graves's', and 'Quarles's'. *Wallis* seems therefore suspicious and the possibility arises that Harris's intention was to write *Walls's* (the apparent *i* resolving itself into a possible *s*). This possibility is strengthened by the fact that the records of the 1941 Census (the earliest available with complete names information) show only one person with the surname Wallis in Wigan, while no less than 119 persons with the surname Walls are recorded, 8 of them bearing the name John Walls. There was certainly a John Walls who was a member of St. Paul Independent Church in Wigan and the church's baptismal records testify that he had three daughters: Ellen (b. 15th March 1796), Alice (b. 14th February 1798), and Ann (b. 28th December 1799).

the next day. The latter says he is now doing tolerably well: he is employed in or connected with a mill in the neighbourhood, & his wife keeps a public house in the outskirts of the city.



**View of the city and port of Philadelphia, seen from Kensington, published in C.W. Janson's *The stranger in America* (London, 1807)**

You may judge how depressed commerce of every kind is here by the price of lodgings & boarding. We are in the loftiest private house in the city, very spacious apartments, a well-spread table thrice in the day; we occupy four chambers and six beds – and for this I pay  $3\frac{1}{2}$  dollars p[er] week each. Two years ago the price in this house was 8 dollars. Washing at  $\frac{2}{3}$  p[er] dozen. I am to be waggoned to Wheeling<sup>246</sup>

<sup>245</sup> Possibly another emigrant from Wigan. A William Lamb, baker and flour dealer of Standishgate, is listed in a Wigan directory of 1816, while Pigot, *CD* 1818 also lists William Lamb as a baker and flour dealer of Standishgate, with corn and flour dealer premises also in Scholes.

<sup>246</sup> That is, Wheeling, in West Virginia, where, during the summer months, the journey could be continued by steamboat down the Ohio River. Before dams were built at points along the Ohio to maintain summer water levels, Wheeling was preferred above Pittsburgh as a place of embarkation on the river as there was less chance of vessels' grounding on shallows below this point. Navigable rivers were excluded from private ownership and made common assets for the use of all citizens of the USA: 'The Mississippi, the Ohio, and all the navigable rivers and waters leading into either, or into the St. Lawrence, remain common highways, and forever free to all citizens of the United States, without any tax, impost or duty therefore.' (A. Seybert, *Statistical annals: embracing views of the population, commerce, navigation, fisheries, public lands... of the United States, founded in official documents, etc.* [Philadelphia, 1818]) p. 353.) This being so, Harris and others residing near the banks of the Ohio must have witnessed an immense amount of traffic passing freely along the river's course.

for 3 dollars p[er] 100 [pounds?]<sup>247</sup>. The price used to be from 5 to 7. At this time flour is a dollar p[er] barrel at Pittsburgh and still lower farther westward, so that my expenses previous to our eating bread of our own growth will be every way much less than I had calculated upon. Added to this, the exchange is sufficiently in my favour to cover nearly the whole of my expenses from Southport<sup>248</sup> to the Delaware. To set off against this, the custom house duties amount to much more than I suspected, though the officers have behaved very genteelly; the collector has encouraged me to address the government on account of my books, which they have valued at 200 £<sup>249</sup> after allowing 100 volumes for our use during the voyage, as *stores*.<sup>250</sup> Should you ever have to pack up for exportation, it may [be] of use to remember that all books printed since 1787 are entitled to a draw-back in your ports, which will help to pay the duty here. They should be by themselves, as they will be examined before the allowance is made by your officers.

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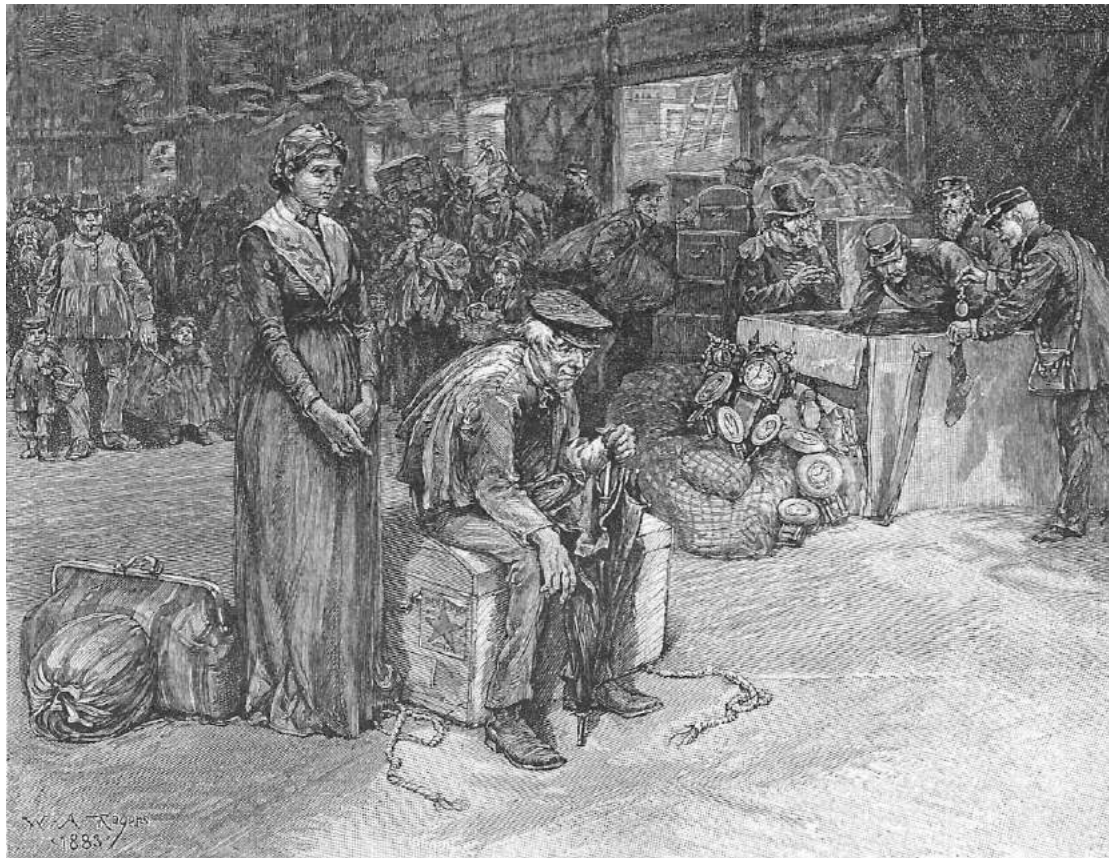
<sup>247</sup> No defining noun is written, but ‘pounds’ is more probable than ‘miles’. Cf. W.T. Harris’s comment in 1818: ‘my luggage is forwarded to Pittsburgh [from Philadelphia], at the rate of five dollars per 100 lb.’ (*RTUSA*, p. 77.) In accord with this, in 1822 John Woods reported that wagon hiring was normally by 100 lb. weight and that some of his party set out from Baltimore to Pittsburgh, paying \$4.25 per 100 lb. weight of luggage. (*TYR*, pp. 32 f.)

<sup>248</sup> Southport, on England’s Lancashire coast, lies approximately 15 miles to the north of Liverpool, the Harris family’s port of embarkation for North America. As Samuel and Sarah Harris’s son, William Tell, might well have resided in North Meols (later Southport – see note 88), the family as a group perhaps foregathered in Southport before setting forward on their journey to America, no doubt making use of the packet boats that navigated the Leeds-Liverpool Canal, which took a loop bringing it within four miles of North Meols.

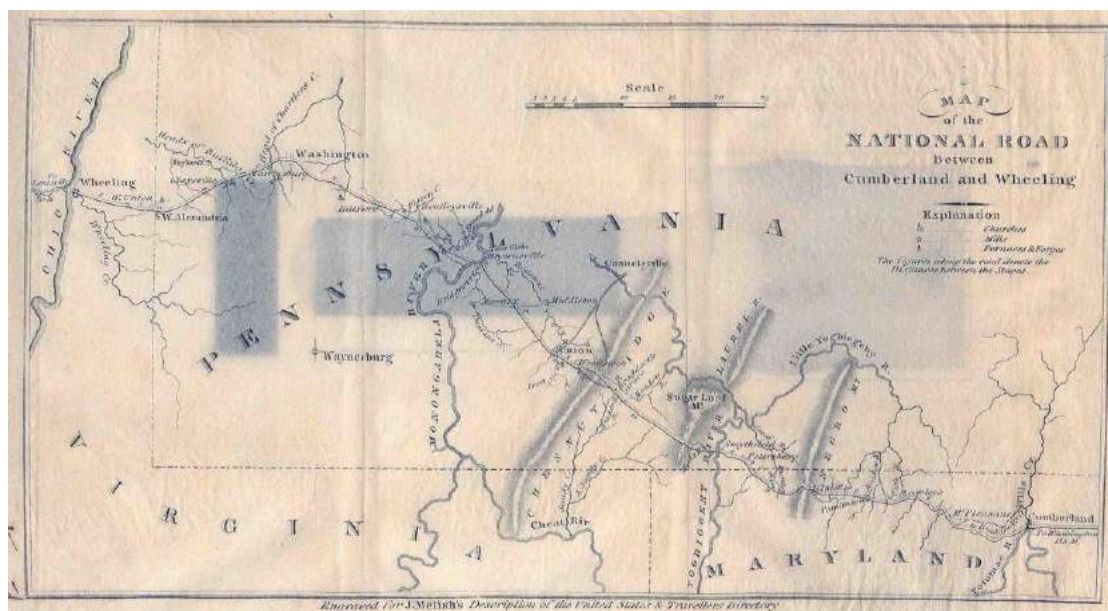
<sup>249</sup> £200 would have an approximately equivalent purchasing power of £8,400/\$12,664 in 2016.

<sup>250</sup> According to *PD 1822*, the duties payable on books imported to the USA, effective from the 30th June 1818, were 15% *ad valorem* on American and British books, and 16.5% on foreign, other than British, books, so that the duty Harris would have had to remit, after the generous deduction noted by him in this place, would have been in the order of £30 (approximately equivalent to £1,260 or \$1,900 in 2016). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the British government put in place various regimes of tax bounties and drawbacks to encourage trade and export of goods, and it was to these laws that Harris must have been directed as a means of offsetting the costs of his importing his library to the USA.





**Artist's impression of immigrants' baggage inspection (New York custom house, 1883),  
from *Harper's monthly magazine*, 1884**



**Map of the western extent of the National Road across Pennsylvania between  
Cumberland and Wheeling, where travellers could voyage further westward via the  
Ohio River<sup>251</sup>**

<sup>251</sup> The map was engraved for J. Melish's *Geographical description of the United States, with the contiguous British and Spanish possessions* (Philadelphia, 1822). The National Road west (originally

You would be much pleased with this city. The profusion of elegant marble, which decorates almost every house, adds to its beauty: long and wide slabs form the steps to the doors, under every pump and spout is a marble block, hollowed & polished; it forms the frame to the cellar windows, and frequently where the wide footway is not paved with brick, you walk on handsome marble flags.<sup>252</sup> The front railings are generally ornamented with brassware knobs. How long would these remain in Standishgate?<sup>253</sup> The English eye is gratified with the sight of un-blocked-up windows.<sup>254</sup> Our chamber has three large sashes, each eleven feet high with neat balconies. I pay five dollars for warehousing my luggage (near our lodgings) for three weeks. Mr. Fox<sup>255</sup> and his family (wife, three children and man) intend to accompany us throughout. The rest of the party seem inclined to tarry in this neighbourhood a little. This will be of advantage to us as we shall travel *in less dust*. Here I may remark that something more than discontent with England & its government is necessary to qualify a man or family for this country. I have met with many who are discontented here, because they have fooled away their property and nobody will feed them or notice them.

On our passage, the captain & one of the mates remarked that there were too many parsons on board. “Had there been only one, we might have regular family worship besides a proper sermon on Sunday: but now there are three of you, neither of you will open your mouths.” Mr. Kay<sup>256</sup> brought forward Chalmers’s *Discourses on Xtianity* as regulating commercial conduct, two of which were read with some curtailment. The third was by a Mr. Turner,<sup>257</sup> not so unexceptionable or consonant with his professions of strict neutrality.<sup>258</sup> We had a few debates conducted in great

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called the Cumberland Road) was proposed in an 1806 Act of Congress, signed by President Jefferson, who appointed the first commissioners. It was planned as a way to tie the states being created from the old Northwest Territory—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan—into the east. Construction began on the section west from Cumberland in 1811 and by 1818 coaches were running between Washington and Wheeling. In 1819 construction came to a halt on account of a financial panic and it was at this time of incomplete construction that Harris and his party would have waggoned their goods down the road to Wheeling. In 1822 a bill for repair of the road and authority to collect tolls passed the Congress, but was vetoed by President Monroe, who held that Congress did not have the right of jurisdiction and construction, but Monroe also recommended a national system of internal improvements. A number of alternatives were examined for additional ‘National Roads’, including a route up the Susquehanna River valley. However, only the Old National Road, today’s US 40, was constructed by the Federal government during the nineteenth century. It was continued west across Ohio in the late 1820s, eventually reaching Vandalia, then the capital of Illinois.

<sup>252</sup> This significant architectural feature of Philadelphia noticed by Harris also caught the attention of the Scottish radical reformer Frances Wright (1795-1852), who travelled to America in 1818-20 and again in 1824 (in the company of Lafayette), and published *Views of society and manners in America* (London, 1821), in which see especially p. 61.

<sup>253</sup> A main street in Wigan, where John Brown had his bookselling business.

<sup>254</sup> One of the unfortunate and unhealthy effects of the window tax, introduced in England in 1696 and not repealed until 1851, was the bricking up of windows in houses in order to incur a reduced tax liability.

<sup>255</sup> On William and Joanna Fox, see Appendix IV. The ‘man’ mentioned by Harris in the parenthesis following was quite possibly Daniel Hepworth (see note 1106).

<sup>256</sup> On James Kay, see Appendix IV.

<sup>257</sup> The third discourse read by James Kay was probably one published by William Turner (1714-1794), a Unitarian minister at Wakefield, who published *Three discourses* (Newcastle, 1803) and *Two discourses* (Newcastle, 1817).

<sup>258</sup> This comment seems to suggest that during the voyage some sort of truce had been struck between the three ministers (Samuel Harris, James Kay, and Edmund Grundy), permitting Christian worship

good humour. Mr. Edmund Grundy proceeds somewhat farther in his deviations from orthodoxy than Mr. Kay does. His brother<sup>259</sup> was a hearer of Mr. Slate<sup>260</sup> at Stand.<sup>261</sup> While upon this subject, I notice that in my application to the government for relief from the customs upon my books, I was obliged to plead for “benefit of *clergy*.” This has already dubbed me among the officers there.

With some difficulty I found out Will[ia]m Haselden.<sup>262</sup> They have removed into the country about five miles distant, across the Schuylkill, where they have a small farm on which they live comfortably. He has plenty of work as shoemaker, & she comes to town two or three times a week with a neat cart<sup>263</sup> & pony, with butter &

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among them (e.g. their united singing of psalms and spiritual songs) by avoiding those doctrines known to be controversial between them. Kay’s reading from discourses of a prominent Unitarian seemed, in Harris’s opinion, to be in breach of their agreed strict neutrality, yet not sufficient a provocation to occasion conflict. Indeed, conflicts of interest between people of different religious persuasions were probably a regular source of friction on board vessels sailing from the Old World to the New. When Grant Thorburn sailed from Leith for New York in April 1794, he found on board with him ‘Presbyterians, Methodists, Universalists, Burghers, Cameronians, Deists, and an Anti-Burgher minister’ and remarked that ‘it was not uncommon to see the minister preaching on the quarter-deck, and singing the old version of David’s Psalms, and at the same time the Universalists... chanting Winchester’s hymns on the fore-castle’ until, ‘At last the captain put a stop to this public contempt, by declaring the Presbyterian religion to be the established religion of his ship.’ (*Forty years’ residence in America* [London, 1834] p. 29.)

<sup>259</sup> Probably Thomas Grundy, who also appears on the passenger manifest of the ship *Halcyon*. See Appendixes III & IV, where it is also noted that Edmund Grundy was the son of Dennis Grundy. A Thomas Grundy (1774-1846), who married Martha Netherwood (1778-1832) and fathered another Edmund Grundy (1799-1846) is also noted to have been a son of Dennis Grundy (<http://www.grundymuseum.org/sites/default/files/Grundy%20Family%20Pedigree.pdf>).

<sup>260</sup> ‘On the 23rd of July, 1826, the Rev. R[ichard] Slate [1787-1867] began duty as regular minister of... [Grimshaw Street Chapel in Preston, Lancashire], and remained at his post until April 7th, 1861, when through old age and growing infirmity he resigned. Mr. Slate was a tiny, careful, smoothly-earnest man, consistent and faithful as a minister, made more for quiet sincere work than dashing labour or dazzling performance; fond of the Puritan divines, a believer in old manuscripts, disposed to tell his audiences every time he got upon a platform how long he had been in the ministry, but in the aggregate well and deservedly respected. No clergyman in Preston has ever stayed so long at one place as Mr. Slate; and Grimshaw-street Chapel since it lost him has many a time had a “slate off” in more respects than one.’ (‘Grimshaw Street Independent Church, Preston in the County of Lancashire’, at <http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Preston/Preston/grimshaw/grimshaw.html>.) The whole of Richard Slate’s ministry, which extended over fifty years, was exercised in Lancashire, first at Stand and then in Preston. (B. Nightingale, *The story of the Lancashire Congregational Union, 1806-1906* [Manchester, 1906] p. 161.) In 1840 Slate published *A brief history of the rise and progress of the Lancashire Congregational Union and of the Blackburn Independent Academy*. A good summary of his life, labours, and publications may be found in *ODNB*.

<sup>261</sup> Stand (the north-west area of Whitefield), was a chapelry, with a village, in Prestwich parish, Lancashire, lying 5½ miles NNW of Manchester.

<sup>262</sup> William Haselden was possibly another person from Wigan who emigrated to the USA sometime before Samuel Harris and his party. A person of that name, the third son of John and Agnes (*née* Lowe) Haselden, was born on the 6th June 1790 (baptism registers of All Saints, Wigan, where his father is entered as a carpenter of Market Street, Wigan). Since Harris connects William Haselden with work as a shoemaker, it seems perhaps likely that he came from a family living in Hallgate, Wigan, referred to in the 1811 Census under the name of the head of the household, Thomas Haselden, shoemaker, consisting of six males and two females.

<sup>263</sup> A ‘neat cart’ would normally be one drawn by a ‘neat’ in the old sense of an animal of the ox-kind. See e.g.: ‘The idolatry of the East-India pagans’ in *A collection of voyages and travels*, vol. III (London, 1704) p. 869 (‘The King... transform’d himself into a little neat Cart, drawn by two white Oxen with gilt Horns’); and *The statutes at large*, vol. VII (London, 1764) p. 608 (‘Waggon, Wain, Cart or other Wheel Carriage... drawn by Oxen or Neat Cattle’). In Mrs. Haselden’s case, however, it would seem that a pony substituted for the usual ox.



milk. She appears likely to add a third to their no. They appear cheerful & comfortable together. Much of the worldly spirit prevails here. The various places of worship are built in a very elegant style and studied display. I have not yet seen one inferior in appearance to Raffles's place.<sup>264</sup> There are I hope many good people here. Perhaps the average may be as great as in London.

9th. Yesterday morning we had the alarm of "Fire", the third time since our landing. These outcries are very frequent, not wonderful, as the houses are generally roofed with shingles which the sun's beams prepare for ignition admirably.

The feeling here towards *your* government is not friendly, & I find it difficult to persuade those I converse with that the majority of the English is in dislike of the government measures.

We have favourable accounts of the road to Pittsburgh<sup>265</sup> from a married lady who came from that city in a gig a fortnight ago, and we are led to expect to find that part of the country to which we look more comfortable than we had promised ourselves. On the whole, we have not met with a single circumstance since we left Liverpool to create a wish that I had remained between Tennant & Worthington.<sup>266</sup> A lady told William yesterday, she has one daughter married & settled in Illinois about

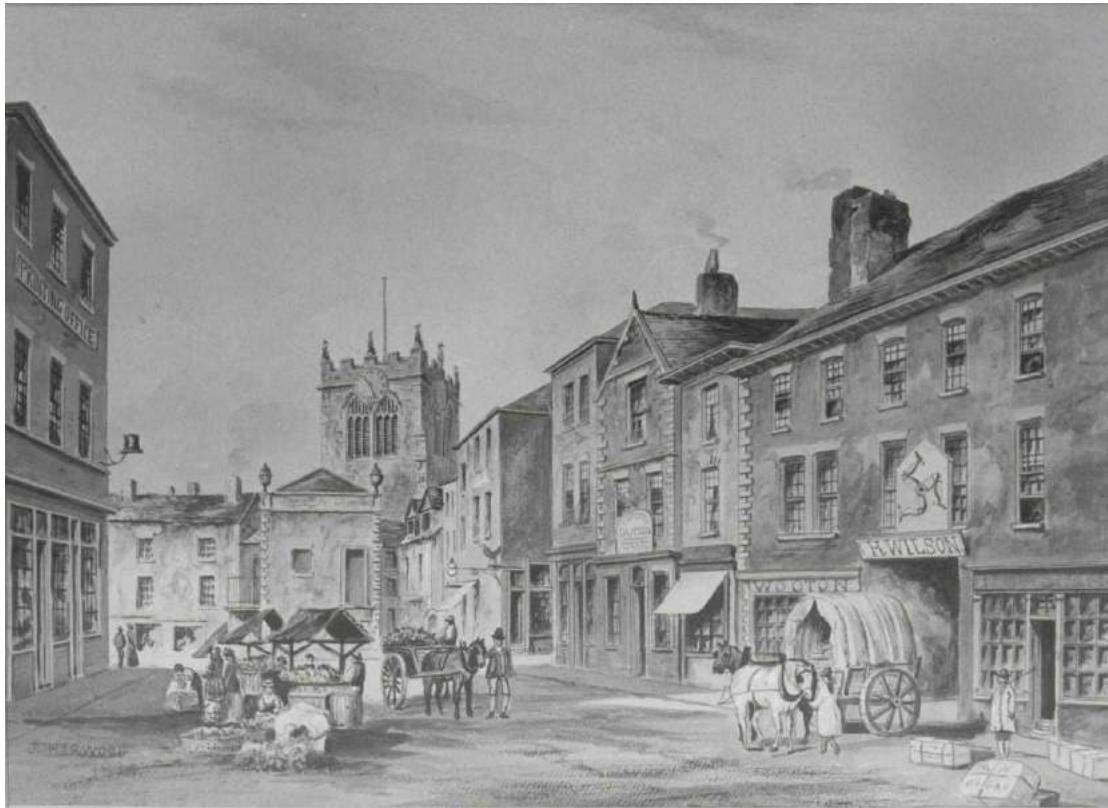
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<sup>264</sup> A reference to the Congregational minister Thomas Raffles (1788-1863), who ministered at Great George Street Chapel in Liverpool and became secretary of the Lancashire Congregational Union. He was cousin to Sir Thomas Stamford Bingley Raffles (1781-1826), the colonial governor and founder of Singapore. The original Great George Street Chapel, built at a cost of about £13,000 with seating accommodation for almost 2,000 and described as 'one of the largest and most commodious of our chapels in the kingdom' was destroyed by fire on the 19th February 1840 while Thomas Raffles was away in Manchester attending a meeting of the College Building Committee (<http://www.theblack-e.co.uk/content/about-us/architecture-building>). For some comparisons of the two namesake cousins and remarks on their mutual relations, see in V. Glendinning, *Raffles and the golden opportunity, 1781-1826* (London, 2012) *passim*.

<sup>265</sup> The road from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh traversed some 300 miles and would form 'the first leg' of the Harris family's journey to Wheeling, WV, where they would proceed further westward via the Ohio River. From near sea level at Philadelphia, the road to Pittsburgh passed through undulating country especially in the Alleghany Mountains where it rose to nearly 3,000 feet before descending to approximately 700 feet at Pittsburgh. On the history and development of this route, which would later form part of the coast-to-coast Lincoln Highway, see R. Bruce, *The Lincoln Highway in Pennsylvania; old Philadelphia-Pittsburgh pike, or Pennsylvania state road* (Washington, DC, 1920).

<sup>266</sup> It seems likely that Harris is referring here to two personal (rather than place) names: Tennant and Worthington. We meet with the Tennant family of Wigan elsewhere in this correspondence (see note 504). James Tennant, who was admitted and sworn a burgess of Wigan on the 26th December 1806 (BC), had a grocer's business in Market Place (where Harris had also been in business as a druggist) (Pigot, CD 1818). This business had passed to Richard Tennant (probably a son) by 1825 (Baines, DW). Worthington was a common personal name in the area and the same directory lists two Worthingtons in business in Wigan: William Worthington, cotton-manufacturer of Hallgate; and George Worthington, boot and shoe maker of Wallgate, which was a continuation of Market Place southwards. However, the drawing of Market Place made by John Harwood in 1824, which was later engraved and published in *Lancashire illustrated from original drawings* (London, 1831; new ed., 1832), and which is reproduced immediately below, shows Samuel Harris's former premises, then under a billboard displaying the name of his successor, Francis Dutton', beneath what appears like an image of a spread eagle and situated between premises which were possibly those of James (later Richard) Tennant and Worthington. The editor has prepared a discussion of the details shown in this drawing and three later versions of Market Place made from it, including the published engraving, which it is hoped will be published soon.

40 miles beyond Birkbeck's,<sup>267</sup> & she is trying to persuade her husband to go with herself & her other daughters, that they may be all comfortable together there.



**The drawing made by John Harwood in 1824 of Market Place in Wigan, showing Samuel Harris's former business premises, then under a billboard displaying the name of his successor, Francis Dutton**

You may wonder that I have not been to a book auction, which are here every night in one part or other of the city, & where they are knocked down for a trifle. I called in one morning to look over a collection: a very good copy of Toulmin's Neal's *Puritans* 5 vols. (British ed.),<sup>268</sup> *Rob Roy*, *Ivanhoe*, *Kenilworth*, & all that tribe of novels, together with a good assortment of history, poetry, &c. I am told that *Ivanhoe* generally sells under 4/6.<sup>269</sup> Most of the modern popular works are immediately reprinted here very neatly & cheap. The general lamentation is want of money.

Fever is expected to make its appearance shortly here. Some cases have occurred already. In Baltimore a report has been made and precautions are taking there to remove the inhabitants out of the unhealthy districts of that city.<sup>270</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> See note 325.

<sup>268</sup> Daniel Neal's *History of the Puritans*, new edition, revised, corrected, and enlarged, by J. Toulmin, 5 vols. (Bath, 1793-7).

<sup>269</sup> Approx. £0.22 in modern British currency, with an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £9.50/\$15 in 2016.

<sup>270</sup> In 1821 Baltimore suffered epidemics of both yellow fever and smallpox.

11th. I remain at home this morning to conclude this desultory epistle, & most of its hours have been occupied by visitors, who call either to give or receive advice relating to the western country. Englishmen abound here, most of them men of property, and all satisfied that they have done wisely. One gentleman just returned from New England says that trade, manufactures, &c. are reviving fast. Going from Boston to Salem, a master painter in company was in quest of four journeymen, wanted in addition to fourteen then in his employ. *Here* it is not *so* brisk, yet here one of our party obtained work the same week we landed, and earns *with ease* one dollar p[er] day and his board at the loom,<sup>271</sup> though he is slender & weak in constitution. A blanket weaver got into immediate work and earns more (I think the same sum, & his board).<sup>272</sup> Upon the whole, affairs here have a very encouraging aspect, & it is generally supposed that these states have already seen their worst. Has England seen hers yet? The inhabitants here look very queer and do not understand how borrowing without the means of paying can lessen the burden. Some of them say that what Mr. Vansit[tar]t calls the sinking fund, is only a paper mill and copper plate press. They don't understand finance here.<sup>273</sup>

'Tis probable that Carey<sup>274</sup> will reprint "Harris's Remarks".<sup>275</sup> The work has caused some conversation here, & is inquired after.

I must now conclude. Dr. Staughton will probably leave this city in no long time, as he is elected President of a Baptist College founded or erected (I don't know

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<sup>271</sup> Cf. similar remarks written on the 6th July 1822 by James Kay, another passenger who disembarked with Harris in Philadelphia: 'The weaver with a little money would be sure to better his circumstances. Weavers in Philadelphia can earn six dollars per week, and can be very well supported for two' (see full text in Appendix IV).

<sup>272</sup> It seems reasonable to suggest that either the person referred to by Harris as 'one of our party' or the blanket weaver was the 34-year-old labourer 'T. Lanford' (i.e. Lawford), whose name appears in the passenger manifest of the vessel *Halcyon* immediately after the supposedly (see note 117) 19-year-old clerk 'S. Lanford' (i.e. Lawford) (see Appendix III), the latter of whom subsequently married Harris's daughter Susanna. 'T. Lanford' was most probably Thomas Lawford (bapt. 8th April 1787 in S. Peter's Church, Hightown, Birstall, Yorkshire), the son of John Lawford (1753-1809) and cousin of Samuel Lawford's father Abraham Lawford (identification kindly supplied by Roger Harris Lloyd). As pointed out in note 597, Samuel Lawford returned to Yorkshire to work in the woollen-blanket factory of his father Abraham and brother John Lawford, though it seems that on his arrival in the USA he did not go with T. Lawford (possibly a cousin or other relative) into this same kind of employment. Two reasons suggest themselves in explanation of his decision to proceed further west with the Harris family: (1) that he was a clerk and possibly had no direct experience of blanket-weaving; and (2) that he had already formed an attachment to Harris's daughter Susanna.

<sup>273</sup> The British Chancellor of the Exchequer Nicholas Vansittart (1766-1851) came into office at one of the most embarrassing periods in the history of English finance. He made new proposals for taxation, bringing forward on the 3rd March 1813 a number of resolutions constituting a 'new plan of finance', under which, by repealing portions of the Sinking Fund Bill of 1745, it was believed the great advantage could be secured of keeping in reserve in time of peace the means of funding a large sum in case of renewed hostilities.

<sup>274</sup> Mathew Carey (1760-1839) was an Irish-born American publisher and economist, who lived and worked in Philadelphia. He is said to have printed and sold more books and Bibles during the first quarter of the nineteenth century than any other publisher in the United States. See further E.L. Bradsher, *Mathew Carey, editor, author and publisher: a study in American literary development*, (New York, 1912); and W. Clarkin, *Mathew Carey: a bibliography of his publications, 1785-1824* (New York & London, 1984).

<sup>275</sup> Harris is referring to the publication of his son, William Tell Harris: *Remarks made during a tour through the United States of America in... 1817, 1818 and 1819... in a series of letters to friends in England* (London, 1821). No evidence of a reprinted edition has been found; see Harris's further remarks a little lower down.

which) in Washington city,<sup>276</sup> so that I shall have to seek another medium for correspondence. When we are settled, I shall furnish you with our direct address. You are aware of the kind of information which would be gratifying to us. Everything relating to Mr. Simmons,<sup>277</sup> & your church & the individuals of the congregation. You know also our friendly feeling to Mr. Ralph & that congregation.<sup>278</sup> We wish to each all spiritual prosperity. I often think of brother Ellison<sup>279</sup> & his Sabbath evening efforts. May he be made very useful, and kept *very humble*. He is not free from danger, especially if he *think* himself humble.

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<sup>276</sup> The British-born Baptist minister William Staughton (1770-1829) was a near contemporary with Samuel Harris and the two might have become acquainted during Staughton's attendance at the Baptist Theological Institution in Bristol during his studies for the Baptist ministry in the early 1790s. One who might have linked both men was James Hinton, who, as noted above (see note 32), had been recommended by Harris for the ministry at Oxford and who also wrote in 1793 to recommend Staughton to ministry in the Baptist church in Georgetown, SC. Staughton, in turn, would name one of his sons after Hinton (Lynd, *MWS*, pp. 27-29, 32 [Samuel W. Lynd, the author of this *Memoir* and son-in-law of Staughton, became pastor of the Ninth Street Baptist Church in Cincinnati at the start of 1831, a time when Harris was making visits to that city, so that it is not impossible, and perhaps quite likely, that the two met and spoke of Staughton on those occasions]). Both Harris and Staughton shared a lifelong interest in Christian missions and the establishment of Bible societies. Staughton emigrated to the USA in 1793 and served first in Georgetown, SC, but finding the climate there did not agree with him and taking a repugnance to the practice of slavery, he went to New York at the close of 1795. After serving in Bordentown and Burlington, NJ, and receiving the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the College of New Jersey, he accepted an invitation to Philadelphia in 1805. His workload in Philadelphia was immense and, in addition to all his other labours in the city, 'there were a thousand nameless inroads upon his time, from an extensive circle of acquaintance, and from being a sort of centre of influence for his denomination in a large city.' Thus, it was most probably William Staughton and his family members whom William Tell Harris had bidden farewell to before embarking on his return voyage to England in 1819 (*RTUSA*, p. 193: 'arrived in Philadelphia just in time to secure my luggage on board, pay my respects to my much esteemed friends, Dr. and Mrs. St. and family...'). Staughton would no doubt have engaged in regular correspondence with Baptist societies and individuals in England, and it was probably on this account that Harris looked to him as a means of conveying his own letters from Philadelphia to England. While the Theological Department of the Baptist college where Staughton taught in Philadelphia removed to Washington in September 1821, Staughton himself, the elected first president of the new Columbian College, did not remove permanently to Washington until the autumn of 1823, in the meantime supplying his place in Washington by occasional visits there of a few weeks' duration. In time Columbian College would develop into The George Washington University. Staughton died in Baltimore on the 12th December 1829. See further Sprague, *AAP*, pp. 334-344; & S.W. Lynd, *MWS*, *passim*.

<sup>277</sup> John Simmons ministered as pastor of the Lord Street Baptist Church in Wigan from 1810 to 1823 (see note 400). In Letter 6 Harris mentions 'old father Simmons', then 'decaying fast', and three of his sons: James, John, and William. In addition to three sons, John Simmons had one daughter. (Transcript of letter dated 27th September 1821 in *BCBLSW*.)

<sup>278</sup> On John Ralph and Hope Independent Chapel in Wigan, see Appendix V. Ralph, whose health had been failing for some time, died in September 1822 (*HSCCMB*), soon after Harris penned this letter.

<sup>279</sup> The baptisms register of the Independent Chapel of St. Paul in Wigan records the baptism there in 1791 of Betty, a daughter of William and Ann Ellison (see [http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Wigan/Wigan/stpaul/baptisms\\_1777-1837.html](http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Wigan/Wigan/stpaul/baptisms_1777-1837.html)), but it remains uncertain if this is the same William Ellison, the only member of that possible family, who was baptized on the 12th February 1812 and received into fellowship at Lord Street Baptist Church, since there is no record of any other Ellison having been added to the Lord Street church until Margaret Ellison (who may or may not have been related to William) was baptized in Liverpool (along with our John Brown and four others) and received into fellowship at Lord Street on the 7th March 1814. In February 1821 William Ellison of Lord Street Baptist Church commenced preaching every Sunday evening in the house of Henry Rigby in Standish and in August of that year 'an evening Adult School was also opened and several of the hearers who could not read regularly attend[ed] for the purpose of learning to read.' (*BCBLSW*, pp. 1, 10 f., 14.) Ellison was regularly called on for preaching duties at Lord Street and 'was invited to be pastor in August 1839 at a salary of £40 p.a. Mr Ellison, a humble, self-effacing man, continued with

You may depend upon my stating such things, *from our settlement*, as may appear to me likely to influence you either to remain & share with your neighbours all that may befall them, or to follow us. I apprehend, had I staid a year longer, many advantages now enjoyed would be missed, especially that of cheap living previous to eating bread & apple pudding of my own growth.

13th. Carey says that a new work by a lady traveller coming out<sup>280</sup> will supersede W.T. H[arris]'s; he therefore shall not touch it. Percy *Anecdotes*<sup>281</sup> are printed here equally neat, at ½ dollar ⅔. Most new books may be bought at half the retail price at a store open for that purpose. A little cash will go far & do much in the country just now.

Remember us affectionately to all friends, especially to your invaluable partner in joys & sorrows.

Dear brother, y[ou]rs very sincerely, Sam[ue]l Harris

14th. Morning. Another hour is afforded me, which I would improve by noticing that there are some here who visit the ships from England, recommending their lands to emigrants. An elderly gentleman has been very urgent with me to visit Silver Lake (where John Peters was) and will not take a denial. I have heard much of that settlement here. It bears a worse character than Peters gives of it.<sup>282</sup> Mr. Skirrow

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his secular job; the church's offer in 1848 to pay him £60 p.a. if he gave it up was declined.' Harris's overtures to attract him to America must also have been declined since, in the middle of the nineteenth century, he was among the enthusiastic fundraisers for the new Scarisbrick Street Baptist Chapel, which was to replace the old Lord Street Chapel. Whether he accepted the proffered salary or not, he was effectually the pastor of the Lord Street church, and again of the Scarisbrick Street church from October 1857 to September 1859. He was also zealous in assisting the finances of the second Baptist Church in King Street by means of house-to-house fundraising and tea meetings. (Sellers, *PF*, pp. 10, 12 f.) He died on the 1st November 1862. (*BCBLSW*, p. 1.)

<sup>280</sup> The publication in question was quite possibly *Views of society and manners in America, in a series of letters from that country to a friend in England during the years 1818, 1819, and 1820*, published in London in 1821 and reprinted in New York in the same year, by Frances Wright (1795-1852), who wrote under the *nom de plume* 'an Englishwoman', despite the fact that she was Scottish. Like Samuel Harris, she died and was buried in Cincinnati. See also above note 275.

<sup>281</sup> Sholto Percy was the pseudonym of the journal editor and writer Joseph Clinton Robertson (1788-1852), who is chiefly remembered for *The Percy anecdotes* (20 vols., 1821-3; subsequent editions 1830, 1868, 1869, and various American editions). These volumes, issued in 44 monthly parts, purported to be written by Sholto and Reuben Percy, the latter being the pseudonym of Thomas Byerley (1789-1826). The self-styled 'Sholto and Reuben Percy, brothers of the Benedictine Monastery, Mont Bengier' met to discuss their literary work at the Percy Coffee House in Rathbone Place, from which their compilation took its name. See further in *ODNB*.

<sup>282</sup> The township of Silver Lake, formed in 1813, was situated in Susquehanna County, north-central Pennsylvania, on the state line with New York. The 'elderly gentleman' to whom Harris refers was probably an associate of Dr. Robert Hutchinson Rose (1776-1842), possibly one of the English settlers whom Rose had persuaded to purchase land in the Silver Lake region. A strong advocate of the Silver Lake settlement, who however could not here be described as 'an elderly gentleman', was Charles B. Johnson (d. 1835, aged 47), a doctor of medicine from Shropshire, England, who in 1819 published *Letters from the British settlement in Pennsylvania*, a booklet through some 140 pages of which he made extensive use of exaggeration to boost the almost elysian virtues of the Silver Lake settlement above lands in the 'western wilderness' of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and especially the English settlement of Morris Birkbeck in Illinois (see especially pp. 18, 22, 24 f., 65, 116-128, 132-136). With regard to the John Peters referred to here by Harris, in the *History of Susquehanna County*,



would not repent coming here, even though he should make as great a sacrifice as I did, though his value as a *contriver*<sup>283</sup> would not be much noticed, as the people here

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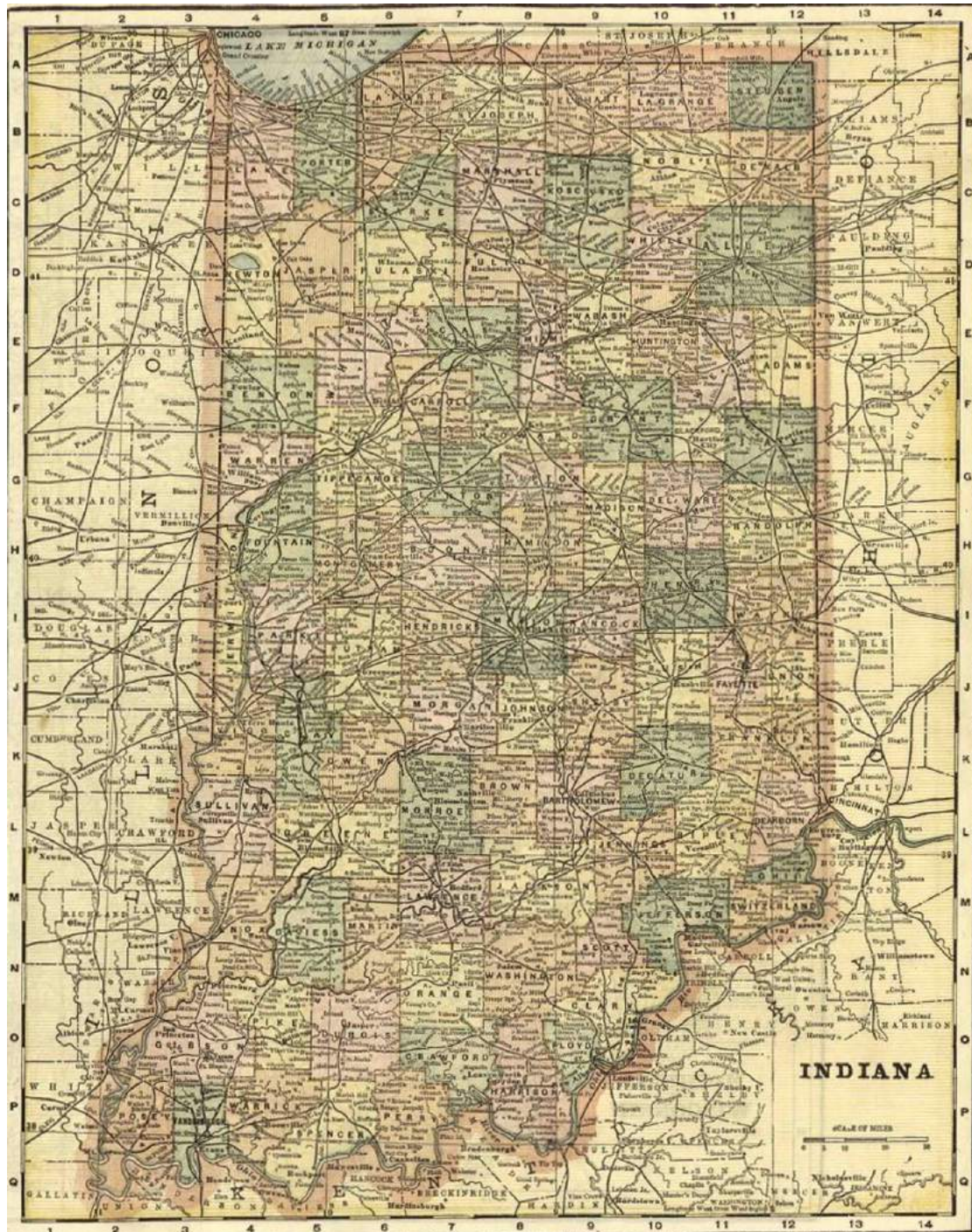
*Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1873), chap. XXX: 'Silver Lake', Emily C. Blackman wrote, 'The whole township of Silver Lake was included in the one hundred thousand acres... purchased by Dr. R.H. Rose, February 18th, 1809, of Anne, widow of Tench Francis, who bought of Elizabeth Jervis and John Peters, whose patent was obtained from the State in 1784' (p. 445). This may, or may not, be the same John Peters as the man of that name who in 1819 was chosen to replace one of the four persons selected to conduct religious meetings of the Church of Christ in Silver Lake, which first met in the house of R.H. Rose but in that year removed into the school house. (R.M. Stocker, *Centennial history of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania* [Philadelphia, 1887] p. 506.) This latter is most likely the person to whom Harris refers and he mentions him in such a way as to suggest he was a man also known to John Brown in Wigan, perhaps indicating that Peters had his origins in that part of the world. R.H. Rose, born in Chester County, PA of Scottish and Irish parentage, married a daughter of Andrew Hodge of Philadelphia in 1811 and worked hard to promote the settlement at Silver Lake by persuading new immigrants to buy plots there, making generous concessions in credit and offering other practical inducements. In 1818 he made a contract with the British Emigrant Society to invite new immigrants from England to take and develop the land around Silver Lake, but those who took up the offer endured no more than three or four years at the most, as 'the high hopes of the incomers were gradually dissipated, if not suddenly crushed, and there were few who remained.' Ultimately the land was developed, first by African-American and later by Irish immigrants. However, around the time of the Harris party's arrival in Philadelphia, the prospects seemed favourable for the new settlement and a leader in the *Montrose gazette* (24th April 1819) declared, 'The British settlement bids fair to advance the agricultural interest of this part of the State. Large purchases are making by the hardy cultivators of the soil from England. We trust those who purchase here in preference to traveling to the western wilds will enhance their own interests and those of our country generally... our lands are cheap, our soil is good, our waters pure, our markets quick, and our climate healthy. Nothing is wanting but industry to make Susquehanna County rich and flourishing' (cited in Blackman, *op. cit.*, pp. 448-450, 453-455, 458). Harris, however, resisted all such enticements and, apparently according to anterior planning, chose instead the so-called 'western wilds' for his family's settlement and, as the present letters testify, he never regretted his plan to continue westward. Furthermore, contrary to all the arguments used by Charles B. Johnson to assert the merits of Silver Lake over the Birkbeck settlement in Illinois, the present letters demonstrate that Harris continued to look appreciatively towards the Birkbeck and Flower settlements in Illinois down to his dying day.

<sup>283</sup> Harris seems to use this word with the sense of 'inventor'. This remark and Harris's mention of Skirrow's 'mechanical genius' in Letter 6 help us to identify him with the watch and clock maker, who had business premises in Chapel Lane, Wigan, listed in Pigot, *CD* 1818. A.J. Hawkes (*The clockmakers and watchmakers of Wigan, 1650-1850* [Wigan, 1950] pp. 72 f.) wrote that James Skirrow, a clockmaker of Chapel Lane, was listed in the Wigan section of the *Universal British directory* for 1797, and in other Wigan directories down to 1830. James Skirrow is also credited as a maker of barometers in Baines, *CPL*, vol. II, p. 622. Skirrow was probably one of a large company of clockmakers working in Wigan at the time for, as John Hannavy has observed, 'Since the early-eighteenth century, Wigan had become something of a centre for the design and manufacture of clocks and watches... [and] by 1870 there were no fewer than twenty-four watch and clock makers working in the town' (*HW*, p. 122). The parish register of All Saints, Wigan records the marriage of James Skirrow to Betty Hickman on the 24th October 1791 and two subsequent burials: one of a daughter Betty Scarrow (*sic*), who died of convulsions aged 2 months on the 16th August 1797, and the other of his wife Betty Skarrow (*sic*), who died aged 43 'in childbed' on the 3rd April 1799. James Skirrow would appear to have been connected with the Chapel Lane Presbyterian Church in Wigan in 1795 (Shaw, *SPW*, p.82), but soon thereafter James and Elizabeth Skirrow were among the earliest members of the Baptist church which was formed in 1796 and later settled in Lord Street. The Lord Street church book states that in 1800 James and Elizabeth Skirrow 'withdrew themselves from the Church for difference of opinion on doctrinal points' (*BCBLSW*, pp. 8 f.), but since most of this record was written up some years after the events recorded, we have to suspect that the death of Elizabeth Skirrow in 1799 has gone unrecorded and the recorder of the exit of James Skirrow in 1800 simply assumed that his wife left at the same time. In fact, as the marriage register of All Saints church records, James Skirrow became married again, on the 10th August 1807, to Elizabeth Brown and it was possibly this repetition of his first wife's name that confused the compiler of the Lord Street church book records. All Saints marriage register records the marriages of three persons who were almost certainly children of James Skirrow, since he is a witness at all of them: (1) Elizabeth Skirrow to Charles Robinson,

are very clever. Will[ia]m Ellison would not leave *this* part of the country, as he would very easily earn 8 or 10 dollars p[er] week & his board. Work is very easily obtained. Will[ia]m went with Mr. Fox yesterday to a blacksmith in the country to buy a few tools. The smith entertained them with wine, & offered to lend them umbrellas, as it then rained. In a former visit he offered a horse to Mr. Fox to go about 8 miles farther upon business. Few blacksmiths in Lancashire would or could do this for a stranger.

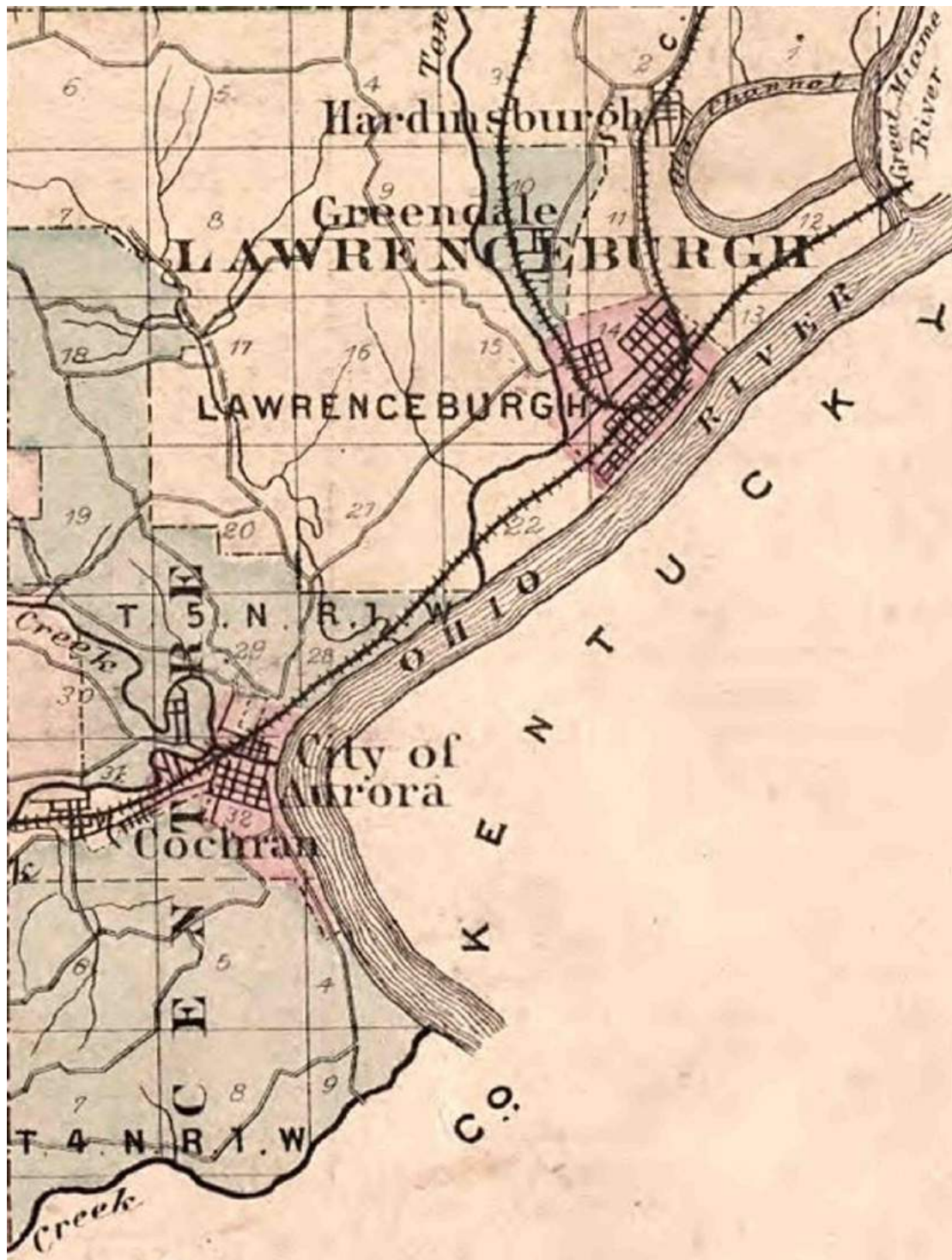
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painter of Wigan on the 1st March 1821; (2) Mary Skirrow to George Lupton of Manchester on the 31st October 1822; and (3) Margaret Skirrow to John Fisher of Wigan on the 22nd August 1830. James Skirrow died, aged 72, on the 22nd February 1839 (*Liverpool mercury*, 27th September 1839; a copy of his will with probate date 13th January 1840 is kept in Lancashire Archives, WCW1078/05), so would have been about 54 in 1821, equal in age with Samuel Harris. In more recent times, an eight-day longcase clock, with a case of oak and mahogany and dial by Wilson of Birmingham, described as 'by Skarrow/Skirrow of Wigan... a typical c. 1790 Lancashire antique clock of fine quality' was sold by Notts Clocks for £2,800. In the auction catalogue it was stated that Skirrow was born in Lancaster in 1767 and was apprenticed to Thomas Shaw of Lancaster for seven years in 1782. The year of his death was, however, erroneously stated as 1834 (<http://www.antiques-atlas.com/antiques/view.php?code=rc009a004>).



Map of the State of Indiana, from L. & W.D. Riddell, *Atlas of Greene County, Ohio*, including *United States maps* (Xenia, Ohio, 1896). Aurora, on the Ohio River in Dearborn County, is shown at lower right, just to the south-west of Cincinnati in Ohio





Map showing the location of Aurora and Lawrenceburg, Indiana on the Ohio River, from Lake and Griffing's *Atlas of Dearborn County, Indiana*, published in 1875

## Letter 2: 21st-22nd November 1822

Aurora, Dearborn County,<sup>284</sup> Indiana  
21 Nov. 1822

[Addressed to ‘Mr. John Brown, Bookseller, Wigan, Old England’; inscribed ‘Aurora, Indiana’, ‘Single sheet, paid 25’, and ‘P[er] first Packet Paid to Liverpool from (paid to) New York’; with postal mark ‘1/2’<sup>285</sup>; stamped ‘LIVERPOOL SHIP LETTER’; and with red wax seal of ‘S.H.’]

Dear friend & brother,

Your very welcome letter dated July 5th by Mr. Will[ia]m Simmons to Philadelphia reached me about the end of September. I wrote immediately to Mr. Alston,<sup>286</sup> whose letter came at the same time, and by him acknowledged yours. Perhaps he may be at this moment delivering my message. I noticed to him what it is my wish all my friends will remember that the conveyance of a letter from Liverpool to New York or any seaport here cost [*sic*] me two cents (*one penny*) only in addition to the inland postage of 25 cents (1s/1/2).<sup>287</sup> They will therefore never in future wait for a private hand, except it be to convey it to Liverpool, which may occur every day.

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<sup>284</sup> Dearborn County was created by proclamation of Governor William Henry Harrison in 1803 and named for Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War under President Thomas Jefferson.

<sup>285</sup> As with similar postal markings on other letters in this series, this and similar figures represent the cost (paid by John Brown) for local delivery within England.

<sup>286</sup> Edmund Alston was one of the first members of Hope Chapel in Wigan (on which, see Appendix V), where he served for 28 years as a deacon and as a trustee of the church. He is listed in the 1811 Census as the owner of a shoe warehouse in Market Street, Wigan (which for Census purposes probably included Market Place) in a household of four males and four females. A Wigan directory of 1816 lists him as a boot and shoe maker with premises in Market Place, and Pigot *CD* 1818 records that he had a cheese business as well as a boot and shoe maker’s business in Market Place. Alston seems to have devoted his wealth to the furtherance of the church’s ministry. Nightingale noted that it was principally through his benefaction that Hope Chapel was constructed and he added interestingly that Alston died in Peru, aged 74, on the 13th April 1850. (*LN*, pp. 94 f.) However, the reference to Peru seems merely to derive from a misreading of the transcribed inscription on his memorial tablet in Hope Chapel: ‘He died in Peace [not Peru], 13th April, 1850 aged 74 years’ (see Horsman, *HHCC*, p. 47). Alston was also active in the politics of Wigan, in 1830 campaigning for the extension of the right to vote beyond the tiny group of burgesses (see note 879) to all ratepayers. Thus, it is reported that ‘a fortnight before the election [of 1830] a group of unfranchised inhabitants, led by John Holt of Bispham Hall, Edmund Alston, an Independent cheese factor, the attorneys Joseph Acton, James Battersby and John Lord, and Richard Fegan, a cotton manufacturer, determined to try to establish the right of the inhabitant rate payers to vote, and requisitioned the mayor, Henry Bullock, for a meeting. On his refusal, they went ahead regardless and mustered before a crowd of about 3,000 on 26 July, when Alston set the tone by condemning the “deep and degrading state of thralldom, under which... Wigan had laboured for so long a time”’ (<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/constituencies/wigan>). Alston himself was added to the list of burgesses for Wigan, by which he would gain voting rights, on the 12th November 1831 (see *PEMP*, MS addition on p. 6b). Clearly Alston was an ardent radical in political matters and the *Wigan gazette* recorded that on the 16th January 1837 he was one of the speakers at a public meeting in the Commercial Hall, Wigan convened to organize a petition seeking the abolition of compulsory church rates. He spoke again in defence of liberty at a meeting on the 10th April in the same year. He also undertook his share of civic duties, serving as a ‘gatewaiter’ (i.e. a constable for an area of the town) and as a markets surveyor. (Horsman, *HHCC*, pp. 43, 46.)

<sup>287</sup> Approx. £0.5 in modern British currency, with an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £2.10/\$3.27 in 2016.

The testimonial<sup>288</sup> of the Lord str[ee]t church<sup>289</sup> was very gratifying to my feelings, as the style of it witnessed affection to me and convinced me that such affection did not rest all on one side. Yet I could not hand it to our church on account of an error at the close, “and to the edification of the church over whom he is pastor.” Nothing that I have written could countenance such an idea, and the church would have supposed that I had at least expressed my wish to fill such an important office. The fact is, I stand in the same relations to this society exactly as I did to yours; consequently am not eligible to any office in it. One of our brethren to whom I shewed it privately, observed that had I brought it with me (excepting such error) it would have been well, but that now it was unnecessary as nothing could increase the satisfaction they felt with me. The sentiment I hold respecting the admissibility of pædobaptists to Christian privileges is not likely to be any other than merely theoretical in this part of the country, as there are *very few* of that notion hereabouts, and I have nearly determined to wave it, and to enter into full communion with our little church, as it appears to be the wish of our brethren. The ministers in our neighbourhood seem very anxious for it.

I wrote to Mr. Hughes<sup>290</sup> a few weeks since; the week after my letter went, an agent for the American Bible Society came and effected the establishment of an auxiliary society for this county, in the list of directors for which my name was honoured with a place.<sup>291</sup> The weather was too unfavourable for me to attend.<sup>292</sup> The agent is an Episcopalian *in full orders*, and M.A. or A.M. He preached on the

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<sup>288</sup> This would be in the form of a letter of dismissal, or commendation, from one church to another.

<sup>289</sup> The church meeting in the Baptist Chapel, Lord Street, Wigan, on which see Appendix V.

<sup>290</sup> In these letters Harris makes frequent reference to Joseph Hughes (1769-1833), a close contemporary with himself (1767-1832). In July 1791 Hughes accepted the position of classical tutor at Bristol Baptist Academy and served as temporary assistant to Caleb Evans, pastor of Bristol's Broadmead Baptist Church. After Evans's death one month later, Hughes assumed sole charge of church and academy for more than eighteen months and, when the Broadmead church appointed John Ryland as the new pastor, Hughes stayed on as his assistant until his removal to a new Baptist church in Battersea in July 1796. Hughes was the founder of the Religious Tract Society (in 1799) and of the British and Foreign Bible Society (in 1804), for both of which societies he served as secretary for the remainder of his life. Since Samuel Harris's father served as deacon in Broadmead church between 1760 and 1801, it seems safe to assume that the younger Harris would have become well acquainted with Hughes during that time and he must have made his acquaintance again in London during the last years of the eighteenth century. On Joseph Hughes, see further Leifchild, *MJH* (on pp. 115 f. of which mention is made of his attendance at a debating society in the company of his friend 'Mr. Harris' and a letter from Hughes to Harris is also cited) and art. by R. Chadwick in *ODNB*. It is probable that the 'Mr. H', Battersea', who supplied William Tell Harris with one of the 'very strong and flattering introductions' to accompany him on his tour of the USA in 1817-19 (see *RTUSA*, p. 14) was his father's old friend Joseph Hughes.

<sup>291</sup> The Dearborn County auxiliary branch of the American Bible Society was officially recognized in December 1822, as is recorded in successive editions of the society's *Annual reports*, but by May 1824 there was also a specifically Aurora branch, the first report of which occupies pp. 89-91 of the *Eighth annual report*. The officers of the Aurora Bible Society are stated in the *Ninth annual report* (1825) and in following reports to have been Jesse L. Holman (president and corresponding secretary) and 'Rev. [sic] Samuel Harris' (treasurer), the latter of whom took over that office from Daniel Bartholomew, who had held the office in 1824. The national American Bible Society had been founded in 1816 by Elias Boudinot, who had been succeeded by John Jay as president in 1821.

<sup>292</sup> Since the meeting would probably have been held in Lawrenceburg, the Dearborn county seat, Harris's attendance would have entailed travel over four miles in each direction to and from Aurora, an uninviting prospect in poor weather. From Harris's following remarks, we should probably draw the conclusion that the Episcopalian agent of the American Bible Society must have travelled on to Aurora after inaugurating the first meeting of the Dearborn County Bible Society in Lawrenceburg.

Saturday evening and the next day. The first time he used the Liturgy and I acted as clerk, repeating after him the confession and making the responses. The next day, by his desire I began the service by prayer; as he observed that no one in the congregation but myself and daughter Willm. knew anything about the Liturgy.<sup>293</sup> What would your clergy have thought to see one of their brethren conducting divine service in union and jointly with a Baptist lay preacher in a schoolroom?<sup>294</sup>

I cannot say very favourably of the state of religion in this town now. Last winter there appeared to be a general spirit of hearing, but towards the beginning of the summer a man came into the town, of a very rough cast, and took a tavern which has since become a very sot's hole.<sup>295</sup> The Lord's day has been made a day of trade, and the love of some has waxed very cold.<sup>296</sup> Yet I continue to hope. The little fruit of my ministry at present discernible has caused considerable heart examinations, all tending to self-humiliation.

The state of your church<sup>297</sup> does not surprise though it affects me. 'Twas natural to expect that Miss Pagan would sink into the frigid state she has done.<sup>298</sup> I did and do hope that the *looked for* removal of our young friend S.B.<sup>299</sup> from Liverpool might be attended with a recovery from the cloudy state of hyper-Calvinism, a state which if suffered to go on in its natural tendency will lead to *Deism*. I wish his mind may be awake to see his danger. I was writing to Thos. Chamberlain when your letter arrived, recommending to him to come onward to Indiana, unless he found a good living where he is. I told him that the manner in which he had left England was not unknown to me, and that I hoped, if he came

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<sup>293</sup> This accords with Catalina Harris's having had an Anglican clergyman for her father. See above in the Introduction.

<sup>294</sup> The schoolroom was quite possibly the log-house of Joanna Fox. (See on 'Aurora Baptist Church, Indiana' in Appendix V.)

<sup>295</sup> Drunken brawls in Aurora about this time are described in *HDO*, pp. 307 ff. See also note 459 for possible identification of the person and tavern referred to by Harris.

<sup>296</sup> Cf. Matthew 24. 12.

<sup>297</sup> That is, the Lord Street Baptist Church in Wigan.

<sup>298</sup> Christiana Pagan, along with John Brown (the recipient of this letter) and four others, had been baptized at Liverpool by James Lister on the 14th February 1819 and had been received into fellowship at Lord Street chapel on the 7th March following. She was one of the principal contributors to the construction of the baptistry at Lord Street Chapel in 1820, but she withdrew herself from the fellowship in 1822 to join the Independent church in Manchester led by William Roby (on whom, see below note 503). (*BCBLSW*, pp. 11, 15, & Baptistry account affixed at front.) The use of the term 'withdrew herself' is significant, since the normal usage amongst Baptist churches to describe commendation to another church, a usage elsewhere reflected in the Lord Street church book, is 'was dismissed to'. It would appear that Christiana Pagan did not at that time carry the church's full commendation.

<sup>299</sup> Probably Samuel Brown. Samuel and Mary Brown were possibly brother and sister, since Samuel's wife, whom he married in 1826, had the forename Ann (see Appendix II). The Lord Street church book records that Samuel and Mary Brown, who were unrelated to Harris's correspondent John Brown, 'were dismissed to the church at Lime Street, Liverpool' in 1819. (*BCBLSW*, pp. 2, 12.) In view of this, Harris's wording here, 'from Liverpool' (rather than 'to Liverpool'), may at first seem odd, but it probably relates to Samuel Brown's *subsequent* removal, this time from Liverpool to Yorkshire, where, as later remarks by Harris in these letters indicate, he had gone. Harris's remark here therefore seems to imply that hyper-Calvinistic doctrine was rife in the Liverpool Lime Street Chapel, where James Lister ministered from 1803 to 1847 and which was visited by the Strict and Particular Baptist preacher William Gadsby, and that it was therefore good for Samuel Brown to be leaving that place. As has been noted elsewhere, James Lister baptized many of the early members of Lord Street church in Wigan.

hither, he might be able to liquidate his debts in time.<sup>300</sup> Should his mother's health be good, she would earn a *very comfortable* living in this place, as might all the children. He tells me he had failed in his endeavours to provide for his sisters [*sic*] and the children's voyage, but that he hoped his mother would come. He wanted me to assist, but I told him I could do nothing till I saw his mother in Aurora, when I would advance as far as 20 or 25 dollars in payment of her debts, upon the strength of her services in my family as she used to work. I have not heard from him since.

W. & G. Lyon's fall could not surprise anyone. You did not mention the old gentleman's decease.<sup>301</sup> We learned it from James Latham's letter,<sup>302</sup> but no

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<sup>300</sup> Thomas Chamberlain was among the earliest members of Lord Street Baptist Church in Wigan, having been baptized and received into the church on the 20th June 1813. Unfortunately, he was 'excluded for improper conduct' on the 3rd August 1820. (*BCBLSW*, pp. 1, 10.) Some further information relating to his exclusion is stated thus in the record: 'Thomas Chamberlain was excluded for neglecting the ordinances and also for requiring as a condition (for continuing with us) answers to certain questions of a political nature which we as a Church of Christ conceive we ought not to answer. Though at the same time we do allow it right for individuals to form their own judgement, yet as a body of professing Christians we consider it as widely departing from the genuine spirit of Christianity to enter into arguments on political matters.' (*BCBLSW*, pp. 12 f.) From Harris's references to Thomas Chamberlain in this letter, it would seem that he, like Harris, had subsequently emigrated to the USA, but returned fairly soon to England, perhaps having been deterred from travelling westward on account of Harris's pricking his conscience by reminding him of the debts he had left unsettled in England. This leaves us wondering about Harris's own debts, since in Letter 11 he confesses to John Brown that he still owes Edward Bent 'a small balance, the remnant of Mr. Clarke's money' and in his very last written words, in Letter 12, he reveals that even then he had not managed to clear an outstanding debt, an old obligation which he still hoped to discharge as funds came in. Either Harris was guilty of double standards, or there was a difference between his own acknowledged debts and those of Thomas Chamberlain, seeming to imply that he suspected Chamberlain was hoping to escape his obligation by migration to America.

<sup>301</sup> Like John Brown, the recipient of these letters, W. & G. Lyon engaged in a printing and publishing business in Wigan (see their later mention in Letter 12). They are to be identified as William Lyon and, most probably, his son George (b. 3rd July 1795), the latter being the younger brother of Mary and Abigail Lyon (mentioned by Harris immediately following). Another brother, named as an executor in his sister Mary's will, was Thomas Morris Lyon (b. 10th July 1797). See mention of their names in the Register of baptisms at the Independent Chapel of St. Paul, 1777-1837 (<http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Wigan/Wigan/stpaul>). On the 23rd November 1821 W. & G. Lyon's printing, bookbinding, and stationery business was formally dissolved (*London gazette*, issue no. 17768 [27th November 1821] p. 2328). The business had commenced under the name 'W. Lyon' in 1791. During the years 1804 to 1818 it was under the name of W. Lyon's wife, Dorothy Lyon (*née* Marsden). William Lyon, 'the old gentleman' referred to by Harris must have gone into retirement until his death sometime during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, but the business traded under the names 'W. and G. Lyon' in 1820 and 'Lyon and Co.' from 1822 to 1823, behind the titles of which we may discern the hand of the widow Dorothy Lyon. (George Lyon may have died sometime between 1820 and 1822; he is noted as 'deceased' in Lyon, *Will* [1830].) After W. Lyon's death and Dorothy Lyon's remarriage in 1819 to James Critchley, Dorothy resurrected and ran the business from about 1825 to 1833 under the name 'D. Critchley'.

<sup>302</sup> James Latham (b. 1803), who receives frequent mention in these letters, was among the party of Harris family and associates who sailed to the USA in 1821 (see Appendix III). From later remarks in this letter, it would seem that Samuel Harris assisted his passage to the USA in the expectation of receiving service from him in the place of their settlement. James Latham continued to be a young person in whose career Harris took a particular interest, writing of him right down to the final sentences he penned to John Brown in this series of letters. He was the son of Peter Latham (1772-1850) and Hannah Wallwork (1775-1852) (see <http://genforum.genealogy.com/latham/messages/1827.html>). His father Peter Latham was a deacon of St. Paul Independent Church in Wigan (*SPCCM*) and had a cabinet-maker's business on Chapel Lane, Wigan (see Baines, *DW*).



particulars. That family is interesting on account of Mrs. W. Hope,<sup>303</sup> Mrs. Critchley,<sup>304</sup> and the two daughters at the post office. These latter we hope make a living of it.<sup>305</sup> You do not notice Geo. Weightman<sup>306</sup>, or Isaac Sharp.<sup>307</sup> Would not

<sup>303</sup> On the 4th April 1811 William Hope, a Liverpool merchant, married Jane Lyon in All Saints Church, Wigan (see [http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Wigan/Wigan/allsaints/marriages\\_1811-1812.html](http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Wigan/Wigan/allsaints/marriages_1811-1812.html)). Mrs. William Hope is connected with Liverpool in a comment made by Harris in Letter 5. William Hope is probably to be identified with the person of that name who for many years served as the director of the Baptist Missionary Society and who built the first house in what became Hope Street in Liverpool. See Whelan, *BA*, p. 181 f., where a letter addressed to him in 1818 from Joshua Marshman in Serampore is reproduced. Harris links Mrs. W. Hope with the family of William and Dorothy Lyon, but Jane was not the name of one of this couple's seven children. She might possibly have been a cousin.

<sup>304</sup> Dorothy Critchley was born Dorothy Marsden c. 1766 and was thus almost equal in age to Samuel Harris. On the 31st March 1783 she married William Lyon (marriage registers of All Saints, Wigan). The couple had seven children, among them the two daughters referred to here by Harris: Mary, born 28th February 1788, and Abigail, born 29th May 1793. Dorothy probably became a widow sometime during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, but on the 29th May 1819 she married again, this time to James Critchley, a widower of the parish of St. Peter, Bolton-le-Moors, she herself being denoted as a widow in the marriages register of St. Peter, Bolton-le-Moors, 1819-1821. She had already set up in business in Wigan by the time of her second marriage, since *Pigot's commercial directory of Wigan, 1816* lists Dorothy Lyon as a printer with premises in Market Place and, perhaps reflecting the expansion of her business, *Pigot, CD 1818* lists her as a printer, bookseller, and stationer situated in Market Place, in other words close by Samuel Harris's druggist business in the same central part of Wigan. Her name appears as Dorothy Critchley, of Market Place, listed among booksellers and printers in Baines, *DW* (published in 1825), alongside John Brown, of Standishgate, the recipient of this letter. Folkard (*WD*, p. 69) lists 'D. Critchley' as a printer active in Wigan during the years 1824-1833. Her second husband, James Critchley, appears to have tried his hand at several enterprises. On the 7th July 1811, Gabriel Shaw, James Critchley, and John Lyon mutually agreed to dissolve their cotton-dealer business in Wigan (*London gazette*, issue no. 16539 [9-12 November 1811] p. 2173). Critchley then seems to have moved to Liverpool, where he entered into business with James Redmayne and John Wildon Bell as spirit dealers (Redmayne dropped out of the partnership in 1820; see *London gazette*, issue no. 17632 [2 September 1820] p. 1725). There is further mention, in the *London gazette* (issue no. 17991 [10 January 1824] p. 55), of the bankruptcy in 1824 of the 'liquor-merchants, dealers, [and] chapmen' Messrs. James Critchley and Thomas Walker, both of Bolton-le-Moors, where protection is accorded to the property of James Critchley's 'present wife, Dorothy Critchley, late Dorothy Lyon' according to a settlement made prior to the couple's marriage. Dorothy Critchley was a member of St. Paul Independent Church in Wigan (*SPCCM*) and died on the 9th January 1840, aged 73 (*Blackburn standard*, 15th January 1840). Her seven children by William Lyon are all entered in the baptism registers of St. Paul Independent Church, where she herself is variously referred to as 'Dorothy' or 'Dolly' Lyon.

<sup>305</sup> According to Baines, *DW*, the postmistress of Wigan, at the office in Standishgate, was Abigail Lyon (b. 29th May 1793), who died of 'inflammation on the brain' on the 5th December 1828, aged 35, and was buried at the Independent Chapel of St. Paul, Wigan by the minister Alexander Steill. (See the Register of burials, 1827-1837, p. 125, entry 12 at <http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Wigan/Wigan/stpaul/index.html>.) Philip Powell's assertion that Abigail Lyon was still serving as postmistress in 1847 (*Wigan town centre trail* [Wigan Metro. Bor. Council, 1986] p. 33) is incorrect, since the holder of the office at that time was Robert Acton (see <http://www.gbbs.org.uk/information/po-appointments/dates.php>). Two months and two weeks after Abigail's decease, her sister Mary (b. 28th February 1788) (referred to above in note 301) succeeded her in the office of postmistress, until she herself was succeeded by John Brown, the recipient of these letters, on the 19th December 1831, after Mary's own decease on the 14th December. (See Lyon, *Will*, where the date of death of Mary Lyon, spinster is carelessly noted as 14th December 1832, on the same page on which the date of the appearance of her executor, her mother Dorothy Critchley, before the lawyer is stated as 7th May 1832 and the date of the proving of Mary's will is stated as 9th July 1832. Mary bequeathed her estate and effects, valued at less than £100, to her mother Dorothy Critchley and, after Dorothy's decease, to her brothers William, Thomas Morris, and the son of her deceased brother George. Miss Mary Lyon is erroneously referred to as 'Mrs. Lyon' in the Great Britain Philatelic Society's list of deputy postmaster appointments at <http://www.gbbs.org.uk/information/po->

the former make a good farmer here? Let him land on our bank with a good industrious wife, a sufficient stock of clothing, beds & bedding, house linen, flannels, tin, iron, and crockery ware, and about a thousand dollars in hand, and he would start with better prospects before him than in almost any business in England with twenty times that sum. But it will not do for him or any person to come to these parts, unless they are first clearly convinced of the great uncertainty of trade in England, and also the vanity and vexation of spirit caused and maintained by the foolish customs and fashions there.

Had we remained in Lancashire, my wife would have missed Mrs. Wilson much. Poor woman! She had often expressed her hope not to outlive her activity.

Dr. Ban[c]ks's affecting removal<sup>308</sup> must have been felt by many; perhaps by Mr. Sowerby<sup>309</sup> as much as any. We hear from Bath that Mrs. Sowerby is not well satisfied with Wigan since her illness. It seems that Mr. Cuff's nurse<sup>310</sup> washed away the virus from the children's arms, when they were vaccinated, and that left them open to the small-pox.

In my letter to Mr. Alston I pointed out the only way I could think of to convey Mr. Spence's<sup>311</sup> work to me: by forwarding it to my brother in Bristol round by Longman & Co.<sup>312</sup> in one of your parcels to them. I should like to have it, but would not be at any expense about it.

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appointments/dates.php.) Harris's good wishes for the sisters' making a living of it (in contrast to the failure of W. & G. Lyon) were thus fulfilled in the strictly literal rather than figurative sense.

<sup>306</sup> See note 423.

<sup>307</sup> See note 387.

<sup>308</sup> The tragic death of the Wigan physician Dr. Bancks must have been reported to Harris in a letter received from John Brown. On Sunday the 2nd June 1822 Bancks fell from his horse when returning to Wigan from the coastal town of Southport, 'and was dragged a considerable distance by the stirrup, but his life was not despaired of until a very short time preceding his death,' which however occurred on the 7th June. The event was reported in regional newspapers—in *The Leeds mercury* and *The Liverpool mercury* of the 21st June 1822 and in *The Lancaster gazette* of the 22nd June 1822—as well as much later by E. Bland in his *Annals of Southport* (Manchester, [1888]) p. 81.

<sup>309</sup> It was John Sowerby to whom Harris must have sold his druggist business before emigrating to the USA; see his remark toward the end of Letter 11: 'I left my books with Mr. Sowerby and possibly they may still be in the shop with Mr. Dutton'. The *Lancaster gazette* of the 25th November 1820 reported the marriage in Bath, Somerset of 'John Sowerby, chemist, of Wigan, to Mary, second daughter of Mr. Cuff, Milsom-street' (on whom, see following note). The baptismal register of All Saints Church, Wigan for the 7th February 1823 reported the birth of a son, John, to John and Mary Sowerby, with the father John's occupation recorded as a druggist with a business in Market Place. It would appear that the business had passed from Sowerby to Dutton by 1824 (see note 266) and Harris's remarks in this place possibly suggest one reason for Sowerby's leaving Wigan.

<sup>310</sup> J.H. Cuff was a chemist and druggist with a business at 15 Milsom Street in Bath. (See *The historic and local new Bath guide* [1802] p. 172; *Gye's Bath directory, corrected to January 1819*, p. 55; and the advertisement for pharmaceuticals sold by J.H. Cuff in the *Bath chronicle and weekly gazette*, 15th July 1841.) He was the father of 'Mrs. Sowerby', just referred to by Harris (see preceding note).

<sup>311</sup> On William Spence, see note 375.

<sup>312</sup> The publishing firm founded in London in the 1724 by Thomas Longman of Bristol. By the last decade of the eighteenth century, Longman had established a far-reaching provincial bookselling network across Britain. As Asa Briggs has commented, 'Sometimes Longman was the bookseller of books printed in the provinces. Sometimes the names of provincial booksellers were given on the title page of books which Longman published in London. Sometimes the initiative for co-operation came from Longman, sometimes from an enterprising provincial printer or entrepreneur' (*A history of Longmans and their books 1724-1990* [London & New Castle, DE, 2008] p. 79). Thus we find that a number of Longman's publications from between 1816 and 1822 were printed in Wigan by John

Our papers copy from yours the accounts of Ireland & distress, but our neighbours cannot conceive the possibility of any family or individual being so poor as not to have two good meals of flesh, fowls, and milk or coffee in the day.<sup>313</sup> They wonder what your government can do with all the money raised from the people, that individuals should be called upon for the purpose of relieving so large a part of the nation.

Thank you for the item about Mrs. Edw[ar]d Bent. It is of some interest to me to know all particulars about that family.<sup>314</sup>

We do not expect to see Wm. Simmons in this part of the country, unless some of the quizzing<sup>315</sup> Philadelphians should send him on a fool's errand down the river. He is very likely to prove a but[t] for them to exercise their wicked wits upon. You will be more likely to learn about him than we shall unless he should find out Wm. Haseldon<sup>316</sup> or T. Chamberlain. Pray try to learn all James Wadsworth's movements, and tell me. He was as unfit a person for this country as Wm. Simmons, or George the fourth.<sup>317</sup> There is reason to believe that his report, about the rest of the family returning, is without foundation. 'Tis possible also that Mr. Roberton<sup>318</sup> returned, as

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Brown. In addition, when John Brown published his *Catalogue of books, new and second-hand, in the various departments of literature*, the catalogue's title included the note: 'to be had of Longman and Co.' (see e.g. notice in *The new evangelical magazine*, vol. II [1816] p. 31). Since Samuel Harris's brother Francis was an established bookseller in Bristol, he too would no doubt have been in close communication with Longman and could forward books to Samuel in Aurora. Indeed, it seems likely that Francis himself conveyed a parcel of books to his brother Samuel on his emigration to Aurora.

<sup>313</sup> Harris was not exaggerating, for Frances Trollope went even further in asserting, 'The American poor are accustomed to eat meat three times a day' (*DMA*, p. 97).

<sup>314</sup> Harris writes further cryptic remarks concerning Mrs. Edward Bent in Letter 10, written September 1829 (see there note 791). No certain information has been obtained regarding this person, although we may note that among the list of subscribers to the third edition of Richard Renshaw's *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, etc.*, published in 1821 (first edition, 1804), we find the names of 'Mrs. Bent, Wigan', followed immediately by 'Mr. Bent, Edward' and it may be of significance that in his introductory 'Sketch of the early part of the author's life' which prefaces this publication, we learn that Richard Renshaw, born in Manchester, was sent to the Grammar School at Wigan (p. x). If this slender evidence be relevant, we may surmise (1) that Mrs. Bent was a woman of independent means; and (2) that she perhaps had personal acquaintance with Richard Renshaw and/or Wigan Free Grammar School in the late eighteenth century. Other hints in Harris's letters seem to imply that by the time of his writing, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Bent were living in Manchester and that Edward Bent worked in the legal field. Thus, in Letter 10 he wrote, 'I have written twice to Mr. Bent, besides a message by Mrs. Wadsworth, and not having heard from him since, suppose that all is well and successful there.' 'There' must be Manchester as that was at this time the abode of Mrs. Catalina Wadsworth. Again, in Letter 11, Harris remarked to John Brown, 'I wrote to Mr. Edw[ar]d Bent about two years ago twice, with instructions to receive another debt on my account, but I have not heard from him or aught about him since.' This comment seems to imply Edward Bent's legal capacity and so we might perhaps identify him with the person of that name, described as an attorney with offices at 18 King Street, Manchester and a home at 9 Granby Row, Manchester listed in Baines, *CPL*, vol. II, p. 167.

<sup>315</sup> Here 'quizzing' should be understood not in the more familiar sense 'questioning', but rather in the sense 'mocking', or 'ridiculing'.

<sup>316</sup> Probably the same person as the Willm. Haselden referred to in Letter 1.

<sup>317</sup> On James Greaves Wadsworth, see Appendix IV.

<sup>318</sup> 'J. Roberton', a surgeon aged 37, is listed among the passengers on board the vessel *Halcyon*, carrying Samuel Harris and his party, which docked in Philadelphia on the 25th June 1821 (Philadelphia Passenger and Immigration Lists, 1800-1850). Among the passengers, he is the only person of that surname and seems to have been unrelated to other members of the party. It would be a

he began railing against the country the day he set foot upon it. We have not heard anything about him since. Mr. Kay, we hear, has a situation about a hundred miles from Philadelphia.<sup>319</sup> Socinianism is reported to be spreading fast in the country. We see very little of it, but Deism is by no means scarce.

I hope brother William Ellison will be strengthened in the good work, and find his reward in it. Tell him to lay by as much as possible for his settlement in Indiana, as I am persuaded not many years will elapse before he will wish himself here. An old acquaintance<sup>320</sup> is now with us, who was as little likely a year ago to come over, as was Lord Liverpool.<sup>321</sup> He is so pleased with the country that he is resolved to remain and become a farmer. My own brother is fully satisfied with the wisdom of his intention and I have no doubt will only regret that he deferred his emigration so long. He hopes to leave England in March. Should you be able to convey Spence's<sup>322</sup> pamphlet, I hope it will not come alone. Your binder is now I hope a little more careful than he was last year. He mauled Flavel's *Works* 6 vols. sadly mingling the sheets of different volumes. I conjecture the heap fell down and he was not careful when he took them up again. I once saw this done. There is a little confusion also in the *Harmonies of nature*.<sup>323</sup> These are now irremediable, unless you should in some future time be a proprietor in Indiana. A grazing farmer well known for his prize cattle at the different agricultural societies called upon me three weeks ago.<sup>324</sup> He is looking out for land with the intention to secure his property, which he thinks is unsafe in your country. He told me many others are coming. The only fault he finds is that fine old Gloucestershire ale is not to be met with. However, he will not be long without a brewery wherever he settles. We hear that the English settlement on the Wabash is *not flourishing*. Mr. Flower and the other proprietors on his portion do not agree; as for Mr. Birkbeck,<sup>325</sup> XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX.<sup>326</sup> We have great reason to be thankful, that we did not proceed so far.

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mistake to confuse J. Robertson here with John Robertson (1797-1876), the obstetrician and social reformer of Manchester, as this latter person was clearly younger.

<sup>319</sup> James Kay and his family settled in Northumberland, Pennsylvania, described by him as lying at a distance of 134 miles from Philadelphia. On James Kay, see Appendix IV: The Lives of Some Fellow-Travellers on the *Halcyon*.

<sup>320</sup> Probably to be identified with 'our friend from Somersetshire', referred to later in this letter.

<sup>321</sup> Robert Banks Jenkinson, 2nd Earl of Liverpool (1770-1828), was British Prime Minister at the time of the war of 1812-1815 with the USA.

<sup>322</sup> On William Spence, see note 375.

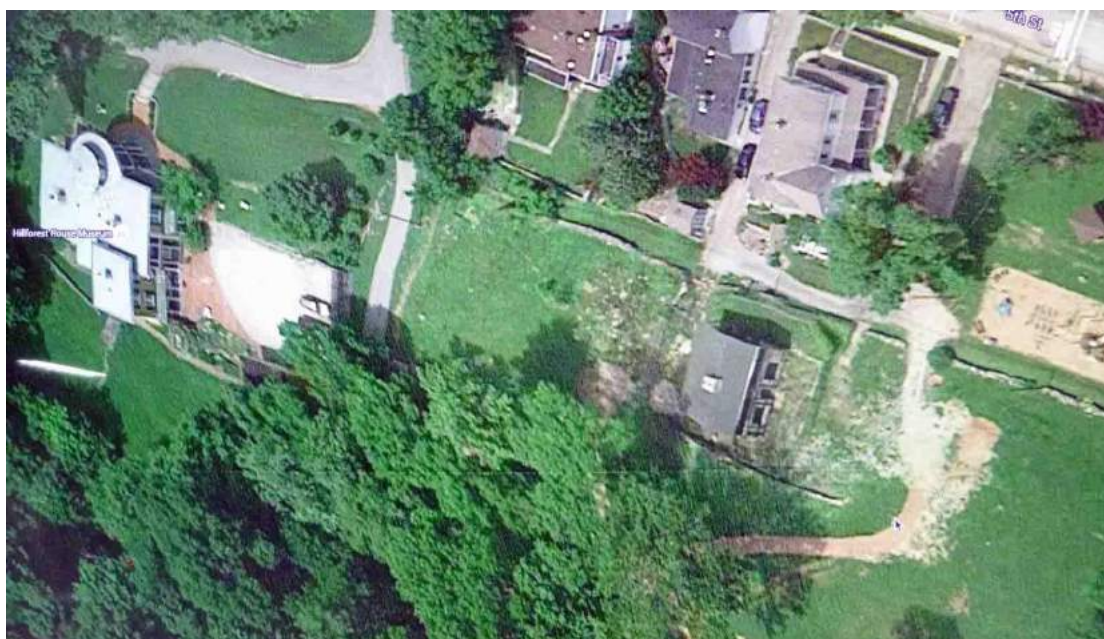
<sup>323</sup> Not readily identifiable.

<sup>324</sup> William Hewer, a native of Gloucestershire, who farmed Hereford cattle near Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, on whom see note 344 below.

<sup>325</sup> On Morris Birkbeck (1764-1825) see art. by C. Erickson in *ODNB*. As we shall notice later in the present correspondence, despite his apparently disparaging remarks in this place, seeming to echo adverse rumours circulating at the time, Harris's fascination with the Birkbeck and Flower settlements, or at least with the latter, meant that the Illinois settlement was to remain an enduring attraction for him until his final day. It was probably an interest of long standing, since in 1818 his son had visited both the Birkbeck and Flower settlements and also Harmony (while it was still under the governance of J.G. Rapp, before its being sold in 1825 to Robert Owen to become New Harmony) and had reported home to his parents on his experiences there. (See *RTUSA*, pp. 134-138.) Birkbeck's own comments on the superiority over Ohio of the character of settlers in Indiana (*NJA*, pp. 85-88) might also have encouraged Harris to migrate westward to this new state.

<sup>326</sup> This was probably Harris's way of saying, 'Better left unsaid.' The English settlement in this region of Illinois is the subject of the monograph published by Charles Boewe: *Prairie Albion: an English settlement in pioneer Illinois* (Southern Illinois UP, 1999).

You mention my newly raised dwelling on Mount Tabor.<sup>327</sup> My letter stated only that I *intended to raise* one. You should not think that we are conjurors. We have raised a large wall, containing masonry enough for a good sized house, but the foundation stone is not yet laid.<sup>328</sup> The greater part of the materials are now on the spot and we hope to begin to build as soon as the frost goes next spring. My large estate upon which my daughter Susan with her husband, Sam[ue]l Lawford, resides, is about eleven or twelve miles inland, about 540 acres.<sup>329</sup> Another piece, about 145 acres, for which I gave 300 dollars, is about five miles distant. My tenant upon this was ill with most of his family part of the summer, so that it did not yield so much as otherwise it might have done. I have had as rent only 200 bushels of corn, worth about thirty dollars. Perhaps you would call this tolerable interest from land, but I have reason to calculate upon much more in future, supposing the season to be favourable.



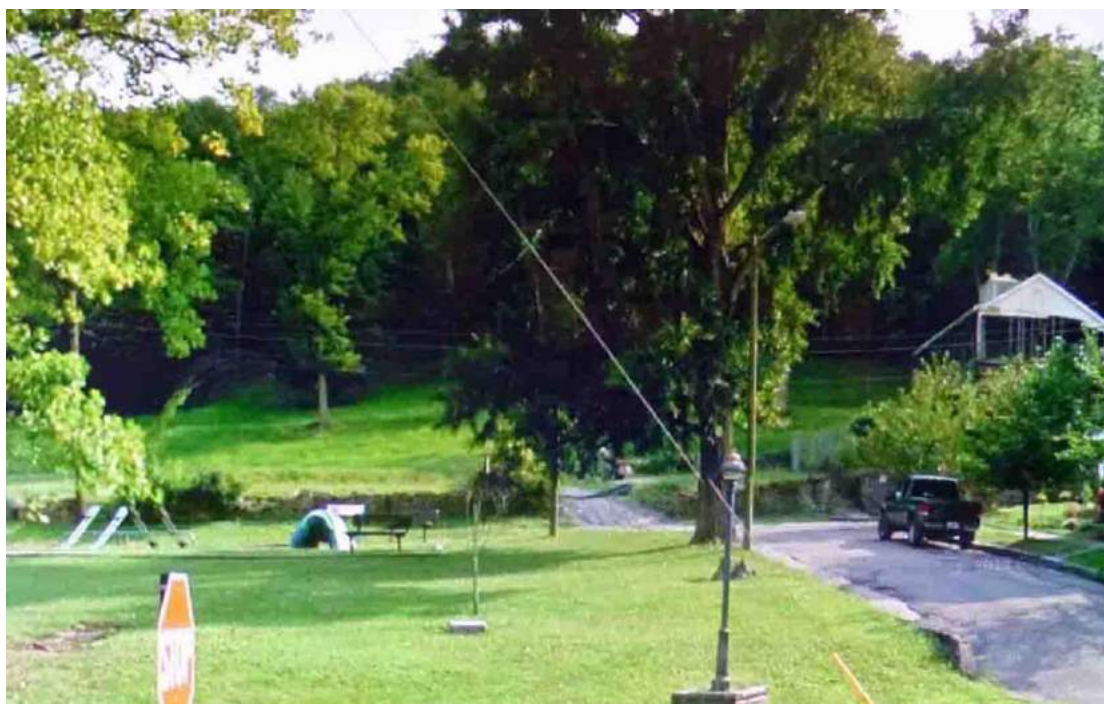
**A recent aerial view of the Mount Tabor site, showing the partly reconstructed Harris cabin just east of the Hillforest House Museum, with the stone wall marking the northern edge of the Harris lot, built by Samuel and William Tell Harris**

<sup>327</sup> On Mount Tabor, see notes 49 & 1079.

<sup>328</sup> Harris appears to be referring to the long dry stone wall that delineated the northern edge of the plot of land on which the wooden house was later erected. In Letter 4 he wrote of his experience in ‘the laborious work necessary to the clearing of new ground’ and in Letter 9 of his son’s ‘sometimes building a stone wall, a work he is too fond of’. This wall, built apparently in the main by William Tell Harris, survives to the present day and was probably constructed, as Harris’s written comments suggest, from stones removed in clearing the land on the site of Mount Tabor.

<sup>329</sup> 540 acres seems an unusual size for a land lot, since townships were measured out to consist of six-mile squares, containing 36 one-mile-square lots of 640 acres each (see note 613 and H.A. & K.B. Ford, *History of Hamilton County, Ohio* [Cleveland, 1881] p. 36), but see further comments in Appendix VI.





**A recent view southwards towards the partly reconstructed Harris cabin and part of the stone wall constructed by the Harris men in the mid foreground**

You tell me I must say a little more about the ladies. My wife likes the country so well that she wishes *all* her connections and *all* her acquaintances here also and this not from selfish motives merely, any farther than the satisfaction she would enjoy in seeing them more comfortable than they are likely to be in the old country. Her health has not been established yet. Her constitution was considerably impaired by anxiety about William when he was travelling over these wooden regions<sup>330</sup> three or four years ago.<sup>331</sup> Her appetite was then almost destroyed. That anxiety has [sic] not been lessened. For several months she has been pleasing herself with the expectation of old Betty (as we call her) Chamberlain coming over, and this hope has been something for her mind to rest upon. Now that hope is sunk by the news we received last night (21st) that Thomas Chamberlain has returned to England, in consequence as was supposed of my last letter in which I told him that his leaving Lancashire in debt was known to me, upon which my remarks were not palatable. This is only the conjecture of the person who reported it to me. It seems however that he made some harsh reflections upon me in consequence, upon what real grounds I know not. Possibly he might take offence at my expressions of sorrow that he should be among a people so sottish as to “*idolize*” him, which he told me they almost did. But whatever was the cause, you are probably by this time acquainted with it, and should he report anything to my disadvantage you will kindly mention it, that I may either confess or refute. Should his mother have good health and be inclined to spend the remainder of her days with us as an assistant she would do better in coming than in staying where she is. We hear that Will[ia]m Haselden and wife with their two children are intending to leave Philadelphia for this place in the spring. If they are disposed to do, they may do well here.

<sup>330</sup> We would today perhaps refer to the terrain travelled by William Tell Harris as ‘wooded’ or ‘forested regions’.

<sup>331</sup> See note 82.

When I wrote you last, James Latham was leaving me. I wrote a letter to his father giving him an account of what led to this step, which I read to James, and then gave it to him, that he might add what he pleased. I suspect he has not forwarded it, and will therefore thank you to say to Mr. P[eter] L[atham] that he left me about the middle of September. I employed him four weeks afterwards, at wages double to what he earned, though less by much than I paid him before. I do not enlarge upon this *painful* subject any more than by saying that the bringing James Latham out has been a *very unprofitable* job to me. He is at present in the town, but his intentions are unknown to me. My wish is that he may never behave to another as he has to me. Should you know any family coming out, *caution them very strongly against bringing any one either male or female with them, under the idea of being repaid by service or labour for the expense.* The inhabitants of this country appear to suppose they do a “righteous deed” in endeavouring to dissolve any contract of such kind.

I notice your remark, of want of nerve to emigrate. The opinion, expressed in former communications, of the vast advantages this part of the world affords for the certain comfort of a large family (especially of boys) is confirmed and increased every month. If a lad be idle and dissolute, he will live better in England than in Indiana. But if he be healthy and well disposed, this is the best country in the *world* for an *English* lad. Should there be several and they agree together, nothing can be said too much in praise of this country for such. Whatever they can work with, whether needle, axe, plough, awl & last, shuttle, spade, trowel, file, forge, plane and saw, etc., they will do well. But for a tranquil life, a quarter section<sup>332</sup> of good land, sufficiently stocked, affords the greatest certainty. Perhaps I have never noticed the facility for acquiring wealth which our Ohio affords to the mercantile adventurer. I was told that above forty thousand persons came up the Mississippi & this from New Orleans to Louisville between January and July last, the greater part of whom had gone down in large flat boats with produce to the former city in the early half of the season for sale. These boats average six persons to each. Their loading is flour, corn, potatoes, & other roots, cattle, poultry, pork, beef, butter, eggs, apples, cider, whiskey, neets, peaches dried, preserves, &c. besides tobacco, cotton, flax, hay, straw, &c. Sometimes the profits are very large and I am told that the adventure *seldom* proves decidedly bad. Ten boats left our infant town last season (always winter and early spring). This season about forty are expected to go; nearly half that number are already gone. By this you may judge that here is some scope for enterprise. The risque of the voyage (about 1550 miles down the stream) is not so great as a sea voyage to the same extent. What losses do occur, are generally owing to negligence, but they are very few. I do not recommend commercial adventure at all. The peaceful life of the husbandman has charms here which your farmers know nothing of. You have provisions low *now* to the ruin of the agriculturalists, while our farmers are well paid by the same articles at one third of your *ruinously* low prices. In two or three years your pork, beef and butter must be nearly at former value, or you will not have anything to eat, while we have a redundancy.

I have mentioned James Wadsworth. We hear that he is usher<sup>333</sup> to a school at Parkgate.<sup>334</sup> May he retain that station 'till he meets with a *better*! His mother does

<sup>332</sup> A ‘quarter section’ would be equal to 160 acres; see note 613.

<sup>333</sup> That is, ‘an assistant to a schoolmaster or head-teacher; an under-master, assistant-master’ (*OED*). Noting the changing usage by the mid-nineteenth century, J.A. Froude wrote, ‘[At] Buckfastleigh

not express a thought about returning to England. He may rail against this country, for he never saw it. Were you to land in Philadelphia or New York, you would not know more about America than you do now. Were you to travel all over the Atlantic States east of the Alleghanies [*sic*], you would know nothing about these western regions, any more than a Spaniard would about Prussia. The people resemble each other more than a Yorkshireman does or Cornish miner, but the countries differ widely from each other. I am sorry our good friend Skirrow cannot disentangle himself from his cottages<sup>335</sup> and still more that Will[ia]m Johnson,<sup>336</sup> Robt. Ashcroft, and our old friend Salmond should be confined against their inclinations from this paradise, as our friend from Somersetshire calls it.

Casting my eyes over your very interesting and welcome letter, Mr. Jones's *Cottage lectures*<sup>337</sup> catch attention. It is with such as these that I ventured to hope Spence's book may be accompanied. Has Wigan started a newspaper,<sup>338</sup> to cooperate with your gas lights in illuminating its citizens?<sup>339</sup> If so, you will certainly favour me with a specimen. You may suppose we are not very hungry after news, as I do not take in a paper. Once or twice in the month I see one, but our gazettes contain little European intelligence. Castlereagh's death occasions no uneasiness among us. Some

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[School]... The master, Mr. Lowndes... was assisted in the teaching department by his brother and by three ushers, as they were then [c. 1827] universally called, though converted now [c. 1856] into masters by the ambitious vulgarity of the age.' (W.H. Dunn, *James Anthony Froude: a biography*, vol. I [Oxford, 1961] p. 26.)

<sup>334</sup> Parkgate is a village on the Wirral peninsula, Cheshire, England, where more than one boarding school was established, offering to health-conscious parents, the vitalizing environment of sea-bathing and fresh sea breezes, i.e. before this part of the River Dee estuary became silted up. See G.W. Place (ed.), *Neston 1840-1940* (Burton, 1996) p. 109; and *idem*, *This is Parkgate: its buildings and their story* (Parkgate, 1979) *passim*.

<sup>335</sup> Cottages would have been acquired to provide a retirement income from rents in later years. This practice was specifically recorded as having been adopted by the members of Hope Chapel, Wigan on behalf of the minister there, William Marshall (*HSCCMB*). Skirrow would have faced great risk by cashing in his retirement income in the hope of achieving a better life across the Atlantic and he evidently opted for caution.

<sup>336</sup> William Johnson was a member of Hope Chapel, Wigan and his name is included among the list of committee members and visitors in the *First annual report of Hope Chapel Benevolent Fund, instituted January 1832*, printed by John Brown. He died in 1851 (*HSCCMB*.) But see note 582.

<sup>337</sup> *The Cottage lectures; or tracts on the New Testament, intended to lead the poor to the study of the Holy Bible*, by Joseph Jones, were published between 1822 and 1827 in Wigan by John Brown, the recipient of this letter. From 1816 to c. 1840 Joseph Jones served as curate of Newchurch in Culcheth, near Warrington, Lancashire, and was therefore a relatively close neighbour of Brown.

<sup>338</sup> None has been traced from this early date. The earliest recorded in Folkard, *WD*, p. 57 (the *Wigan mirror*, published by Roger Atkinson & Son, a neighbouring bookselling and printing business to John Brown in Standishgate, which, like, Brown, also offered a small circulating library) dates from 1825, but the *Manchester guardian*, founded in 1821, would have reported some news from Wigan.

<sup>339</sup> A parliamentary *Act for lighting with gas the town and borough of Wigan* was published on the 15th May 1822 and the first gas lighting, consisting of 143 street lamps, was installed in the following year, which made Wigan one of the first towns in Britain, after London, to experiment with this new technology, thereby benefiting from this by-product of the extensive coal-mining industry for which Wigan became famous in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It would seem that the introduction of gas street lighting must have been mentioned in a preceding letter from Brown to Harris. The Wigan Gas Works also illuminated the town's history, as two Roman urns containing calcined bones were found during excavations for the Gas Works foundations. (G. Shryhane, *Potted guide to the history of Wigan* [Wigan, 2006] pp. 52, 54.)



think some others of your great sinners may sometime or other feel remorse of conscience also.<sup>340</sup> Alas how deluding is Satan to his worshippers.

Poor young John Simmons!<sup>341</sup> I pity him. He could not feel as a Christian when he shewed his peevish resentment at the church's conduct towards him formerly. However, this feeling of his must convince all concerned that they had some ground for that conduct. He must have spent the time since then to very little purpose, if he has not learned that he was then a mere child, if he was indeed and in truth *born*.<sup>342</sup> Alas for him!

My Sally is very desirous that Betty Chamberlain should know that her assistance and company would be very welcome here. My wife & I may be alone as housekeepers in course of next summer, and we could maintain Betty as assistant, and make her very comfortable. All her family might do very well if they could come. We think it a little surprising that Thomas should go back so suddenly, when he seemed so satisfied even with Philadelphia, that his health was improved and he was doing so well. However, all may be explained by and bye, and it may turn out that he is a very wise man still. I am too blind to discern it. Perhaps you can send me some account of your Bible establishment, if printed.

Sally hopes you will give our kind respects to Misses Bullock<sup>343</sup>—she has no shop of that kind to visit now—to Mrs. Melling, Mrs. Critchley, Misses Lyon (these when you see them). Tell Mr. Alston with our very friendly regards that we shall rejoice to learn that the sun shines upon Hope Chapel. We do not relinquish the expectation of seeing him and you, and many others with your families around us in Indiana. You will either come voluntarily or be *driven* over, if the latter, *with distress*, and that distress will accompany you here for some time, unless you bring enough to *clear* your road. Those who come in time, like the farmer from the neighbourhood of Abergavenny mentioned already (Mr. Hewer),<sup>344</sup> will secure what

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<sup>340</sup> Robert Stewart, 2nd Marquess of Londonderry, known as Lord Castlereagh, served as British Foreign Secretary and Leader of the House of Commons in the Liverpool government from 1812 until his death on the 12th August 1822, when he committed suicide by cutting his throat with a pen knife. He had grown increasingly unpopular toward the end of his career and was mocked in verse by both Shelley and Byron.

<sup>341</sup> John Edmund Simmons was baptized and admitted into the fellowship of Lord Street Baptist Church, Wigan on the 29th October 1815, but on the 14th February 1820 he removed to the Baptist Church at Glasgow. (*BCBLSW*, pp. 10, 12.) His later career is summarized in Whelan, *BA*, pp. 448 f., where it is noted that he 'studied at Bristol and eventually ministered at Stony Stratford, Buckinghamshire, from 1823 to 1830, and then at the Union Chapel, Bluntisham, Huntingdonshire' and that he 'wrote the circular letter for the Northamptonshire Association in 1823, 1843, and 1857.'

<sup>342</sup> Harris uses metaphorical language to describe J. Simmons's spiritual condition; the sense is 'born again' or 'born from above' to become a child of God.

<sup>343</sup> Ann and Alice Bullock had a milliners' shop in Standishgate, Wigan (*Pigot's commercial directory of Wigan, 1816*) and enjoyed a garden on a small piece of land rented from the rector of Wigan parish (described as 'a terrier of buildings, glebe lands, tithes, and other rights belonging to the parsonage of Wigan', in G.T.O. Bridgeman, *The history of the church & manor of Wigan*, pt. III [Manchester, 1889] p. 653). These two ladies died, respectively, on the 12th February 1829 and the 5th October 1828. Their death notices appeared in *The Manchester courier and Lancashire general advertiser*, for Ann on the 28th February 1829 and for Alice on the 11th October 1828 ('On the 5th inst. very suddenly, Miss Alice Bullock, of the firm of "Mesdames A. and A. Bullock," of Wigan').

<sup>344</sup> The person referred to by Harris was probably William Hewer, one of the famous Hereford cattle-breeding family, who were among those responsible for introducing the breed to the USA. The following extract is of interest in this connection, although the imprecise dating, supplied apparently

they have and increase it, but alas! how many are there, who will cling to the old spot till every shilling is torn from them by bad debts, taxes, failures of the depositaries of their property, decay of trade, depreciation of stock, &c., who will then look across the Atlantic and sigh in vain! while their poor children, reared up to possession, as they dreamed, of affluence are left helpless and wander about seeking employment in the only way they are capable of acting, with their pens. How different the situation of the mechanics! But I must not enlarge on this subject. 'Tis a very fruitful one.

You notice the cabinet &c.<sup>345</sup> as memorials of us. 'Tis pleasing to think that we exist in the recollection of those we esteem. You are aware that I have some hundreds of such mementos of you. We have removed into a habitation somewhat larger than what we spent our first year in. I have now a closet about seven feet square, two sides of which are covered with books.<sup>346</sup> Most of them have been under your hand. Here I spend many pleasant hours. It is close to our bedroom, in which we have a fire constantly now, by which I am now writing. This closet is my *own* particular. Here I retire from the world and here I feel the time so precious that I seldom dare to open a book but such as may tend to lead me to your and my Father. Mr. Ralph once asked me whether I thought the road to heaven and to the mercy seat, shorter and easier from America than from Wigan? No. But it is *as* short and *as* easy. I have no interruptions from *without*, no care, no anxiety, but I find as much from within as when in Wigan: as much imperfection, as much vanity of imagination, as much coldness. In one respect I find the post of preacher furnishing me with additional obligations to keep as near to that throne as possible. The importance of

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from memory by William Hewer's grandson John L. Hewer, does not accord exactly with Harris's references to Hewer in this letter: 'William Hewer... was a native of Gloucestershire, being one of the Hewers of Northleach [a market town in Gloucestershire], and was descended from William Hewer, so frequently mentioned in Pepys' Diary. He was born in 1757 and married a Monmouthshire lady—Miss Hughes of Court Morgan, near Abergavenny. In order to be near his wife's family, he went to live at the Great Hardwick, near Abergavenny, Monmouthshire. The date of his removal to Monmouthshire is uncertain, but it seems to have been about 1787. He occupied the Hardwick and Dobson's farms for 28 years, and then took a farm at Llanellen, about a mile from the Hardwick. About the year 1825 there was a kind of panic amongst the banks, and one in which he had a large sum of money invested failed. William Hewer was so overcome by the disaster, that, with his eldest son William, he left the country for America, but he lived only about six months after he arrived, being quite broken hearted. He died in New York in November, 1825, and was interred at the cemetery of St. Mark's Churchyard, Bowery, New York, on December 2nd, being at the time of his decease 68 years of age.' (J. Macdonald & J. Sinclair, *History of Hereford cattle* [1909] p. 81.) No trace of a burial in New York of a William Hewer has been found, but an entry in the *London gazette* (issue no. 17839 [30th July 1822] p. 1263) makes it clear that William Hewer, 'farmer, dealer, and chapman' of Llanellen, a village situated 2 miles to the south of Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, was made bankrupt in July 1822, so that it was quite possible that William Hewer, either senior or junior, could have reached Aurora, Indiana by the time that Harris wrote this letter in November of that year, having escaped distress in England and having left his wife and younger son John Hewer to continue breeding Hereford cattle in England. No doubt it was William Hewer's personal reports in conversations with Harris that helped to colour the latter's comments here on the parlous state of business back in England at this time.

<sup>345</sup> Harris is possibly referring to articles of furniture which he gave to Brown on leaving Wigan, although the context here, reflecting the assistance accorded him by John Brown in building his exceptional private library, might suggest that 'cabinet' is being used in the sense of 'cabinet editions', i.e. books published in tasteful bindings.

<sup>346</sup> It is interesting to note that the cabin on Mount Tabor, constructed in the following year, had a closet of similar dimensions (see the 'Plans of the three levels in the Harris cabin on Mount Tabor' in Appendix I). This closet was apparently without windows, consequently allowing extended wall space for book shelving, and its design may well have been suggested on account of Harris's evident satisfaction with the closet here referred to.

the engagement contrasted with my *felt* insufficiency forces me to something like diligence (I can not venture to call it *absolutely* by that name) in that part of (what Bartholomew Ashwood<sup>347</sup> calls) the Christian trade. To fill a pulpit occasionally is a very different affair to that of being constantly and officially engaged in it. To be considered as the Aurora preacher, the only one in this town who regularly addresses such of the inhabitants as care to [hear] him upon the concerns of eternity, 'tis a very weighty consideration and enforces great searchings of heart. I have freedom from one fear which often operated with others to keep me out of Lord street pulpit. There is no one here whom I have reason to suspect of coming merely to hear how "old Harris performs". This was a thought I could not endure, though I was obliged to submit to it the last Lord's day I spent in England. Well, let us be thankful if we are employed in any way in the Master's service. We are [in] danger of attending to His work in our own spirits, a cause of confusion frequently, and may be known by our f[ai]lings<sup>348</sup> when we meet with any circumstances in it which crosses [*sic*] our intentions. If we do the work because it gratifies our honour or taste, such crosses will disconcert us; but if because 'tis *His* work, they will humble perhaps, but not divert us from our duty. Pray for me.

The weather has been for some days very wet, so that we cannot hear of one<sup>349</sup> daughter Lawford. Son & daughter William are in better health than usual. He has full employ in the cattle yard, and she as housekeeper. Sally set in chamber chiefly during the morning. I am errandman &c. We have never kept a servant, since we arrived. Our united love to y[ou]r whole self. Remembrance to all friends, no room to enumerate any. We often think of each one. (Write soon & full.) Don't wait for private hand, especially if you can say about Betty.

Yours indeed, Saml. Harris

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<sup>347</sup> The Puritan divine Bartholomew Ashwood (1622-1680) published his *Heavenly trade, or the best merchandizing, the only way to live well in impoverishing times* in 1679.

<sup>348</sup> Word uncertain on account of a hole in the sheet at this point.

<sup>349</sup> Harris's use of 'one' does not imply that he had more than the one daughter, Susanna. In fact, his only surviving children were one daughter and one son. Since, however, he regularly employs the term 'daughter' to cover also 'daughter-in-law' (see e.g. following sentence), he had, through his son's marriage, two 'daughters', so that, as here, where the two are mentioned in sequence, the epithet 'one' is appropriate in distinguishing between them.

# Letter 3: 4th-24th September 1823<sup>350</sup>

Aurora  
4th Sept. 1823

[Addressed to 'Mr. John Brown, Bookseller, Wigan, Lancashire, Old England'; and inscribed 'Single sheet', 're[ceive]d Mar. 22'; with postal markings '4/2' and '2/4'; and stamped 'LIVERPOOL SHIP LETTER'; and with black wax seal of 'S.H.']

My dear Friend & Brother

Aurora 4<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1823

The very handsome parcel which my niece handed me yesterday from your occupancy my attention all the remainder of that day, and now I leave her to the concerns of the house while I attempt (before any notice can be taken of the interesting letters it contained, to detail in as calm a manner as possible, the painful events of the past month. — but let me step back a little farther. — Early in this year it was intimated to me that my services would be acceptable to the second Baptist church in Cincinnati. — This was soon followed by a direct and formal application signed by the committee. — To this my reply was, that under my present circumstances I could not consistently leave home; but in expectation that my son would soon leave me with his wife, and that my Brother with his Daughter & son would arrive in the course of July, I hoped, after these changes had taken place, to leave M<sup>rs</sup> W. with satisfaction for three or four weeks. — On ~~the~~ a second direct request was received, and as we had not heard of my Brother's landing — as my son's home could not be ready before the end of June, and as it was probable the visiting my Brother, his family & luggage in our house with us might occupy some time, we concluded it would be better for me to visit Cincinnati in June, which I did, from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 24<sup>th</sup>. — very agreeably to myself, with pressing invitations from the people to return again shortly. — on my return home, I found my dear Sally had suffered much fatigue in the house, as M<sup>rs</sup> W. had been confined to her bed the chief part of my absence. — The woman who had engaged to assist her in great measure prevented by illness in her own family. — The effects of the fatigue appeared to wear off, and we were well and comfortably thro' July. — On the 3<sup>rd</sup> August, my son & his wife left us and we flattered ourselves with the prospect of a quiet habitation till my brother should come down as then looked for daily. — however, on Wednesday, the 12<sup>th</sup>, my wife noticed that her bowels were a little disordered, which she hoped might have a salutary tendency. — The next day as she had the company of two neighbours, English ladies, I left her to bury an aged woman in Kenilworth. — on my return, she appeared cheerful, but thought it might be as well to check the complaint a little: we therefore gave her an opiate which had for a short time the desired effect; however, about midnight it returned accompanied with vomiting, which appeared to yield to medicines but the diarrhoea soon returned & ~~about~~ <sup>the following</sup> noon she began to sink rapidly; at eleven that night (Friday 15<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>r</sup>) my affectionate and beloved friend and companion sweetly, gently, gently slept in Jesus. — From the beginning to the last, she did not appear to be aware of her situation or to suffer any pain. — During the last twelve hours she scarcely spoke or appeared sensible. — The nature of her complaint prevented me from being much in the chamber. — the first time her danger was apparent to me was about noon, when I noticed the alarming change in her appearance since the preceding hour. — You can with sufficient imagination my fate during the remainder of that day. — I felt the exercise of submission a very hard task. — ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup> length my resolutions were bowed down, and I was enabled in my heart to say "Lord, Thy will be done." — The undivided attention of neighbours at the by and by was very nothing. — to appearance, and I believe in reality, there was not one rabidant of Aurora who could be so far lamented. — very few were ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> going in the train which followed the remains to the town's burying ground about half a mile in the woods, on the following Sunday afternoon, after which Brother Plummer, a Methodist preacher,

## The first page of Letter 3

My dear friend & brother,

The very handsome parcel which my niece handed me yesterday from you occupied my attention all the remainder of that day, and now I leave her to the concerns of the house while I attempt (before any notice can be taken of the

<sup>350</sup> Probably posted on the 28th September; see second paragraph of Letter 4.

interesting letters it contained) to detail in as calm a manner as possible, the painful events of the past month. But let me step back a little farther.

Early in this year it was intimated to me that my services would be acceptable to the second Baptist church in Cincinnati. This was soon followed by a direct and formal application signed by the committee. To this my reply was that under my present circumstances I could not conveniently leave home; but in expectation that my son would soon leave me with his wife, and that my brother<sup>351</sup> with his daughter & son would arrive in the course of July, I hoped, after these changes had taken place, to leave Mrs. H. with satisfaction for three or four weeks. In May a second direct request was received, and as we had not heard of my brother's landing, as my son's house could not be ready before the end of June, and as [?] 'twas probable the settling my brother, his family, & luggage in our house with us might occupy some time, we concluded it would be better for me to visit Cincinnati in June, which I did, from the 4th to the 24th very agreeably to myself, with pressing invitations from the people to return again shortly. On my return home, I found my dear Sally had suffered much fatigue in the house, as Mrs. Willm. was confined to her bed the chief part of my absence, & the woman who had engaged to assist had been in great measure prevented by illness in her own family. The effects of the fatigue appeared to wear off and we rubbed on comfortably through July. On the 8th August, my son & his wife left us and we flattered ourselves with the prospect of a quiet habitation 'till my brother should come, whom we then looked for daily. However, on Wednesday the 12th<sup>352</sup> my wife noticed that her bowels were a little disordered which she hoped might have a salutary tendency. The next day, as she had the company of two neighbours, English ladies, I left her to bury an aged woman in Kentucky. On my return she appeared cheerful, but thought it might be as well to check the complaint a little; we therefore gave her an opiate which had for a short time the desired effect. However, about midnight it returned accompanied with vomiting, which appeared to yield to medicine, but the diarrhoea soon returned & the following noon she began to sink rapidly; at eleven that night (Friday 15th Augt.) my affectionate and beloved friend and companion sweetly, quietly, gently slept in Jesus. From the beginning to the last, she did not appear to be aware of her situation, or to suffer any pain. During the last twelve hours she scarcely spoke, or appeared sensible. The nature of her complaint prevented me from being much in the chamber. The first time her danger was apparent to me was about noon, when I noticed the alarming change in her appearance since the preceding hour. You can with difficulty imagine my state during the remainder of that day. I felt the exercise of submission a very hard task. At length my rebellious will was bowed down, and I was enabled in my heart to say, "Lord, Thy will be done."

The unsolicited attention of neighbours at the trying period was very soothing. To appearance, and I believe in reality, there was not any inhabitant of Aurora who could be more lamented. Very few were missing in the train which followed the remains to the town's burying ground about half a mile in the woods,<sup>353</sup> on the following Lord's day afternoon, after which brother Plummer, a Methodist

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<sup>351</sup> That is, Samuel Harris's elder brother Francis.

<sup>352</sup> Wednesday was, in fact, not the 12th but the 13th August 1823.

<sup>353</sup> On the place of burial of Sarah Harris, see Appendix VI: 'The dwelling places of Samuel Harris'.



preacher,<sup>354</sup> discoursed to a large congregation in my house, very judiciously and affectionately from Revelat. xiv. 13.

An express was sent for Mr. & Mrs. Lawford,<sup>355</sup> who came the day before, but she as well as Mrs. Willm. were too unwell to accompany the body. Mrs. L. looks for confinement early in October. They slept at his sister's (Mrs. Fox) about a mile distant.<sup>356</sup>

And now behold me thus suddenly deprived of a most amiable companion for the last thirty-one years and left in my fifty-seventh year in the house, *alone*. A very friendly respectable couple with whom we have been most intimate would have slept in the house 'till my brother arrived, but I declined it, wishing to be alone. I felt company a burden.

On Tuesday morning following, the 19th, I was called out to my nephew, who appeared overcome with distress and fatigue. He had come forward in a skiff for me to go and pilot the boat to a proper landing place, but expressed his doubt whether his father would be brought ashore alive. I immediately sent to my son, who collected assistance while a neighbour went to meet the boat. Soon after I saw William leading my niece, followed by my brother sitting up on a bed carried by eight men, and several others as relays. He seemed somewhat revived by the change, having been seventeen days in the boat from Pittsburgh. When he left Bristol<sup>357</sup> he complained of rheumatism & asthma. The voyage was fatiguing and enfeebled him, and though he seemed to recruit a little in Philadelphia, yet his previous weakness, the disappointment he met with in winding up his concerns, the anxieties which he suffered to corrode his mind, all co-operating with the fatigues of voyage and journey, have reduced him so much, that he is now the mere shadow of what he was. He is almost entirely helpless and requires the same attention as a child. He is seldom

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<sup>354</sup> Probably Daniel Plummer (1784-1858), an early member of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Aurora (*HDO*, p. 331), who became a preacher and an Indiana state senator, and also founded the ME church in Manchester, Indiana. He receives brief mention in Lake, *ADCI*, p. 22 and in F.C. Holliday, *Indiana Methodism* (Cincinnati, 1873) p. 84, where he is referred to as 'an able local preacher from the state of Maine, early settled in Manchester; and "Plummer's Chapel" was one of the earliest and best brick churches built within the bounds of the old Lawrenceburg Circuit.' Plummer married Lucy Smith Freeman and moved to Dearborn County, Indiana in 1818. As well as his work as a Methodist preacher, Plummer worked as a farmer and a miller, since he owned a carding and grist mill at Lower Manchester (R.A. Shepherd *et al.*, *A biographical directory of the Indiana General Assembly*, vol. I [Indianapolis, 1980] p. 315). A file of papers relating to Plummer is lodged in the Archives of DePauw University and Indiana United Methodism (MSU.2012.1044).

<sup>355</sup> That is, Harris's daughter Susanna and her husband Samuel Lawford.

<sup>356</sup> The dwelling place of Joanna Fox is indicated in the following note, published in 1885: 'In the very beginning of the village [of Aurora] Mrs. Joanna Fox erected a log-cabin in Fifth Street, the site of the William Brewington residence, subsequently this building was vacated by Mrs. Fox when it was used for some years as a schoolhouse, and by all denominations of Christians for church purposes.' This was a temporary school building, soon replaced by a brick structure one lot to the east of the previous site. (*HDO*, pp. 324, 328). See further on William and Joanna Fox in Appendix IV. Discussion of Samuel Harris's location when writing of Mrs. Fox's being about a mile distant will be found under 'The dwelling places of Samuel Harris' in Appendix VI.

<sup>357</sup> The ship *Mount Vernon*, with a burthen-bearing capacity of 350 tons, sailed from Liverpool on the 10th March 1823 and must have docked briefly at Bristol to collect additional passengers before sailing onwards to the USA, possibly calling also at Baltimore before proceeding to New York (as is suggested by two advertisements in *The Liverpool mercury*, 7th March 1823), which might have rendered the journey additionally irksome to Francis and his children.

collected enough to know where he is and I have not yet enjoyed five minutes' conversation with him. Added to this, my nephew, an apparently stout young man of 28, is so debilitated by the fatigue of the voyage down the river that he is able to render me little assistance besides attending to his father, who sits and sleeps during the greater part of the day, so that the business of the house devolves chiefly upon my niece & me.<sup>358</sup>

Thus you see, my dear friend, that afflictions have come upon me like wave after wave.<sup>359</sup> Owing to my poor brother's state, we have not been able yet to unpack all the boxes &c. Yesterday the chest, in which your kind parcel was stowed, was opened. Most of the clothing and bedding was damp and mildewed. This has occasioned much heavy work in exposing them to the sun and air daily. Tobacco was strewn among the blankets, and *only where the tobacco was, did the moths come, and there they swarmed*. We have not the least expectation of my brother's recovery, yet he may continue some time longer; and it is probable that he may drop in a few days. His sight is very dim, his hearing very quick, his voice very low. Many are waiting in England for his opinion on which to form their decision respecting emigration, who will be disappointed. My nephew was not at all prepared for this country, and in the event of his father's removal or recovery will seek employment more congenial to his habits in the towns or on the river. Should my brother be removed soon, it is not very likely that I remain in this place very long after, as our Baptist brethren have talked much about me and are for my settlement over some one of the destitute churches in this western country. This however I leave to the disposal of the great Disposer of all things for the good of His body, the church. In truth, I cannot form even a conjecture as to my future destination in this world. Both my children are settled, and with good expectations. The only tie I had to one particular spot is taken from me, and though in the event of my brother's expected removal, my dear niece (to whom I have been always more attached than to any other of my brethren's [*sic*] children<sup>360</sup>) will be under my care, she will be as a nurse & companion, should she be spared to outlive me. My health is good and my constitution seems not strong yet adapted to this climate. My muscular strength is certainly less, and I have some personal as well as many circumstantial memento's [*sic*] that "this is not my rest or home".

I am now very disarranged as to my daily employment, and have not been able yet to settle into my usual course. Whether I shall be able to stand up before the people on the ensuing Lord's day is doubtful. My thoughts seem unhinged. It [*is*] my prayer to be now more fully employed in His service who has thus afflicted me until He sees fit to remove me also. Besides your parcel, my niece had before handed me a packet of letters, some of them addressed to Mrs. H. and stating the removal of some of her acquaintance. Those, with my highly valued Mrs. Brown's, inform me of a larger number of those now sharing with her the pure bliss of the divine presence than I was before aware of. Let my soul rejoice with them.

We entertained good hopes of Miss Steel before we left England and used at times to apprehend that her constitution was not sound. Well, assuredly it is granted

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<sup>358</sup> For discussion of the events recorded in this paragraph, see in Appendix VI: 'The dwelling places of Samuel Harris'.

<sup>359</sup> Cf. Psalm 88. 7; Job 30. 27.

<sup>360</sup> On the peculiar spelling 'brothren' see note 147.



to “the spirits of the just made perfect”<sup>361</sup> not only to see & know Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven,<sup>362</sup> but also to recognize those they were personally acquainted with in this world of imperfection, and to rejoice together with them in Him [“]who loved them and washed them in His own blood.”<sup>363</sup> I can suppose a little of that serene delight with which Mrs. Melling & Miss Steel would congratulate their former acquaintance, while her pious mother (whose removal on Feb. 8th last had been announced to us only a few weeks before) would with her lovely sister (who departed three weeks before we left England)<sup>364</sup> introduce her to a long train of holy relatives who have many years ago been translated into glory. Casting my eye upon Mrs. B.’s very interesting letter, the passage “I frequently hear your name mentioned and seldom without regret at the privations we all think you must experience”, strikes me very particularly. I fancy myself enjoying your sympathy under the greatest shock and trial ever experienced by me (and they have been many), while you in imagination endeavour to realize the present happiness of the departed saint, contrasted with the trials she endured in this life. In this view, I cannot give way to selfish regret, now there is no one with whom I can retrace the events of my past life in London, Hull, and Wigan, no one to welcome me home with a cheering smile and affectionate greeting after a short absence. I feel alone, and even the society of my brother and his small family is so embittered by his present distressing state, that it affords me no alleviation, any more than as I am not absolutely alone. I have also very kind friends here who appear to mourn *their own* loss of one they highly esteemed.

But I must not dwell long on this subject. The articles with which you have enriched my shelves are thought much of. The *Cottage lectures*<sup>365</sup> seem better adapted to *their purpose*, than what I recollect of Hawker’s *Poor man’s commentary*.<sup>366</sup> These are calculated to set the cottager a thinking [*sic*], and may lead

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<sup>361</sup> Hebrews 12. 23, with ‘just men’ altered to ‘the just’, perhaps to fit the present context.

<sup>362</sup> Cf. Luke 13. 28.

<sup>363</sup> Modified from Revelation 1. 5.

<sup>364</sup> inscription of Sarah Harris’s younger sister Mary, who had married William Evill, Mary died on the 9th April 1821, while her mother, Mary Fox, died three days earlier than Harris notes, i.e. on the 5th February 1823. The inscription on their tombstone in the burial-ground of the Baptist chapel at Lechlade, Gloucestershire reads as follows: ‘This stone, which perpetuates the memory of Mary Evill, who departed this life April 9th, 1821, contains the first records of mortality ever placed in this ground. In the same grave also are deposited the mortal remains of Mary Fox, mother of the above, who died Feb. 5th, 1823; and of William Fox Esq., husband of the aforesaid Mary Fox of Lechlade House, who died April 1st 1826.’ It was William Fox who had given the land and paid most of the building costs for Lechlade Baptist Church, opened in 1817, where he also served as deacon. (Power, *RPSS*, pp. 218, 227.) Harris’s mention of Mary Evill’s death having occurred ‘three weeks before we left England’ introduces a slight discrepancy with the information contained in Letter 1, where Harris relates that his voyage to America lasted 7 weeks and that his party was on board 8 Sundays. Since their vessel docked in Philadelphia on Monday the 25th June, we are taken back at least as far as Sunday the 15th April for the date of sailing from the port of Liverpool, less than one week after the death of Mary Evill on the 9th April. Possibly Harris intended to write ‘three days’ rather than ‘three weeks’.

<sup>365</sup> By Joseph Jones. See note 337.

<sup>366</sup> Robert Hawker (1753-1827) was the author of *The poor man’s commentary on the New Testament*, in 4 volumes (1816), and *The poor man’s commentary on the Old Testament*, in 6 volumes (1822). A new edition, combining the two works in 10 volumes, was published between 1822 and 1826 under the title *The poor man’s commentary on the Bible*. The use of the phrase ‘poor man’ in these titles (and in some other of his publications) reflects the fact that he both wrote and priced these books so that they would be understandable and inexpensive to even the poorest members of his flock. Hawker, an Anglican clergyman in Plymouth, openly declared his adherence to hyper-Calvinistic Antinomian theology, a theology of which Harris several times in these letters asserts his personal disapproval.

him gradually into understanding of the Scriptures, while Hawker gave him high spiced Calvinism before he was prepared to receive it. But perhaps I may not recollect the latter accurately. However, I like Jones as a conductor to the reading of the Scriptures. By what I've read of *Cottage poems*, the author has gone more deeply into Christian feelings than I suspected from his earlier writings. Is he not an experimental believer? You will excuse the *cant expression*, notwithstanding what Foster<sup>367</sup> has written against such language. *The Cottage minstrel*<sup>368</sup> is evidently intended for church & king folks *only*, which I am sorry for, as there are very pretty things in it, which ought to be generally known. Could I whisper in Mr. Jones's ear, it would be to suggest his separating all his royal and hiera[r]chical pieces from the rest, and disposing of them to the Bartlett-buildings-society.<sup>369</sup> The rest would sell equally well to the admirers of the Establishment and would have a free circulation among the Dissenters (who, by the bye, are perhaps the greatest consumers of such articles. Of this you must be best able to judge). The same remark will apply to the *Cottager's conversations*.<sup>370</sup> I should not chuse [*sic*] to let my child suppose by my putting that book into his hand that I approved of the Ch[urch] of Eng[land] catechism.<sup>371</sup> Mr. J.'s forte is not dialogue-writing. As a series of instructions it is very good. *Serious musings*<sup>372</sup> is novel in its plan, but pleasing. I have only two or three of them. It will probably be my companion if I'm spared to visit my daughter, where I may wander in the woods with it in my hand.<sup>373</sup> It is a book of measured contemplations. Should I

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<sup>367</sup> Harris probably had in mind the Baptist minister John Foster (1770-1843), of whom it has been commented that 'his literary criticisms... are chiefly of value for their keen detection of what is hollow and false in sentiment, and their sarcastic exposure of affectation and pretence [*sic*]' (<http://www.1902encyclopedia.com/F/FOS/john-foster.html>); and 'On insincerity, affectation, and cant, he was unsparingly sarcastic' (J.E. Ryland [ed.], *The life and correspondence of John Foster* [New York, 1846], vol. II, p. 308; see also p. 294). Further, in April 1807 Foster contributed to the *Eclectic review* an article titled 'On affectation'. Letters included in *The life and correspondence* demonstrate that, like Samuel Harris, John Foster was a frequent correspondent with the ever-helpful Joseph Hughes, with whom both men seem to have enjoyed a near-lifetime friendship. Their acquaintance was also probably cemented by the fact that Foster not only spent time studying in Bristol Baptist Academy (albeit in 1791-2, by which time Harris had removed to London), but also, later in life, began a series of fortnightly lectures at Broadmead Chapel until Robert Hall assumed the pastorate of the church. Foster was also a significant contributor of articles to the *Eclectic review*, a journal particularly noted by Harris in Letter 6.

<sup>368</sup> *Cottage poems* and *The cottage minstrel* were further publications by Joseph Jones, noted in *The monthly review*, April 1824, p. 437.

<sup>369</sup> Bartlett's Buildings, in Holborn, London, was in the nineteenth century a location favoured by the upper classes. It was there also that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had its headquarters. The SPCK had a distinctly Anglican mission and was by far the largest publisher of religious literature in the nineteenth century. It is no doubt to this institution that Harris alluded, although in 1824 the SPCK would move from Bartlett's Buildings to Lincoln's Inn Fields.

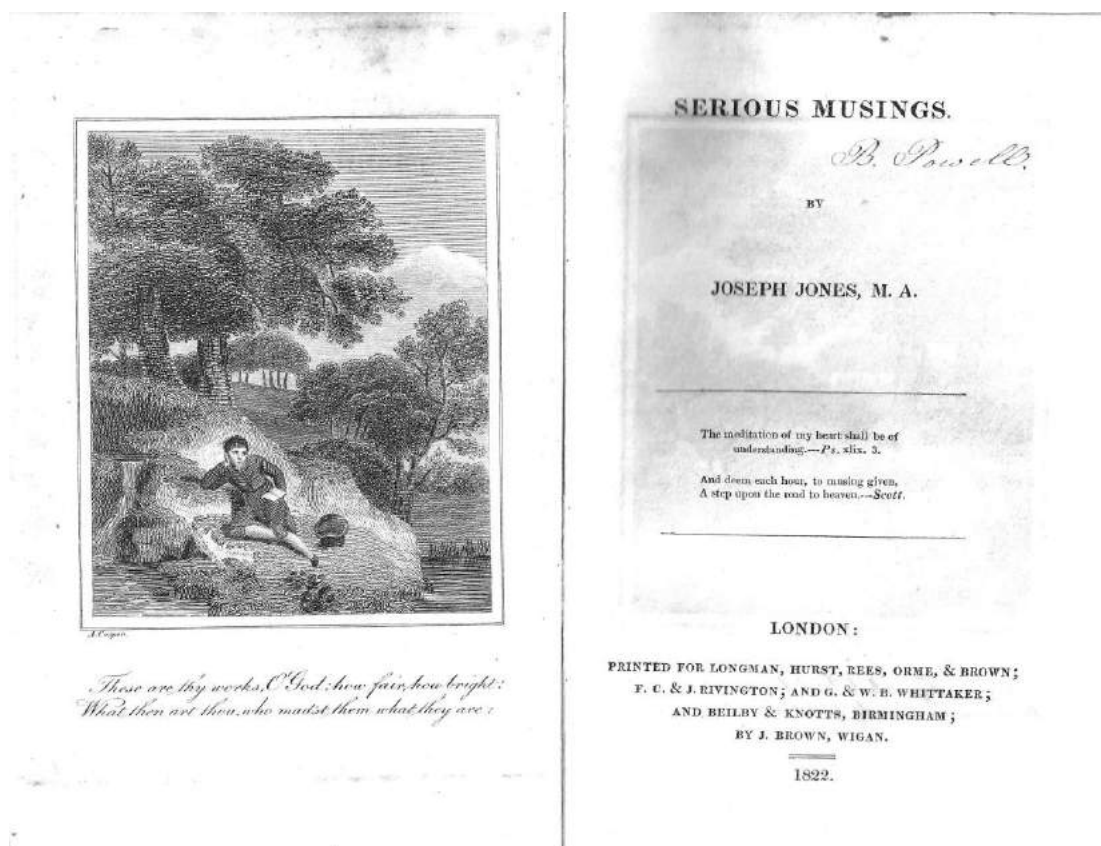
<sup>370</sup> Joseph Jones's *Cottage conversations; or good advice to the poor* was published in 1821. However, *The cottager's conversations with his children* appears as the title of a work by Joseph Jones in the list of this author's publications appended to John Brown's edition of Jones's *Serious musings* (1822), so there remains the possibility that these were two separate publications.

<sup>371</sup> The catechizing of children is a subject to which Harris returns in Letter 7 and again in Letter 11, where he reveals that he makes use of Isaac Watts's presentation of the Westminster Shorter Catechism in instructing his granddaughter in the Christian faith (see note 830).

<sup>372</sup> Joseph Jones's *Serious musings* was printed in Wigan by John Brown in 1822.

<sup>373</sup> This thought might have been suggested to Harris by the engraved frontispiece to this poetry collection, in which a young man is depicted, deep in thought over a book resting on his lap and his hat beside him, as he reclines on a bank by a stream against a woodland background. The scene could well be imagined as one of the banks of North Hogan Creek in the region of Manchester and Sparta townships, Dearborn County, Indiana.

meet with any church & king lore in this, I'll forgive it. *The martyrs*<sup>374</sup> will, I think, please me much, by the few pages already redde [*sic*].



***Serious musings* by Joseph Jones, referred to by Samuel Harris in the foregoing paragraph, with title-page showing handwritten proprietary signature of Benjamin Powell (1792-1861), who served as Vicar of St. George's, Wigan and who is referred to by Harris at the end of this letter**

Accept my thanks, dear friend & brother, for them all, and forgive me in having selfishly expressed a wish that has brought so large a tribute from your friendship. I did not intend to encroach so much. When an opportunity occurs of free conveyance to Longman & Co., pray hand a note in my name to my old acquaintance Mr. Spence,<sup>375</sup> thanking him for his kind remembrance of me in his valuable work. Some of his notions are very applicable to this part of the globe, and will make his name known and esteemed. As an entomologist, he would have a vast field to revel in. Here are insects such as I have never seen in the plates of the most copious works of natural history, both creeping and winged.<sup>376</sup> My days are long since passed for

<sup>374</sup> Joseph Jones's *The martyrs: a poem* was also published in 1822.

<sup>375</sup> Probably the political economist and entomologist William Spence ([bap.] 1782-1860), on whom see *ODNB*. Between 1815 and 1826 Longman published in four volumes *An introduction to entomology* by William Kirby and William Spence and the latter possibly requested a copy of this work to be forwarded to his old acquaintance Samuel Harris in the USA. We may perhaps surmise that the two had become acquainted during the former residence of each of them in the city of Hull.

<sup>376</sup> 'Creeping and winged': the division was no doubt suggested to Harris's mind by the account of creation on the fifth and sixth days as recounted in Genesis 1. 21-25.

pursuits of this kind, but were I ten years younger, botany and entomology would *force* themselves upon me as studies which would deliciously employ all my leisure hours, while they would express my acquaintance with the wonders of creation. Should William's health be established so as to bring *Mt. Tabor* into order, very probably he may communicate his observations to Mr. Spence on these subjects. The odd number of the "Teacher's offering"<sup>377</sup> is a very pretty thing. Should I live to visit Cincinnati again, [I] intend to shew it to one who is active in things of this kind. It may prove a blessing to many in these parts.

'Tis pity the Catholic controversy is not in more able hands than Sibson's and Holgate's.<sup>378</sup> The former especially lays himself open to the unskillful hands of Shuttleworth.<sup>379</sup> They all deserve a good flogging.<sup>380</sup> None but a downright

<sup>377</sup> *The teacher's offering; or, Sunday school monthly visitor*, edited by John Campbell, began publication in London in 1823.

<sup>378</sup> John Holgate, born at Martin Top, near Clitheroe, Lancashire, came to Orrell, situated four miles to the south-west of Wigan town centre, in 1820. After studying at Idle Academy, he was ordained as an Independent minister in November 1823 (along with George Greatbatch, in whose work Harris expresses an interest elsewhere in these letters) and engaged in itinerant preaching all around Orrell, before a new Independent chapel, known as Salem Chapel, was erected in Orrell in January 1825. On the part played by Holgate, under the strong adverse influence of Alexander Steill and Aaron Stock, in excluding Nelly Weeton from membership of the new church, see Weeton, *JG*, vol. II, pp. 201-208, 321. Holgate continued to minister in Orrell for thirty years and did much to campaign for education and the care of orphans, many of whom had become orphaned as a result of mining disasters. Holgate died, aged 63, on the 25th November 1850 and Holgate Primary School in Orrell commemorates the work he did to pioneer educational provision in the town. (Nightingale, *LN*, pp. 40 f.) It is not clear what part Holgate took in the 1822-3 anti-Catholic controversy in the area and why he was linked in Harris's comment with Edmund Sibson of Ashton-in-Makerfield (dealt with in the following note), but we may suspect that John Brown had reported to Harris some role that Holgate had played in supporting the anti-Catholic propaganda of Edmund Sibson in the area around Ashton-in-Makerfield, perhaps through pulpit oratory. With regard to Holgate's involvement in the ecclesiastical affairs of Ashton, it may be noted (1) that Holgate officiated at baptisms in Ashton-in-Makerfield Independent Chapel between the years 1825 and 1829 ([http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Ashton-in-Makerfield/independent/baptisms\\_1822-1836.html](http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Ashton-in-Makerfield/independent/baptisms_1822-1836.html)); (2) that he was present in Ashton at the ordination of John Penkethman to the ministry of Ashton Independent Chapel in March 1832 (Nightingale, *LN*, p. 54); and (3) that his own stepson, Frederick Clarke Dowthwaite (b. 1820) assumed the ministry of Ashton Independent Chapel in February 1850 (Nightingale, *LN*, p. 57). See also *The London Christian instructor, or Congregational magazine*, vol. VII (1824) p. 167.

<sup>379</sup> In the years 1822-3 there were published in Wigan *Twenty-seven letters on popery to the Rev. J. Shuttleworth*, written by Edmund Sibson (d. 1847), who served as minister in Ashton-in-Makerfield, a few miles to the south of Wigan. These letters, issued as pamphlets, most of them twelve pages in length, were printed by the Wigan printer Lyon & Co., but other printers were also involved including Albert Reckitt (who, like John Brown, had an address in Standishgate, Wigan) and John Brown himself, as is testified by a note written in Sibson's small, cramped handwriting at the head of his account with Lyon & Co. summarizing payments made for the printing of the pamphlets ('If at the rate of 400 for 35/6 I pay for no advertisements & no Carriage of Parcels & if all that are printed are sold, there is only left for me 3/7½ a hundred. Mr. Brown would print them at 600 for 50/-'). Another note, written at the foot of the same page, suggests that Brown also had a hand in printing later reprints: '1823 July 11 110 Letter N° 8. 125 Letter N° 10 & 110 Letter N° 11, reprinted, that 50 sets may be bound & for each of which left I am to receive only 3/4½ } 3:6:0. Mr. Brown would print 100 [?] for 25/-'. In the course of writing his pamphlets, Sibson borrowed books from a number of people and he kept a careful account of these. One of those who lent to him was noted as 'Mr. Brown, Bookseller, Wigan', who, from the 29th September 1822 to the 26th February 1823, lent Sibson a copy of *The morning-exercise against popery, or, the principal errors of the Church of Rome detected and confuted* (1675) by the Nonconformist preacher Nathaniel Vincent. ('Letters to Rev. J. Shuttleworth', *ESP*.) John Shuttleworth, who served as Roman Catholic priest in Ashton-in-Makerfield, countered with *A letter to the inhabitants of Ashton, and an address to the Ashton Sunday School Committee: [a] reply to the three first letters of the Rev. E. Sibson*, which was also printed by Lyon (Wigan, 1822).

Calvinistic Baptist can consistently attack the Roman Church against a skillful Jesuit. Still these bunglers may set the poor people to thinking and reading, and thus good may be done.

I take brother Skirrow's notice of me kindly. His Cob of all cobs<sup>381</sup> is a clever fellow and will do good. Friend Jackson's piece is a good "Argumentum ad hominem" as contending with Bennett;<sup>382</sup> but were he to visit this *new* country and witness the ill effects of his main principle, which has been acted upon to the extreme, he would perhaps be led to examine more closely into the soundness of it. The Kentucky Baptists in contending against Episcopacy as established by law, attacked it on that side (the hireling's wages) as being clearest to the common comprehension. Success was certain, and the principle is fully maintained over the greater part of this western country (excepting in the larger towns) and in many instances it has operated *dolefully*. Very fine maxims but what may be abused, and *this* has been sadly.

James Latham paid Aurora a visit from Cincinnati early in the week now rendered so mournful to me, and remains here and in the neighbourhood at present. I gave him the letter from his father on the day after my brother's arrival. He wrote home by a private hand a few months ago, and hopes to write again soon. When he

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Shuttleworth was assisted on the Roman Catholic side by a whole series of pamphlets (sold and sometimes printed by Lyon & Co. in Wigan among others) countering those of Sibson, written by William Eusebius Andrews (1773-1837), a notable Catholic journalist and campaigner for Roman Catholicism in the years leading up to Catholic emancipation in 1829. In this controversy other pro- and anti-Catholic pamphlets were issued in the years 1822-3, 1828, and even as late as 1852. (See Folkard, *WD*, p. 34.) Although Harris had little regard for the ability of Sibson in this anti-Catholic pamphlet warfare, Sibson nevertheless received the commendation of his diocesan bishop, Charles Blomfield, Bishop of Chester, for his conduct in this debate. Sibson was, in fact, something of a polymath, a mathematician and also antiquary, who contributed to the *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*. He studied also in the fields of botany, geology, and entomology, and relished Classical literature, music, and poetry. It has been reported that Sibson was 'so good a mathematician that he was engaged by his friend, George Stephenson, prior to the erection of the Britannia Tubular Bridge over the Menai Straits, to work out the calculations and supply the necessary data as to the strength etc. of each tube to be used so as to ensure the safety and stability of the bridge' (<http://www.stthomasstluke.org.uk/ourchurch/history/parishhistory/>; see further *The Gentleman's magazine*, n.s., vol. XXIX [Feb., 1848] pp. 204-208). The Edmund Sibson collection in Warrington Public Library contains, in addition to printed items, papers relating to Ashton Chapel and Sunday School, census papers relating to the poor of several districts in Lancashire and Cheshire, letters, and collections of notes on gardening, divinity and poetry, mathematical problems, algebra, trigonometry, and astronomy, reflecting the wide interests and extensive activities that Sibson engaged in.

<sup>380</sup> Harris's comment here may seem harsh, but he is most probably deliberately echoing the language used in the titles of two publications on the Roman Catholic side of this pamphlet warfare written by William Eusebius Andrews: *A doctrinal lash at the champion, with a traditional switch for Parson Sibson, on the doctrine of purgatory and prayer for the dead* and *Another switch for the parson; being a refutation of his lies, and an illustration of the practice of praying to saints and angels, and venerating images*.

<sup>381</sup> 'To the Cob of all Cobs, the mighty Cobbett' was the title of an item published in two parts in *The Liverpool mercury*, on the 10th and 17th January 1822, by the newspaper's editor Egerton Smith, in which he made a spirited riposte against allegations previously levelled against himself by the journalist and social agitator William Cobbett (1763-1835), dubbing him by the abbreviation 'Cob' in response to Cobbett's having referred to Egerton Smith under the nickname 'Bot', and duly milking the title 'Cob' of its various meanings to poke fun at Cobbett. Harris links this publication with James Skirrow, perhaps because the latter passed it to Brown for onward transmission to Harris as a matter of some common interest. See further remarks in note 741.

<sup>382</sup> This person cannot be identified with certainty, but see note 393.

left me (last fall) I wrote to his father a statement of the circumstances which caused and led to our separation, and gave James the letter for him to add to it what he thought proper. He kept it three or four weeks, but whether he returned it to me and I forwarded it, or whether he sent it himself, I have no distinct recollection now. When I visited Cincinnati in June, I understood that he conducted himself well; but I cannot learn why he left his place now. He has still the same affectation of mystery, so that if a friend should be ever so inclined to serve him, he prevents it by his needless reserve. Owing to the same cause, I cannot judge whether the religious instructions he received under his parental roof and since have been blessed to his spiritual advantage or not. The same reserve forbids any other than general remarks from me in attempting to advise him now. I fear this disposition will operate sometimes to his disadvantage. The keen sighted natives smile at it as a lad-dish [*sic*] affectation of sagacity. Still I think he will do well. All my inquiries about him convinces [*sic*] me he has no improper acquaintances.<sup>383</sup>

And now let me go over your very friendly and interesting letter. The first marked hint satisfies me that your employment in *receiving money* is more brisk than formerly. I rejoice in it as a mark of prosperity which it is hoped may be steady and continued. For your anxiety to forward the parcel in time I thank you heartily. It reached Bristol about four days before the party sailed. Your enumeration of events in chronological order is an admirable method and renders your communications doubly interesting. I hope many will have reason to bless God in future years for the division in Hope street church,<sup>384</sup> especially if it end in building a church in Scholes.<sup>385</sup>

Perhaps 'tis doubtful whether you ought to be glad or grieved at the reduced price of provisions. Should they continue at the prices you mention a few years, the effect must necessarily be felt upon all other articles, or a shilling will go as far as three in any & every thing, so that eventually provisions will be no cheaper than clothing, books, or landaulets. But you hint at emigration. In my present forlorn situation I do not wish myself back, and I think my poor brother is better off than had he remained in your country. Yet I advise not any to come; and some *who had determined to come*, in consequence of having seen two or three of my letters, have relinquished the idea as I wrote to them expressly stating such things that render this country very unfit for persons of their cast. There are too many here already who, having been used to be fed by others, now groan and grumble because they are obliged to feed themselves.

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<sup>383</sup> 'Improper acquaintances': a euphemism current in the 1820s in referring to immoral sexual relations.

<sup>384</sup> See note 414.

<sup>385</sup> Scholes is the urban area situated in an elevated position immediately to the east of Wigan town centre. 'Scholes is the "Little Ireland" of Wigan,—the poorest quarter of the town. The colliers and factory operatives chiefly live there. There is a saying in Wigan that no man's education is finished until he has been brought through Scholes.' (Edwin Waugh, 'Among the Wigan Operatives', in *Factory folk during the cotton famine* [Manchester, 1881] p. 113.) Nightingale noted that in 1826 several friends of Hope Chapel opened a Sunday School in Scholes, with 450 children on its books. (*LN*, p. 88.) These 'friends' did not include those who seceded in 1822 (see note 414), but consisted of persons from several churches in Wigan. John Brown was one of the signatories to a printed leaflet containing an appeal for help in founding a Sunday School in Scholes, which was dated September 5th, 1826, a copy of which is affixed in *HSCCMB*. Some further information about the school in Scholes, which continued its activity into the last decade of the nineteenth century, may be found in Horsman, *HHCC*, p. 39.





### Book tickets of the St. Helens printer and bookseller Isaac Sharp

Should Mr. Simmons be living when this reaches you, remember me very affectionately to him, to brother Ellison, and all the good folks at Lord str. How does his brother deacon wear?<sup>386</sup> By the names at foot of *Cottage lectures* as vendors, I conclude Isaac Sharpe<sup>387</sup> is settled at St. Helen's there as stationer. Has James Lyon<sup>388</sup> given up there? Can you learn what James Sharp<sup>389</sup> is doing? William often wishes for him, to work some of his fat down. Mr. Sharp told me something about the coal concern some years ago and that some charged him with deriving profit from it, but that he never had or could have any.<sup>390</sup> Respecting the Chamberlains, I

<sup>386</sup> The deacons of Lord Street church at this time were William Ellison and William Park, who had come from Manchester in 1819. (BCBLSW, p. 2.)

<sup>387</sup> Elsewhere in his letters, Harris spells the name 'Sharp'. However, 'Sharpe, St. Helens' is the form in which the name is printed in the colophon to numbers of *Cottage lectures* published in 1822, which Harris refers to in this place. This seems, however, to be a typographical error, since in all other sources the family name is Sharp. Isaac Sharp, the St. Helens stationer, was one of at least two sons (Isaac and James) of the Rev. Isaac Sharp, on whom see note 390. According to an obituary of Isaac Sharp jun. published in the *St. Helens newspaper*, 1865 (cited by Barker, *MT*, p. 383), he 'served his apprenticeship with a printer in Wigan [who was quite possibly John Brown] and with Longman [with whom, as noted elsewhere, John Brown was in a business relationship – see e.g. note 312] in London. He returned to St. Helens in 1821 to take over a printing, bookselling and stationery business at the corner of the Old Market Place, previously owned by Henry Lyon.' Unless Isaac Sharp jun.'s business in Market Place, Windle, St. Helens stocked older publications, it was possibly active from an earlier date than that stated in the obituary, as seems to be indicated by small tickets, bearing the legend 'I. Sharp, Printer, Bookseller, &c., Market Place, St. Helens', found affixed to the three volumes of *Œuvres du Comte Antoine Hamilton* (Paris, 1812), presently in the possession of the editor. Isaac Sharp apparently met with misfortune on the domestic front, as the evidence (found in the baptism and burial records of New Chapel and in the 1841 Census) seems to indicate that he was married at least three times. Thus, there is record of the birth on the 18th July 1820 of James Sharp, son of Isaac and Elizabeth Sharp of Hardshaw (the old name for St. Helens). Record of the death of Elizabeth Sharp has not been found, but New Chapel baptism records show that two children were born to Isaac and Sarah Sharp: Elizabeth (perhaps named for the deceased first wife) on the 1st November 1823 and Sarah (for the second wife) on the 15th May 1828. The burial records indicate that the mother, Sarah Sharp, was buried on the 19th April 1830. Then Isaac married again and the baptism records show that a son Frederic William was born to Isaac and Rachel Sharp on the 11th August 1833. In the 1841 Census, we find record of Isaac Sharp, a bookseller (aged 43), living with his wife Rachel (aged 40), three children (Elizabeth, 18; Sarah, 14; and Frederick [N.B. the variant spelling], 7), an apprentice (Francis Selby, 14), and a servant (Anne Melling, 22). Isaac Sharp, who is said to have had 'a fluent tongue', took an active part in the development of St. Helens by promoting the St. Helens Improvement Bill of 1845 and by taking part as a commissioner in the subsequent St. Helens Improvement Commission. (Barker, *MT*, pp. 301, 303, 395.)

<sup>388</sup> Possibly an error for Henry Lyon; see note 387.

<sup>389</sup> James Sharp, brother of Isaac Sharp jun. referred to in note 387, had been a fellow apprentice with William Tell Harris in Wigan, as is noted by the latter in Letter 12.

<sup>390</sup> After training in Heckmondwike Academy (situated originally at Mill Bridge, Yorkshire, where Harris's daughter Susanna would later reside, on which see F. Peel, *Nonconformity in the Spen valley* [Heckmondwike, 1891] pp. 132 ff.), Isaac Sharp sen. served as minister of New Chapel Independent Church in St. Helens, Lancashire between 1778 and 1825. He died aged 77 (thus it is stated in New Chapel burial records) on the 14th February 1827 (cf. Nightingale, *LN*, p. 135, where his age at death is



consider it a kind providence which hindered us from contriving their accompanying us. My dear wife always fancied that Betty would have been as serviceable to us here as she was occasionally in England, but I thought otherwise. But *now*, what could I have done with her or them?

Your cotton factors seem upon the alert to catch the passing breeze. We at a distance fancy we can see more of the road they are upon and farther on than they can. At present you have factories enough in Lancashire to supply all the world. When they become more numerous, they can only succeed by competition: and what competition will do, the great coach masters, as the Brethertons,<sup>391</sup> can tell. But let this world spin round as it will, I am almost out of it and you are not many leagues astern. A few more rolling moons, or perhaps years, may pass and then we shall *know* it to be all a shadow. *Now*, we *say* it is. *Then* we shall *feel* it is. I now sit at my chamber window, where my dear Sally used to sit, and looking down on the old Ohio as it rolls steadily along, bearing large flats<sup>392</sup> downwards to N[ew] Orleans, never to

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given as 74) and was buried at New Chapel five days later (see <http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/St-Helens/independent/>). His widow died aged 82 on the 19th November 1847. (*Liverpool mercury*, 16th November 1847.) Like Wigan, St. Helens was built over large underground coal seams, the mining of which produced wealth for those fortunate to own the land overhead. We have such an example in John Allanson, the owner of a small estate at Parr, St. Helens, who, before coal had begun to be extracted underground, entrusted his estate to the Independent Chapel in 1792. The income produced by it was used to purchase Bibles and devotional literature for the use of the congregation and, when the coal measures beneath the estate started to be mined in 1830 with exponential increase in income, 'a sizeable library was built up and the interest from this income not only helped to pay off the debt on the new chapel but also made possible the erection of a Sunday School building in 1837.' (Barker, *MT*, pp. 389 f.) A similar situation must have existed with land on which the New Independent Chapel, ministered to by Isaac Sharp, was built. In fact, 'The building had been severely shaken by coal-mining at the close of the eighteenth century and was only made safe by means of several stout wooden buttresses.' That was the state of affairs by the time that Isaac Sharp had concluded his long ministry there and suspicion may well have arisen that he had personally profited from the extraction of coal from beneath the site. It was left to Sharp's successor William Vint to demolish the old chapel in 1826 and in its place erect a larger building of brick construction capable of accommodating the growing congregation, some 300 strong by 1829. (Barker, *MT*, pp. 173 f.)

<sup>391</sup> The coaching businesses of the three (possibly brother) Brethertons (Peter, Bartholomew, and Francis) have been traced by A.H. Arkle ('Early Liverpool coaching', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. LXXIII [1921] pp. 1-32; see esp. pp. 20-27), who presented information relating to their rise from 1800 to their decline in the face of increased competition by other coach-masters and later by the introduction of steam locomotion in the 1830s. (N.B. Harris's interest expressed in Gurney's steam coach of 1827 in Letter 9.) For illustration we may perhaps notice an advertisement which appeared in *The Liverpool mercury* in 1815 for the 'Umpire' stage coach, owned by B. Bretherton & Co., which regularly travelled between Liverpool and London (see reproduction in *PF*, no. 25 [Summer 2000] p. 11). Although, by the time at which Harris was writing, competition may have driven the coach firm out of business or, at least, on hard times, yet interestingly, a Bretherton Coachworks is today (in 2016) in business in Chorley, Lancashire, making luxury horse-boxes. There is also a Brethertons coach hire business at Chipping, near Preston, Lancashire. We may perhaps speculate that these firms have related family origins in the village of Bretherton, near Chorley, Lancashire. Cf. also a John Bretherton, attorney, in Wallgate, Wigan listed in Pigot, *CD* 1818; and also note 213. Harris's remarks here on the ultimate effects of competition on the Lancashire cotton industry would prove prescient of the turn of events in the following century.

<sup>392</sup> That is, flatboats, otherwise known as 'arks', 'broadhorns', or 'Kentucky flats', which were powerless vessels, shaped like huge orange-boxes, steered by long poles, used for one-way drifting voyages down the Ohio River, mainly by emigrants for the transporting of all their worldly goods including livestock to new settler destinations downriver. Harris's son William Tell had referred to such vessels as 'arks, or flat-bottomed boats' and the one he travelled in as a 'floating box' (*RTUSA*, p. 85). A good description, together with illustrations, of these flatboats may be found in Gigante, *KB*, pp. 229 f. & plates 41-43. For additional descriptions and illustrations, see T.W. Records, 'Flatboats',

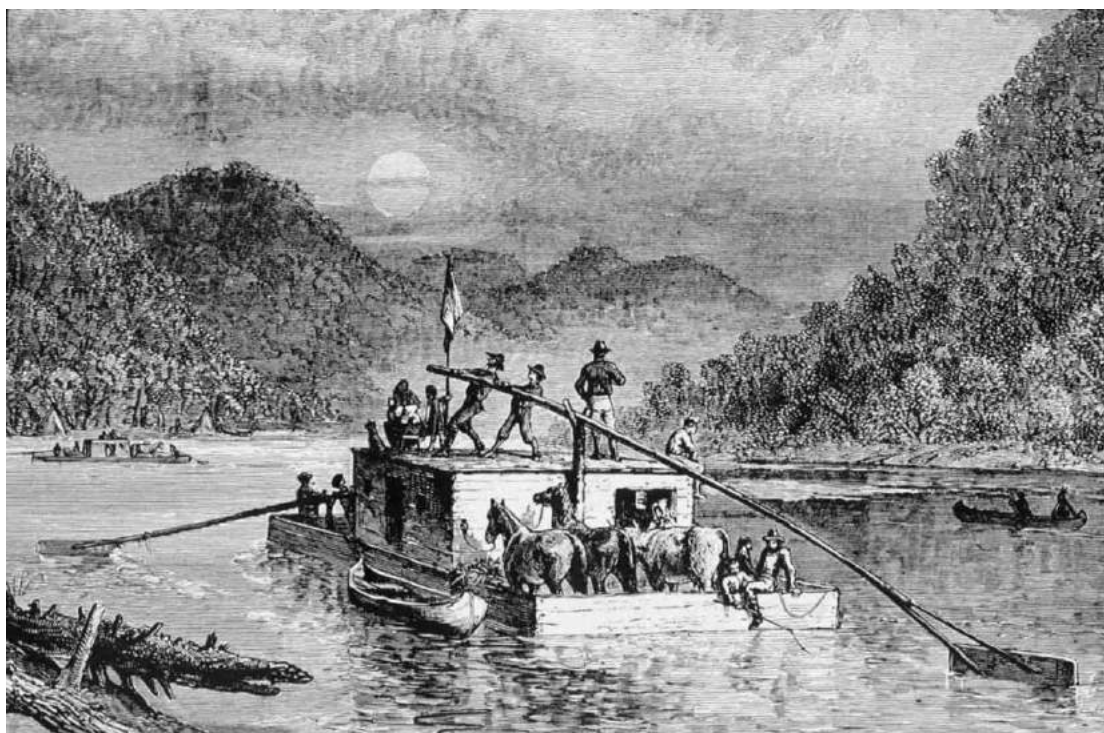
return, I see a lively emblem of human life. Each particle of water as it passes, passes as for the first, so the last time, never to be beheld again by me. I do not envy my late neighbour Bennett his success.<sup>393</sup> In all the sixteen years I was in business in Wigan I did not lay by the money he gave for “The Dog”,<sup>394</sup> and yet lived as economically as he has done. But I could not, I *would not* manage my business on his plan. I can look back, and feel *peace*.

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*IMH*, vol. XLII/4 (Dec. 1946) pp. 323-342; Madison, *IW*, pp. 77-80; and E. Sieber & C.A. Munson, *Looking at history: Indiana's Hoosier National Forest Region, 1600-1950* (US Dept. of Agriculture Forest Service, 1992).

<sup>393</sup> T.G. Bennett and Samuel Harris are listed as two of the three ‘Druggists and Oilmen’ with businesses in Wigan (all with premises in Market Place) in Pigot, *CD* 1818. The former’s full name, Thomas George Bennett, is given in *Pigot's commercial directory of Wigan, 1816*. A Thomas Bennett appears in the Lord Street church book, baptized on the 5th September 1819 and leaving in June 1826 to become one of the founding members of the new Baptist church in King Street (*BCBLSW*, pp. 2, 12, 20; see also *KSCB&M*), but this is most probably a different person to the Bennett referred to by Harris, as would seem clear from the biography of Thomas Bennett (d. 26th January 1833) included in Brown, *FTY*, pp. 9-14. There is further evidence of T.G. Bennett in Wigan, since baptisms and burials registers of All Saints, Wigan record that in May 1821 Thomas George Bennett’s wife Sarah gave birth to a son, Henry, who however died in infancy on the 2nd March 1824. T.G. Bennett is perhaps to be identified with the Masonic Past Master T.G. Bennett of Wigan’s Sincerity Lodge, one of the signatories of the first ‘Magna Charta of Masonic Freedom’ signed by rebel Wigan Freemasons on the 22nd December 1823. See E.B. Beesley, *The history of the Wigan Grand Lodge (Lancashire)* (Manchester, 1920) pp. 17, 31-38; & D. Harrison, *The Liverpool Masonic rebellion and the Wigan Grand Lodge: the last Masonic rebellion* (Bury St Edmunds, 2012) plate following p. 61 & p. 95 (where Bennett’s first initial is either misprinted or mistranscribed ‘P.’). T.G. Bennett is not listed among those attending meetings of the rebel lodge beyond the year 1824 (Beesley, pp. 40, 46, 49). Interestingly, however in view of Harris’s comment here, Beesley (pp. 66, 68, 70, 71) noted also that Wigan Freemasons met at the Dog Inn, in Wigan Market Place, on a number of occasions in 1839, when it was managed by one of the Masonic brethren, ‘Mr. Swift’, perhaps James Swift, who later managed the Rope and Anchor Inn in Scholes (Beesley, pp. 100 f.).

<sup>394</sup> An establishment called ‘The Dog’, in Market Place, Wigan, is listed among the public houses of Wigan in the 1820s (see <http://www.wiganworld.co.uk/stuff/pubs2.php>), but by 1825 it was under the proprietorship of Henry Rowe (so it is stated in ‘Hotels, inns & taverns in Wigan in 1825’ in Whitehouse, *HTBW*, as also in Baines, *DW*).



### Flatboats on the Ohio River

You express a hope that our religious concerns here may wear a brighter appearance. The events of the last four weeks have thrown me so completely out of my usual track, that I scarcely know where I am. However, during this summer, I have ceased to hold meetings expressly on my own account in Aurora and we meet with the Methodists,<sup>395</sup> where I generally preach when at home. Our Monthly Meeting is always held, the church meeting on the second Saturday, and preaching on the following day. On the other Lord's days I generally visit neighbouring places where I am well attended. If I do not, we (that is, the few steady ones) meet with the Methodists, who always invite me to speak to them when they have no preacher of their own. Our church has devolved on me the task of writing the letter to the association,<sup>396</sup> in which I have stated plainly the condition we are in. 'Tis possible it may cause some stir among some of us, when 'tis brought for approbation.

Unless the Lord sees fit to enlighten Mr. Rushton's mind, he may occasion mu[ch]<sup>397</sup> sifting in your little body.<sup>398</sup> I hope, my dear brother, you will be preserved

<sup>395</sup> The Methodist Episcopal Church in Aurora had premises on lot 221, on the south side of Literary (later Fifth) Street, quite close to the Harris cabin on Mount Tabor. It was, it seems, in the Methodist church that the Mount Tabor Sunday School held their meetings. (A notice in the *Indiana palladium*, 17th July 1830 specifically mentions 'the Mt. Tabor and Mt. Zion, Methodist schools'. See also notes 49 & 459.)

<sup>396</sup> That is, the Laughery Baptist Association, first constituted in 1818. By the tenth session (1828) it had 20 member churches in the Indianan counties of Dearborn, Ohio, Ripley, and Switzerland, with a total membership of 584 people. Aurora had at that time only 21 members. (W.T. Stott, *Indiana Baptist history* [Franklin? Ind., c. 1908] p. 92.)

<sup>397</sup> Some damage to the page at this point.

<sup>398</sup> William Rushton (1796-1838) for many years conducted the evening service of Lime Street Chapel in Liverpool, the church whose minister was James Lister, referred to elsewhere in these notes. Rushton was a fierce defender of the doctrine of particular redemption against the exponent of general atonement, Andrew Fuller (1754-1815). In a somewhat belated reply to Fuller's *Dialogues, letters*,

in a right spirit on the occasion. You will do right to manifest your disapprobation of unscriptural doctrine by not countenancing it in your own place and it will require all the wisdom the Father of Light may communicate, to preserve you from acting in your own spirit. You are constitutionally impetuous and irritable. Hearken to your Lord. Matth. xi. 29.<sup>399</sup> Respecting father Simmons's continuing to preach, great wisdom also in this will be requisite.<sup>400</sup> However, the Lord of Sion will order all for the best.

Could I convey myself to your house during the time your catalogue will be in the pre[ss,]<sup>401</sup> I would freely do it. It would be just such an amusement as I *want* now. My mind is [.....?] and enervated.

24th. During the last fortnight I have been obliged to exert myself in pub[lic.?] Last Lord's day [I] had considerable trial, being called upon to speak at the funeral of an old man related to some in our town, who was found drowned in our creek. [It] seems he had been quarrelling in a drunken fit, and received considerable injury, so that falling from his horse near the water, he rolled in and was unable to recover himself. I felt it necessary to speak plainer and more cuttingly than was agreeable to some of the hearers. Going to the grave, the bier broke, the coffin burst open in the fall, and the corpse rolled out. Can you imagine a circumstance more revolting to the feelings? The last time that bier was used, I *followed* it. Had this disaster occurred then, the very idea is horrifying!

You will communicate to Mr. Alston so much of this as you think proper with my affectionate respects. Tell him his old acquaintance Mrs. Lawford<sup>402</sup> is come from the neighbourhood of bears, wolves & rattlesnakes, to ly-in [*sic*] at her sister-in-law's about a mile from us. She often talks about him & you, and wishes your letter had said something more about your neighbour D.B.'s family.<sup>403</sup> She seems a little mortified that your parcel did not contain a letter from Margaret Brown (if such be her name still, not Gaskell).<sup>404</sup> However, the two friends have each too much employment to engage in a chit-chat correspondence. 'Tis as well for them to hear of one another. I cannot attempt to answer Mrs. Brown's kind letter. It will be long preserved with one or two others which came to the same address, as memorials.

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*and essays on various subjects* (1782) and *The gospel worthy of all acceptance* (1785), he published in 1831 *A defence of particular redemption, wherein the doctrine of the later Mr. Fuller relative to the atonement of Christ, is tried by the word of God, in four letters to a Baptist minister*. Harris's remark would seem to indicate that the debate between Arminian and Calvinist theologies had become somewhat heated among the Wigan Baptists, quite possibly through Rushton's direct involvement there, since on the 30th October 1821 he had married Mary Brown, the eldest daughter of David Brown, both members of King Street Baptist Church in Wigan (see Appendix V). (Announcement of the marriage was made in *The Lancaster gazette* of the 8th September 1821.) Furthermore, in 1830 Rushton delivered the anniversary sermon at King Street Baptist Church.

<sup>399</sup> 'Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls.'

<sup>400</sup> During 1822 John Simmons, the pastor of Lord Street Baptist Church in Wigan, grew aged and infirm, and suffered a protracted illness. On the 14th April he wrote to the church declaring his intention to resign the pastoral office that he had held for 13 years (*BCBLSW*, pp. 16 f.).

<sup>401</sup> Some damage to the page at this point and in succeeding lines, where the seal has been broken.

<sup>402</sup> That is, Samuel Harris's daughter Susanna.

<sup>403</sup> Possibly David Brown's family, on whom see Appendix II.

<sup>404</sup> On Margaret Gaskell (*née* Brown), see Appendix II.

Should Susan have a good getting up from her bed, they will be committed to her, with some of her dear mother's trinkets.<sup>405</sup>

Remember me affection[ate]ly to all remaining friends. James Latham is gone back to Cincinnati and will probably write by this conveyance to his parents. Don't let much time pass without writing to your forlorn yet affectionate friend & brother,  
Saml. Harris

Is William Simmons still in America? The Wadsworths did not say anything about him to any brother, so that I suppose he was not in Philadelphia then. You do not mention Mr. Powell or Mr. Hall. Does Powell continue inimical to the Bible Society?<sup>406</sup> I wrote last year to Mrs. Dutton,<sup>407</sup> Southport. Did she receive it? 'Twas addressed to her either in Liverpool or Southport.

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<sup>405</sup> Those trinkets would probably have included the 'best diamond ring' of Samuel Harris's mother, Sarah Harris (*née* Bull) (1729-1806), according to the first written provision of Sarah's will. The will was proved on the 13th August 1825 by Sarah Ann Harris, Samuel Harris's niece, who, as the present series of letters relate, was then making a return visit to England. (Thanks are due to Roger Harris Lloyd for supplying a copy of the will.)

<sup>406</sup> Benjamin Powell (1792-1861), who had previously acted as curate at St. James Church, Latchford, near Warrington, served as curate of All Saints, Wigan (1816-1821) and vicar of St. George's, Wigan (1821-1860). He was the father of the Conservative politician Sir Francis Sharp Powell, bart. (1827-1911), who served as M.P. for Wigan from 1885 to 1910. Francis's statue, unveiled by himself, stands in Mesnes Park, Wigan. Benjamin Powell's name does not appear in the list of subscribers (including more than one clergyman) in the *Seventh annual report of the Wigan Bible Society*, published in 1815, but this might simply be on account of the fact that he did not officially take up his duties in Wigan until December of 1816. Powell's extra-clerical activities included his work in founding Wigan Savings Bank in 1824 and his political canvassing on behalf of James Lindsay, 24th Earl of Crawford and 7th Earl of Balcarres (1783-1869), who was returned as one of Wigan's Members of Parliament in 1846, this despite Powell's earlier pamphleteering warfare against Lindsay in 1838. See note 216.

<sup>407</sup> Possibly a relation of the druggist Mr. Dutton; see note 869.

**Letter 4: 23rd January-12th April 1824<sup>408</sup>**

Aurora  
Dearborn County  
Indiana, U.S.  
23 January 1824

[Addressed to 'Mr. John Brown, Bookseller, Wigan, Lancashire, Old England'; inscribed 'Single sheet', 'P[er] first Packet to Liverpool', and [by John Brown? in pencil:] [received] 'about June 20th'; with postal marking '2/4'; and stamped 'LIVERPOOL SHIP LETTER'. Black wax letter seal has been removed.]

Dear sir & brother,

While I sat musing how to begin this sheet, a neighbour related an occurrence of last night, which will give you some notion of the degree of civilization to which the inhabitants of this district have arrived. Yesterday one of our townsmen beat his wife. That this was only a repetition of the offence was understood.<sup>409</sup> Last night nine men watched him coming out of a tavern,<sup>410</sup> took him out of town into the woods, stript him, tied him up to a tree, and whipped him with switches till his back was completely raw. His wife swore the peace against him<sup>411</sup> this morning, and he is just sent off to our County Jail, four miles distant.<sup>412</sup> This is the way in which such brutes are commonly served here, and it has a very good effect. If it is known that the wife's conduct is provoking, then no notice is taken of them, otherwise after this manner do the Rowdies<sup>413</sup> (rough ones) administer justice. My niece says, 'tis a fine country for women: and equally good for men.

Now let me thank you for your kind letter of Octr. 28, which arrived on the 7th inst. It would have made me very uneasy, had I not the hope that long ere this, mine of Sept. 28th is with you acknowledging the rich parcel you sent me by my brother, with the letters. By that you were informed of my bereaved state, and of the condition in which my brother landed, though if my recollection be correct, just at the

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<sup>408</sup> Apparently posted in early May 1824. See opening sentence of Letter 5.

<sup>409</sup> The repeat offender was possibly Thomas Dailey, who is listed in the 1820 Census as a resident of Aurora with his wife and three children. On the 20th March 1822 he had been charged with 'abuse and threatening his wife, who prayed the surety of the peace' and he had been duly 'found guilty and committed to jail.' (Shaw, *HDC*, p. 270.) This did not, however, deter others from taking a rough hand to their wives, even on a Sunday, as John Lasine, in a state of intoxication on that day (7th October 1827) was brought before the court in Aurora for an assault upon his wife and, when sober, was fined one dollar (Shaw, *HDC*, p. 271).

<sup>410</sup> Possibly the Aurora Hotel; see note 459.

<sup>411</sup> The meaning of this expression is 'to swear that one is in bodily fear from another, so that he may be bound over to keep the peace' (*OED*), indicating that there was at this time a competent law authority in Aurora, the seemingly most likely person representing that authority being Daniel Bartholomew (see *HDO*, pp. 313 f. & Shaw, *HDC*, pp. 269 f.). In later years, Harris's son William Tell would serve as a justice of the peace in Aurora.

<sup>412</sup> The Dearborn County Jail was (and still is) situated in Lawrenceburg.

<sup>413</sup> An interesting early usage of this Americanism, the earliest instance of this included in the *OED* being a passage in *Festoons of fancy* (Louisville, 1814) by the Kentucky lawyer William Littell. It occurs also in W. Faux, *Memorable days in America* (1823) p. 179: 'No legal inquiry took place, nor, indeed, ever takes place amongst the Rowdies, as the Back-woodsmen are called.' It seems likely that this mid-western term is derived from the personal name Rowdy, which in turn was applied to the small settlement bearing that name in eastern Kentucky.

time I finished that sheet there appeared a faint gleam of his mending. He sunk presently after and about ten in the forenoon of 1st Octr. expired. The next day he was interred by the side of my dear Sally's remains. Soon after my nephew found the regularity of my little establishment not suited to his disposition and found other lodgings; so that my niece is my only companion and renders me very comfortable. One of my apartments is occupied by a very agreeable couple and their little daughter (about 10), with whom we have been intimate ever since we lived here. We form one family at our morning and evening devotions, and our time passes on quietly and serenely.

But I ought to begin where y[ou]r letter does. At this distance from the scene of action I calmly contemplate the probable result of Messrs. Leech & Co.'s<sup>414</sup> movements with satisfaction. Some good has certainly resulted from their moving from St. Paul's into Hope street<sup>415</sup> with those who remain there, and though that affair was conducted with some mixture of human frailty, yet the divine blessing has evidently been upon it. 'Tis not improbable that "the Union"<sup>416</sup> has occasioned the division in Hope Chapel. However, this we are certain of that the Lord reigneth.<sup>417</sup>

The hope that you have received mine renders my remark on the former part of your last unnecessary, unless that I did not make my daughter acquainted with the contents of Mrs. Brown's kind letter to my dear wife till last month, on account of the notice in it of Mrs. Hodson's death,<sup>418</sup> as she was at that time expecting confinement.

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<sup>414</sup> Members of the Leech family seem to have divided their allegiance between St. Paul Independent Chapel and Hope Chapel in Wigan. Thus, among baptisms in the former church we find Mary Leech (1 Sept. 1793) and James Leech (13 Aug. 1810), and among burials are Jane Leech (aged 62, in 1797) and Jeremiah Leech (aged 27, in 1832) (<http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Wigan/Wigan/stpaul/index.html> and <http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Wigan/Wigan/stpaul/index.html>); while two of the original members of Hope Chapel in 1814 were Robert and Mary Leech (<http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Wigan/Wigan/hope/index.html>). However, Harris's reference to 'Messrs. Leech & Co.' had specifically in view the secession of four 'trouble-makers' of longstanding who had joined the Independent Church in Hope Street, Wigan: Robert Leech, Isaac Millington, Thomas Johnson, and Thomas Latimer, who in August 1822 separated from the church, having refused to accommodate themselves to the wishes of the church to invite William Marshall from Macclesfield to serve as their pastor. They were of an antinomian stamp and drew away with them 13 other members of the 50 who worshipped in Hope Street. These secessionists met for a time in a separate room, until they themselves split into two parties, after which 'their attendance shortly frittered away.' (This account was written in *HSCMB* by Edmund Alston.) Thomas Latimer later rejoined the Presbyterians meeting in Chapel Lane, Wigan, where, still later, he became an elder of the church. (Shaw, *SPW*, pp. 82, 90 f.)

<sup>415</sup> On St. Paul Independent Chapel and Hope Chapel, see Appendix V.

<sup>416</sup> This might seem to be a reference to early attempts towards a Congregational Union, which was first tentatively established at a national level in 1831. However, Harris was more likely thinking at a local level, of the formation of the Lancashire Congregational Union, achieved in 1806. On the origins and early history of the Lancashire Congregational Union, see Robinson, *LCU*, especially chapters I-IV. When in 1822 the four 'trouble-makers' mentioned in the preceding note objected to William Marshall's being called to minister in Hope Chapel, representation was made by the church to the Lancashire Union's Academy at Blackburn to supply student preachers in the interim. The Union returned a sharp rebuff, refusing to aid in the supply of ministers to Hope Chapel unless the congregation at Hope became reconciled with Alexander Steill, the minister of St. Paul's. Under these circumstances church members at Hope congratulated themselves that they did not belong to the Union and were not bound by its edicts. The four dissenters therefore took their leave, drawing others with them. See Horsman, *HHCC*, pp. 28-32.

<sup>417</sup> The phrase is found in Psalm 93. 1 and other places, and is used again by Harris later in this letter.

<sup>418</sup> On the 9th December 1822 Sarah Hodson, wife of James Alexander Hodson, MP for Wigan 1820-1831, witnessed the death of her 19-month-old daughter Octavia Arabella and in the following month



She came to her sister-in-law, Mrs. Fox for that purpose to be near the doctor, and for the convenience of nursing. She returned home in November with a bouncing girl in her lap. I have not seen her since but hear good account of her. I forwarded a letter from her to M. Marg[are]t Brown a few days ago. Concerning Dr. Cowley<sup>419</sup> we heard, a little time before yours arrived, from Mrs. Wadsworth, who we hear is preparing to return to England in the spring with her family. Had she come onwards with us, she certainly would not have wished to leave *this* part. However, though I wonder at her, she may have reason sufficient to render it a prudent step. The account of Miss Guest's removal is very interesting. You do not mention whether it has been the occasion of awakening others. Poor Salmond.<sup>420</sup> You do not say whether his wife is living. He like myself would have found himself too far advanced in years for the laborious work necessary to the clearing of new ground. I have not attempted anything in farming excepting milking and churning. Now I am clear of everything.

Feby. 11th. I left off with observing that I have now no care of any kind upon me, excepting of a few fowls. My consumption of butter is  $\frac{2}{3}$ [\$] p[er] month, and about the same for milk. I bought two young hogs a short time since, weighing 189 lb. Cost me \$3 75/100, or 16/10½,<sup>421</sup> which will probably last me till next winter. 30 bushels of corn last September cost me 4½\$, which will last through this year. Thus the two main articles of the table cost me little more than ten dollars p[er] ann[um]. Nothing for beer or wine, as we use none.

But I forget your letter. When you write to London, remember me respectfully to Mr. & Mrs. Stephenson,<sup>422</sup> also to my old friend G. Wightman.<sup>423</sup> I think he *was* seriously inclined; is he so still? London is not favourable to young converts. How is it that Edwards<sup>424</sup> is not more popular? Does he not grow? Perhaps he thought too highly of himself. Your detail of the affairs of Lord Str[ee]t is very interesting. I enter into the whole circumstances. It would be very pleasant to me to hear that the whole family below<sup>425</sup> you was more deeply baptized into the Spirit of

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she herself died 'in childbed' aged 34 and was buried on the 18th January 1823 at All Saints Church, Wigan. (*Gentleman's magazine*, vol. XCIII, pt. 1 [Jan. 1823] p. 93; & <http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Wigan/Wigan/allsaints/index.html>.) It is quite understandable therefore that Harris wished to keep this information from his daughter during her own pregnancy.

<sup>419</sup> Nehemiah Cowley is listed as a surgeon with a practice in Standishgate, Wigan in Pigot, *CD* 1818. It seems probable that the news concerning Cowley to which Harris refers was the dissolving of the partnership of the two surgeon apothecaries Nehemiah Cowley and Joseph Rogerson on the 24th January 1822 (reported in *The Lancaster gazette* of the 6th April 1822). Interesting in this connection is the fact that James Latham, who receives frequent mention in these letters, had a younger brother named Nehemiah Cowley Latham (1814-1848), perhaps testifying some closeness between the Latham and Cowley families. See <http://genforum.genealogy.com/latham/messages/1827.html>.

<sup>420</sup> The epithet 'poor' possibly reflects the misfortune of his 'failed' daughter, mentioned by Harris in Letter 6 (March 1827).

<sup>421</sup> Approx. £0.84 in modern British currency, with an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £42/\$64 in 2016.

<sup>422</sup> It has not been possible to identify this couple.

<sup>423</sup> We should not erroneously assume that this person is to be identified with the George Wightman, mentioned elsewhere in the letters, who might have been a farmer. The present 'G. Wightman' is associated by Harris with London and so should, most likely, be identified with the London publisher George Wightman, on whom see further in note 200.

<sup>424</sup> It has not been possible to identify this person.

<sup>425</sup> This seems to be a reference to the family including the members David, William, and Margaret Brown, who appear to have lived near to John Brown, proceeding down the inclined street, probably at no. 8 Standishgate. See Appendix II.

Christ. At present they seem like the folks in Millgate<sup>426</sup> to be walking in their own spirit and this does not, cannot work the righteousness of God.

And now, passing over the other intelligence, about poor Gaskell,<sup>427</sup> gas,<sup>428</sup> the Lyons, &c. each article of which I thank you for, let me tell you a little about myself. You already know that thinking the testimony I have borne [?] against the system of exclusion in practice with our Baptist churches sufficient, I had entered into full communion with our church here, and that the church had regularly licensed me as a preacher. Perhaps I have also told you that the novelty of my preaching having subsided in Aurora, the inhabitants seemed tired of me, and that consequently I had been in the habit of going into neighbouring settlements. However, towards the end of last summer, an inclination to hear seemed to revive, and the people grumbled at me for leaving them so, and we had tolerable congregations again. At our church meeting in December, my ordination was proposed and unanimously agreed upon. The next step, according to the custom here, was to depute messengers to the nearest surrounding churches, to form some idea of the difficulties attending such a meeting, especially in the winter season. You must recollect that this part of the country is very hilly and broken or intersected by ravines and creeks or small streams, in the summer almost dry, but after a heavy rain swelling into a mighty roaring torrent, while the earth, a rich, deep soil, is softened so that we are half leg deep almost at every step. Our roads are cut through the woods, leaving the stumps just short enough for the axletrees of our wagons to pass over them, and the branching roots to entangle the feet of horses & oxen. Frequently trees are blown down across these roads or tracks; in such cases, another track will be formed round the torn-up root, unless very near a town, when the trunk is cut through and the piece cleared away.

The church meetings are always held on a Saturday and are managed so as not to interfere with one another, so that one minister may visit four churches every month in the neighbourhood—(Aurora church meets on the second Saturday in the month)—so that when messengers visit any particular church, they know when to find the brethren together. On this occasion, six churches were sent to, only four of which had ordained ministers. A very heavy rain commenced on the eve of the Saturday (Jany. 10th) and continued without intermission till daybreak of Sunday. We therefore could not expect any of our friends. But surprised indeed we were to find about sixteen out of twenty with us, before one o'clock on the Saturday (twelve was the appointed hour). After they had chosen a moderator (prayer and praise being premised), the minutes of the former church meeting were read and it was discussed whether the helps<sup>429</sup> should be in council distinct from the church, or in union with it. The latter was preferred. The moderator then asked each member of the church then present if he or she approved of the resolution of the former meeting, which was uniformly answered in the affirmative. The council then appointed brother W. Morgan<sup>430</sup> (a man of considerable abilities from Monmouthshire, settled about four

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<sup>426</sup> It has proved impossible to clarify the allusion made by Harris in this place, unless it be a reference to a meeting place currently being used by the seceders from Hope Chapel, alluded to earlier in this letter (see note 414).

<sup>427</sup> On Henry Gaskell, see note 468.

<sup>428</sup> See note 339.

<sup>429</sup> The 'helps' were the attendants sent by other churches from outside Aurora.

<sup>430</sup> Quite probably William Morgan of the Laughery Baptist Association. See <http://baptisthistoryhomepage.com/ind.laughery.assoc.hist.html>. In 1806 a person named William Morgan lived on the corner of High and Walnut Streets in Lawrenceburg (*HDO*, p 244) and this might

miles from Aurora) to ask me some questions, which he did with some acuteness. After he had done, several others questioned me. This examination occupied perhaps an hour. When they seemed satisfied, one of our church rose and observed that as it was generally known that brother Harris differed in opinion from the churches in these parts respecting terms of church fellowship, he thought it right that the council should be satisfied upon that head now. This occupied nearly another hour in a very animated discussion in a true Christian spirit, which terminated satisfactorily to each party, and the whole concluded by each individual severally expressing his approbation of my ordination. On account of the very unfavourable weather, we had no preaching in the evening. The next day opened with the dispersion of the clouds. By ten o'clock our meeting-house was full. Brother Morgan commenced worship, and preached from Matth. xiii. 18. After him brother Kirtley<sup>431</sup> (from Kentucky) from 2 Corinth. iv. 5. Then these two, with brother Dicken<sup>432</sup> (also from Kentucky who has regularly preached here once a month during the last three or four years) laid their hands on my head, and successively prayed. The whole concluded with a short impressive charge by brother Morgan. Br. Dicken and myself then administered the Lord's Supper, and thus terminated a service, to myself the most important I was ever engaged in.<sup>433</sup>

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well accord with Harris's mention of his being 'settled about four miles from Aurora' (*cf.* note 437). Assuming this to be the same person, William and also 'James Morgan (from Wales)' were among those who in February 1822 became founder members of the Baptist Church in Manchester township, Dearborn County. William Morgan served as the first pastor of that church. (*HDO*, p. 550.)

<sup>431</sup> Probably Robert Kirtley (1796-1872), on whom see the biography written by his son in Kirtley, *HBC*, pp. 52-64, where it is noted that in his service as corresponding messenger of Bullittsburg Baptist Church, Kirtley was in intimate association with 'Wm. Morgan, Holman, Harris, and others of Indiana'. See also the following two notes. The Kirtley home is clearly marked in B.N. Griffing's *Atlas of Boone, Kenton, and Campbell Counties, Kentucky* (1883), reproduced in Striker, *LRT*, p. 47.

<sup>432</sup> Robert Kirtley had 'declined receiving ordination, until the church a second time, with entire unanimity, urged it as a duty. Accordingly, on the first Lord's Day in August, 1822, he was set apart by ordination to the gospel ministry, by Absalom Graves (1768-1826), Chichester Matthews, and James Dicken. Matthews (1756-1828) was the first pastor of Sand Run Baptist Church in the Hebron area of Boone County, Kentucky, while Graves and Dicken were Robert Kirtley's nearest neighbors. With Dicken Kirtley had been as intimate as with a brother, from boyhood' (Kirtley, *HBC*, pp. 52-64). James Dicken lived from 1785 to 1826 and for two or three years acted as the pastor of Aurora Baptist Church. A brief biography of him may be found in Kirtley, *HBC*, pp. 50-52.

<sup>433</sup> Reference is made to the ordination of Samuel Harris in the churchbook of Bullittsburg Baptist Church, which was constituted in June 1794 and has a claim to be 'the first organized church of any kind in Northern Kentucky' (*ENK*, s.v. 'Bullittsburg Baptist Church'). The churchbook is worth citing here to show the part played in the matter by two of Harris's closest friends mentioned in these letters: Jesse L. Holman and Reuben Graves, the younger brother of Absalom Graves mentioned in the preceding note. 'Bro. Holman from the church at Aurora made application for help to assist in the ordination of bro. Sam'l Harris to the ministry and to attend them next Saturday [10th January 1824]. The matter taken up and appointed brethren Jas. Dicken, Rob't Kirtley, Whit. Early, Wm. Cave, Edw'd Graves, Wm. B. Early, & R. Graves to attend them accordingly and report at next meeting.' (R. Graves signed as clerk of the meeting.) The minutes of the meeting held on the 7th February 1824 duly record the attendance of these brethren at the meeting in Aurora and that 'bro. Harris was ordain'd accordingly'. The same source also indicates that Harris was invited to preach in the Bullittsburg Baptist Church on the 4th December 1824 and again on the 6th October 1827. (*BBCB*.) The whole of the procedure followed in ordaining Samuel Harris to the ministry accords with the general description of Baptist ordination procedures in Indiana at this date given by Cady, *MCBI*, pp. 148 f.

Now though I am thus, by the cordial approbation of the Baptist church in Aurora, ordained regularly to the ministry,<sup>434</sup> yet you must not conclude that I am pastor of that church:- no such thing. By this act the church has only empowered me to administer the ordinances wherever it may please the Head to open a door for me, and of course to [serve] it (or her)<sup>435</sup> in common with other churches, but I have no more oversight of the church than any other member has. The Kentucky Baptists annex to the word pastor the idea of lord bishop, and they scorn it. Yet I apprehend Brother Dicken, who has hitherto administered the ordinances here, will soon direct his attention elsewhere and it will rest with the church [whether] to appoint me to occupy his place in that respect or not. What alteration in my acceptance with the people this sanction will cause, time alone will discover. 'Tis probable it may call me somewhat more from home, as there are two or three churches in this neighbourhood without a resident preacher, and there is an old established society about six miles off whose preacher is now decaying fast. To this church I may frequently pay a visit. Methinks you are now whispering, "Take heed, brother, to your own vineyard."<sup>436</sup> I feel the caution to be necessary. My desire is to know experimentally the importance of what I say to others. Pray for me.

18th Feb. I have been particular in the account of the ordination, that you might have some notion of the manner in which these affairs are managed in these woods. But to complete it, you must also have another narrative. At our October meeting a member of Lawranceburgh<sup>437</sup> church was present to request help to advise about the ordination of one of their brethren *who had desired it*.<sup>438</sup> Three others with myself were deputed by our church on that occasion. The distance is four miles up the river. I went in my skiff with one of our brethren and found about ten or twelve from other churches there. After the usual introduction of singing and prayer, and a discourse by the candidate (an elderly man about sixty), the council was formed, moderator and clerk chosen, and many questions were put, after which we agreed to adjourn to another place (viz. the open air; this was on the last Saturday of October) taking with us three of the Lawranceburgh church. Here we soon decided not to recommend the brother for ordination; which resolution I as the clerk entered in their church book as a standing record. Perhaps you might conclude that my views of church independence are much altered. Not so. In this instance, the church felt burdened with this old man who had a few adherents and this method was adopted by both parties to prevent their openly quarrelling about the matter. Our decision pleased one side, and the other expresses full satisfaction in it.

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<sup>434</sup> Harris's ordination to the ministry did, however, include responsibility for the conducting of marriages, e.g. that of Jesse Wilson and Catharine Jones on the 14th August 1828. (General index of marriages in Dearborn County.)

<sup>435</sup> The sentence seems confused, but possibly Harris intended to write 'and of course to serve it (or her) [i.e. the church], in common with other churches'. His comments made two paragraphs later would seem to justify this editorial insertion of the word 'serve' in this sentence. The pronoun 'her', used of the church, accords with New Testament usage, where the church is represented as the bride of Christ: cf. John 3. 29; 2 Corinthians 11. 2; Ephesians 5. 25-27, 30-32; Revelation 21. 2, 9.

<sup>436</sup> Cf. Song of Solomon 1. 6.

<sup>437</sup> That is, Lawrenceburg, in Dearborn County, Indiana, lying (as Harris states) just four miles to the north of Aurora. The town was founded in 1802 and named for the maiden name of founder Samuel C. Vance's wife.

<sup>438</sup> Minutes of the Bullittsburg Baptist Church for the 7th September and 1st November 1823 indicate that the Lawrenceburg applicant whose ordination was declined was Reuben Carman. (BBCB.)

But you will ask, what business had any other churches to debate in *any* case, as the business was unanimously agreed upon by the Aurora church. (Here I must observe that at no time had I ever intimated a desire for ordination. It was brought forward entirely without my knowledge.) Had it been the ordination of a pastor over this church, no other society would have any business with it, except as witnessing it. But in these parts I cannot learn that there are any pastors according to our idea of the office. I am now competent (or considered so) to serve, but not with the office of pastor over any individual church.

There are some evils prevailing among us in this western country which seem peculiar to it. This country is people[d] chiefly by migration from the New England states. Many of these were members of churches there. They retain their church-letters but do not offer to join any church in their vicinity, perhaps for some years after, thus withholding that support they might otherwise give it. Again, in very few of the churches have the members the opportunity to hold their meetings oftener than once a month. This is grown into such a habit that where those lawful hinderances [*sic*] are removed, and the privilege [*sic*] of meeting every Lord's day is afforded, very few will embrace it. We meet now again in Aurora every first day. About fourteen members out of thirty reside in the place or within a mile. Yet seldom are there more than six with us, excepting on the monthly meetings.<sup>439</sup> You may judge by this what indifference prevails among us. This would greatly discourage me, was not the attendance of others more regular. I have lately instituted a juvenile meeting in the afternoon, when I have from 12 to 18 readers, who seem pleased with my attention to them. It is almost a new thing here, not a Sunday school to instruct in reading, but merely to explain to them what they read. They repeat hymns and sing. We commence and conclude with prayer. Among these are two or three who promise well, but I have little to say of my congregation. Several are very uneasy about their states, but I fear to hope concerning them.

Feby. 25th. You will have heard before this reaches you that my daughter is a mother. She seems very comfortable in the woods. Her husband told me a few weeks ago that though he had been very unsuccessful with his cattle and had not yet been able to turn any produce into money, yet he fully expected to be quite independent before five years ended, neither would he exchange his situation for any one in trade or manufacture. Their daughter thrives.

William continues as he was, neither does the probability of increase appear in that quarter. He has aimed to build a very good house, and it is so as far as finished, but having long since spent all I had allotted for him, he goes on very slowly.

I remain in the hired house upon which I entered in September 1822, at 32 dollars p[er] ann[um]. I am now in treaty for a piece of ground about half a mile distant, consisting of little more than sixteen acres,<sup>440</sup> of which thirteen are under

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<sup>439</sup> Members of Aurora Baptist Church were few at this time and in 1828 they were still only numbered at 21, yet their number would rise to 76 by 1830 and to 503 by the end of the century, when Aurora was the largest church in the Laughery Baptist Association. ('Laughery Association', at <http://baptisthistoryhomepage.com/ind.laughery.assoc.hist.html>.)

<sup>440</sup> This land seems to correspond with that described by Harris in his will as 'my farm called Mount Vernon in the Town of Aurora, being composed of out lots Number fifty four fifty five and fifty six', which he bequeathed, as he wrote, 'to my niece Sarah Ann Harris, provided she shall personally claim

fence, and nine in cultivation, a good log cabin upon it. If I have it, I shall pay sixty dollars in silver, and the rest (about one hundred eighty dollars) in barter. This will take off my large Atlas (Thomson's)<sup>441</sup> at seventy dollars; the watch I bought of you, at forty; some useless plate, earthenware, glass, &c.; and perhaps a few of my books which may be of least value to me, such as Biographical diction[ar]y, British poets, Shakspeare, &c. The land in question is considered the best piece adjoining Aurora. It is high ground, and commands a more extensive prospect than any other. My aim is to convert some of my useless property to advantage. This purchase would pay me annually ninety bushels of corn, even in its present state.



**Photograph from about a century after Harris's letters, showing the view from a point a little to the west of the Mount Tabor and Mount Vernon properties, looking northwards up the Ohio River, with Kentucky on the opposite bank and Ohio in the distance upriver**

Perhaps you would blame me for thus “adding house to house and field to field”<sup>442</sup> in my present advanced age and especially under my present engagements as preacher, to which, as by Providence I am freed from domestic obligations, I ought now to devote myself exclusively. All this is in consideration, but does not form an objection. The absolute money given will be the sixty dollars. All the rest is what can be of no (or very little) use to me. At present, I pay rent which in two years will be more than that purchase. *There* is a cottage for me, though probably some addition

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the same within three years after my decease...’ (see Appendix VII). These lots are shown in the map of the ‘South part of Aurora’ in Lake, *ADCI* (reproduced in Appendix VI), where their acreage is calculated to be: lot 54 = 4.14 acres, lot 55 = 8.15 acres, and lot 56 = 3.31 acres, making a total extent of 15.6 acres, which approximates reasonably closely to Harris’s ‘little more than sixteen acres’, or ‘about 16 acres’ (towards the end of Letter 5). In later years, subsequent to the death of W.T. Harris, Lake, *ADCI* (1875) and Gridley, *ADCI* (1899) recorded the owners of this estate to have been respectively J.F. Lindsay and Kate Henry.

<sup>441</sup> Possibly *A new general atlas*, published in folio by J. Thomson & Co. in 1817; or *A new classical & historical atlas*, published in 8 parts by J. Thomson & Co. between 1819 and 1823.

<sup>442</sup> Isaiah 5. 8.

must be made. Other advantages present themselves; but the chief consideration is that should I be taken before my niece, I leave her in an improving freehold estate, sufficient for her maintenance, and to which she may invite any of her relations. My two children are all provided for, and *this* will be at my own disposal without taking them into account.

I have thus endeavoured to let you *see* my present situation and *enter* into my feelings. You know my domestic, my ecclesiastical, my worldly situation. Perhaps you would like to be acquainted with my state God-ward. Here my powers of delineation fail. You may conjecture, that unless I be twice dead, plucked up by the roots,<sup>443</sup> the circumstances in which I have lately [been] placed by the church, first discussing the propriety of my ordination and afterwards proceeding to effect it, would rouse the dullest soul to feeling, especially coming on so soon after the repeated visitation of death in any family. I have passed through many and various exercises, all tending to shew me how feeble, imperfect, depraved<sup>444</sup> I am, that in myself I am nothing, and can do nothing. In my ministerial character continual reasons for humiliation appear and I am a wonder to myself. My desire is to *experience the truth* of what I deliver, so that I may say, “That which we have seen and tasted and handled of the word of life &c.”<sup>445</sup> I do not know how those feel who entered into the ministry early in life, but it is a subject of gratitude with me that I did not commence the work when it was first urged upon me in my seventeenth or eighteenth year. Alas! How many have I seen & known, who have been hurried into infidelity or Socinianism (wherein consists the difference?) through the necessity they fancied themselves under of declaring their sentiments before they were matured or even examined!<sup>446</sup> I feel some inconvenience at times in consequence of the doubts which harrassed [*sic*] me thirty or forty years ago upon the most important points of Christianity, yet on the whole I am benefited by that severe trial. I frequently meet with persons professing Deism, and am the better able to cope with them, being acquainted with their usual stands and modes of fencing. Errors of various kinds are very busy here and I sometimes tell our Methodist friends (with whom I am upon very good terms) that they, without intending it, are the chief promoters of heresy. I have lately begun to read “Stuckley’s Gospel glass”<sup>447</sup> again with much interest. To use the old-fashioned style, it is a heart-searching work and I hope will be of benefit to me. Were I with you ’tis very probable I should be eager for the new edition of my old friend Owen. His work on the Hebrews<sup>448</sup> will be among the last books I shall part with. You may wonder at me perhaps, but I am really desirous to sell most of my collection and chiefly through the desire that they may be more extensively useful

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<sup>443</sup> Jude 12.

<sup>444</sup> On Harris’s use of the word ‘depraved’, see note 615.

<sup>445</sup> 1 John 1. 1.

<sup>446</sup> A prime example of what Harris writes of here and a person probably well known to him who exemplified this spiritual course in London and Bristol at the time referred to was Robert Aspland, whose biography is told in Aspland, *MRA*. Aspland, like Harris, went about among Independents and Baptists in London and was encouraged by the latter group, especially Joseph Hughes, to train for ministry at Bristol Baptist Academy only, on further study, to move towards Socinianism and ultimately to become a Unitarian minister.

<sup>447</sup> *A gospel-glass, representing the miscarriages of English professors; or, a call from heaven to sinners and saints: by repentance and reformation to prepare to meet God*, by the Dissenting minister Lewis Stuckley, was first published in 1670.

<sup>448</sup> The massive study of *The letter to the Hebrews*, by the theologian and independent minister John Owen (1616-1683), was published in four folio volumes between 1668 and 1684.



than they can be with me. I have but little time for reading, exclusive of what must be devoted to the Scriptures. I see the Latter day luminary,<sup>449</sup> a Baptist magazine, edited at Washington with some ability, but very scant of matter, compared with the old evangelical mag[azine].<sup>450</sup> Our newspapers are very meagre and I seldom see them. Though not entirely indifferent about the affairs of nations, yet they don't trouble me much. I am sure that "The Lord reigneth" now as He did in old David's time and will eventually bring forth His righteousness. A short time since we had great talk about joining with you in defending the South American republics against the Holy Alliance, but I hear little of it now. I confess it pleased me not a little to fancy John Bull and his nephew Jonathan<sup>451</sup> pulling together in the same cause,<sup>452</sup> but when will man cease to provide food for vultures?<sup>453</sup>

I had an opportunity a few weeks ago to send to James Latham and hope he has written. He maintains a very good character and, as I hear, conducts himself very respectably. His employers esteem him much. They are religious characters (I believe Methodists). He visited us early in the winter and worked a little for William. He talks of returning to England as soon as he can put by money enough to fetch over his parents and all the family, but says he would not stay there on any account. We in these parts wonder at the sottishness of those who come over the ocean to remain on the sea coast. They might as well stay with you. But I have not yet met with any in these western parts who express a desire to return to Old England. Poor Mrs. Wadsworth! How she lost herself by staying in Philadelphia!<sup>454</sup> We suppose she is preparing to return. The report by Will[ia]m Simmons about Will[ia]m & his wife is very incorrect as far as I can judge and they utterly deny the slightest dissatisfaction. *I have not much intercourse with them.* We were together much too long for my comfort, or for his poor mother's. However, we are now, happily for me, quite distinct and all the neighbourhood knows it, so that I have to answer for my own faults only. But why do I hint to you at what I hope now ceases. Mrs. Will[ia]m came this morning to borrow Henry's Exposition<sup>455</sup> 1st vol[ume] for her own reading.

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<sup>449</sup> *The latter day luminary*, published by a Committee of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions for the United States, began publication in 1818 in Philadelphia. A new series was begun in Washington in 1822 and continued until at least December of 1825.

<sup>450</sup> *The evangelical magazine* was published in London from 1793 to 1904. Harris possibly attached to it the epithet 'old' to distinguish it from *The new evangelical magazine*, published in Liverpool by William Jones from 1815 to 1824, after which it appeared under its new title *The new Baptist magazine*.

<sup>451</sup> On Harris's use of the personifications John Bull and Brother Jonathan, see note 894.

<sup>452</sup> The Monroe Doctrine, introduced on the 2nd December 1823, marked a defining line in opposition to further European imperialist adventures, especially by the reactionary Holy Alliance of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, in both North and South America, and obtained the support of Great Britain.

<sup>453</sup> Clearly, a feeling of weariness following the destructive Napoleonic Wars inspired this language.

<sup>454</sup> Cf. the remarks of Morris Birkbeck: 'Emigrants from Europe are too apt to linger in the eastern cities, wasting their time, their money, and their resolution. They should push out westward without delay, where they can live cheaply until they fix themselves.' (*NJA*, p. 137.) As previously noted, it might well have been Birkbeck's publication, among other factors, that induced Harris to seek a new home in the western frontier region. Elias Pym Fordham (1787-1850), who came to the USA in 1817 and purchased land in 'the English Prairie' before becoming surveyor of Indianapolis in 1821, remarked in his *Personal narrative of travels in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky; and of a residence in the Illinois Territory, 1817-1818* (ed. F.A. Ogg [Cleveland, 1906], p. 105), 'If the whole population of England were planted in Indiana and Illinois, there would be good land enough in the state and territory, to make every man an independent farmer.'

<sup>455</sup> The *Exposition of the Old and New Testament* by Matthew Henry (1662-1714) was begun in 1704 and completed (from Romans through to Revelation) after Henry's death by a group of thirteen other

(Feb[ruar]y 27th) Last Sunday I called upon him & found him reading Allein on Heart work.<sup>456</sup> He never comes to the meeting because one of our members did not behave properly to him early last year, and has not apologised to him since!

Feb[ruar]y 28. Saturday. Though I have not written anything now, nor perhaps in my last, recommending emigration, the omission is not because my mind is altered in the least upon that subject. My opinion is decidedly in favour of it. Here is a greater scope for usefulness for persons of moderate abilities, a certainty of well-being (as it regards this world) for those who have moderate fortunes, an entire freedom from anxiety for those who have nothing but bodily strength and inclination to labour. I certainly have noticed that this part of the country will not do for the thoughtless, who place their happiness in shining at the ball and public vain assemblies, nor for those who cannot be satisfied without attracting the admiration of others. The people here do not manifest either surprise or admiration at anything. The most popular preacher hears no vocal applause, receives no compliment. He must be content with seeing a large company giving him their attention. Human nature is much the same everywhere. Few like to feel themselves inferior to others in dress, or mental endowments; at least, they do not like that their inferiority should be noticed by others. Applause may be purchased in your country; here nobody is poor enough to sell it. In short, if a man cannot be content with what satisfies all around him, it will be best for such an one to abide where he is unless he has means to command foreign indulgencies, which he may have generally upon as low terms as in G. Britain. The climate is during the larger half of the year delightful. Though our winters are generally severer than yours, yet I do not *feel* them so. I have not wor[n a]ny<sup>457</sup> stockings or socks this winter, which we expect to end in a few [.....?] and my ordi[nary w]ear is what I used in Wigan during the last three summers. I spent the [.....?] jean,<sup>458</sup> with the back & sleeves lined with flannel, & jean wa[i]stcoat. [The h]eat of our summer is seldom excessive longer than three days at a time, and I did not *feel* a black cloth coat & wa[i]stcoat oppressive while parading in our procession on the last 4th July, a very hot day.<sup>459</sup> You may thus judge how easily we

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Nonconformist ministers, partly based upon notes taken by Henry's hearers, and edited by George Burder and John Hughes in 1811.

<sup>456</sup> The second edition of *Instructions about heart-work* by Richard Alleine (1611-1681) was published in 1684.

<sup>457</sup> Some damage to the page at this point and in succeeding lines, where the seal has been removed.

<sup>458</sup> 'A twilled cotton cloth; a kind of fustian' (*OED*), derived from the name of the Italian city Genoa. Harris's jean clothing was possibly of local production, for we learn that the Presbyterian minister Lucius Alden from Boston, who in 1826 had been persuaded by J.L. Holman to take charge of the Aurora Seminary, returned to Boston in 1830 wearing 'a full suit of blue jeans, woven by Mrs. Judge Holman, on the old hand-loom.' (*HDO*, p. 605.)

<sup>459</sup> Samuel Harris probably took part regularly in the 4th July celebrations each year that he resided in Aurora. An account of the 4th July Independence Day procession in Aurora five years later (1828) was published in the *Indiana palladium*, 19th July 1828, where it was reported that the procession included more than 200 Sunday School scholars and their teachers, 'consisting of the school in Aurora, about fifty from the school at Mount Tabor, and the balance from the Cross Roads, Sparta, and Franklin schools.' They proceeded to the Baptist meeting house and 'appropriate addresses were delivered by the Rev. [*sic*] S. Harris and L. Alden.' Numbers in the Aurora and Mount Tabor Sunday Schools were reported to be respectively: 17 teachers and 115 scholars, and 10 teachers and 100 scholars. The 4th July celebrations in 1825 witnessed a special occasion in Aurora for, as a commemorative sign standing today close to the river landing in downtown Aurora declares, 'On the bank of the Ohio near here, opposite the Eagle Hotel, Pinkney James built the steamboat CLINTON 1823-24. The launching July 4, 1824 occasioned a great celebration and firing of cannon.' (On Pinkney James, see *HDO*, pp. 777-9.) The commemorative sign, however, is wrongly dated as to the year (see newspaper report

may accommodate ourselves to the climate. I consider this spot as much healthier than any I have yet heard of on the river. Knowing what I do of this country and of you, were I to hear that owing to the uncertainty of trade, you had embraced a favourable opportunity to dispose of your business, and were arranging your affairs so as to come over to this place to examine for yourself, leaving all your family (except perhaps your eldest son<sup>460</sup>) at Southport or Garstang,<sup>461</sup> I say were this reported to me, I should applaud your prudence & foresight. Your children would bless your conduct years after you were inhabiting a better world, though perhaps during the first year or two they might at times wish they had less hard work; but every year would render it lighter, and at length they and you would wonder, as I do, how so many of our race can expect comfort in anxiety. But, do not let me persuade you – oh, no.

March 3rd. My paper is now nearly full and I have said but little about my old acquaintance. The little intercourse I have with William and the distance my beloved daughter is from me, both leave me without the capability of the enjoyment arising from *talking* over former friends and events. There are but few points upon which my niece & I meet in this way. In all other respects, she fills up the void tolerably well which the 15th August left in my house & which otherwise might have proved, I may say, fatal. Still I feel it, and shall feel it while I live. The removal of my brother is a total disappointment of my *expectations*. The other was bereavement of my chief social enjoyment. But I wish to feel that “*It is well*”.<sup>462</sup> Sometimes I do.

But to Wigan. Susan wrote to Marg[are]t Brown a few weeks ago. I hope to write to Mr. Alston, probably in course of the summer. Who is left to remember me? Say bro[the]r Ellison, the Taylors,<sup>463</sup> Henry Ross<sup>464</sup> &c., Will[ia]m Johnson,

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below), which may have been taken from *HDO*, and it gives only a sanitized account of the events of the day, for the celebrations did have their dark side. ‘During the festivities, Henry Van Middlesworth was killed. He was assisting in loading and managing at the cannon, when a premature explosion took place... The top of his head was carried away, and the body hurled over the bank, a distance of several feet. Old citizens speak of this day as exceeding all others in the history of the town in the amount of drunkenness, fighting and general lawlessness indulged in. The town was filled with people, and whisky was sold and drank without stint. Two roughs had a desperate fight in the blood where Van Middlesworth fell... Dozens of fights occurred during the day and for the time being law and order were accounted as naught...’ (*HDO*, p. 308). The *Indiana palladium* (8th July 1825) reported the launching of the newly built steamer, giving its full name *DeWitt Clinton*, i.e. the name of the US Senator and sixth Governor of New York, who was largely responsible for the construction of the Erie Canal. Further down the newspaper described Van Middlesworth’s misadventure and sadly commented, ‘Mr. V. has left thus prematurely a wife and family, who will long have reason [to] mourn their loss, and to weep in sorrow each revolving year, the scene of July 4, 1825.’ Van Middlesworth is possibly the person referred to by Harris in Letter 2 (21st-22nd November 1822), when he wrote, ‘Towards the beginning of the summer a man came into the town, of a very rough cast, and took a tavern which has since become a very sot’s hole.’ Describing the early development of Aurora, Shaw (*HDC*, p. 268 f.) noted, ‘It is claimed that one of the first houses erected in the thriving young town [Aurora] was built by Henry Van Middlesworth. It was finished in 1822 and occupied as a hotel and store. It was known as the “Aurora Hotel,” and Van Middlesworth was the landlord. The house is yet intact on the corner of Front and Second streets.’

<sup>460</sup> Brown’s eldest son, William, would have been 12 years old in 1824.

<sup>461</sup> Towns in Lancashire, England. John Brown had been born in Catterall, two miles to the south of Garstang, and there also he died on the 8th May 1842. (*BCBLSW*, p. 31.)

<sup>462</sup> 1 Samuel 20. 7.

<sup>463</sup> Harris probably had in mind Jane and Richard Taylor, two of the earliest members of Lord Street Baptist Church in Wigan. Jane was baptized in November 1796 and Richard in April 1797. Jane died in June 1825. Jane Taylor jun., probably a daughter, was baptized on the 20th May 1810, but left Lord Street in April 1827 to join the new fellowship in King Street. (*BCBLSW*, p. 1; *KSCB&M*.)

Salmond, Rob[er]t Ashcroft, Mr. Banks (at Mr. Alston's), Mr. Guest, Hammersley, Latham, &c. Do the great folks<sup>465</sup> ever ask about me, as Cardwell,<sup>466</sup> Thicknesse, Woodcock<sup>467</sup> &c. &c.[?]

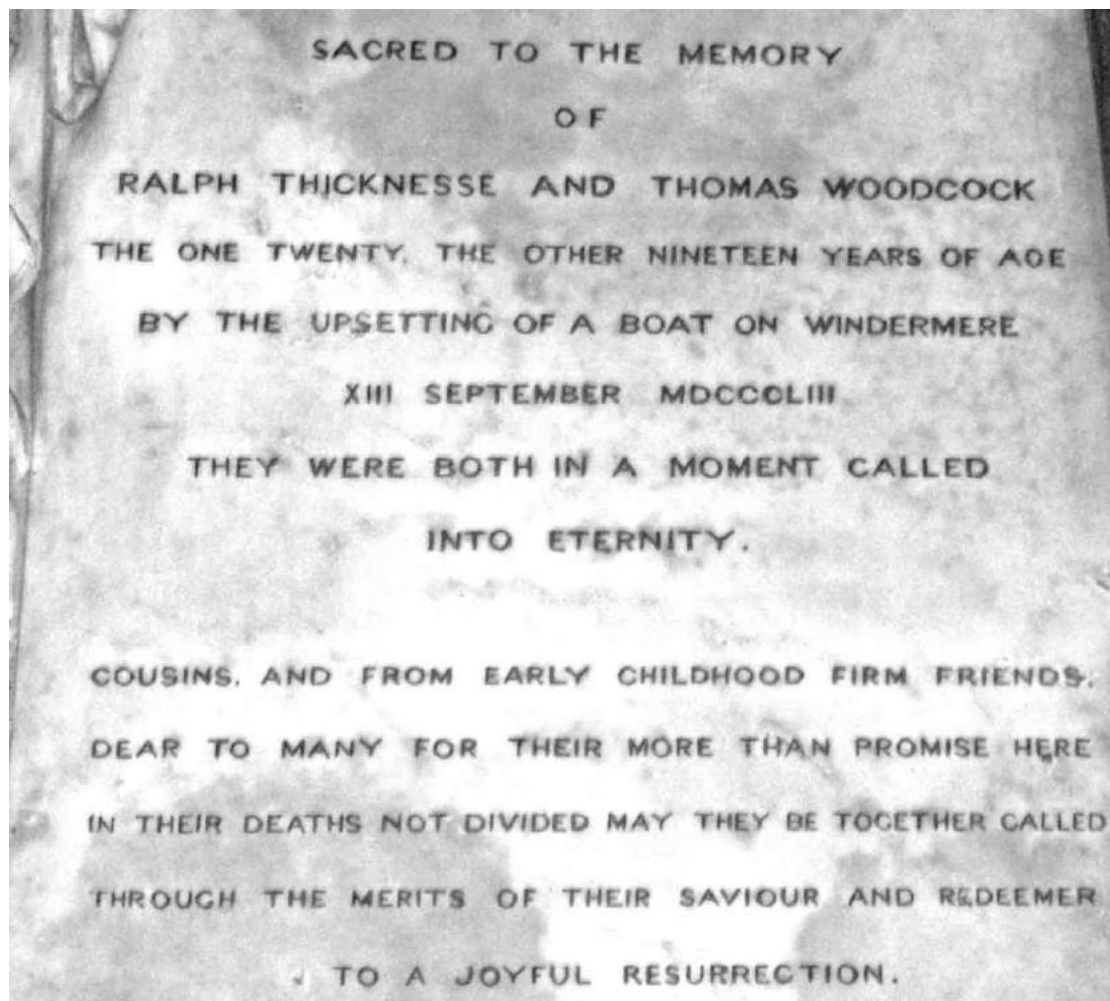
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<sup>464</sup> Records of the baptisms of three of the children of Henry and Mary Ross at the Independent Chapel of St. Paul in Wigan may be viewed at [http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Wigan/Wigan/stpaul/baptisms\\_1777-1837.html](http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Wigan/Wigan/stpaul/baptisms_1777-1837.html). Possibly Mary Ross died during the last decade of the eighteenth century, but Henry Ross was one of the first of those who separated from St. Paul Independent Church to form the nucleus of the new Baptist church that would find a home in Lord Street, Wigan. In fact, he was the first of this group to become 'convinced of the propriety of believer's baptism and was baptized at Bolton' in July 1796, with others following him in taking this step at Wigan in the following month. He became a deacon of the church, but on the 20th April 1814 'was excluded for railing against John Simmons, Pastor.' He was, however, 'restored to his place in the Church' on the 3rd August 1817. He died on the 16th February 1840. (*BCBLSW*, pp. 1, 8, 10 f.)

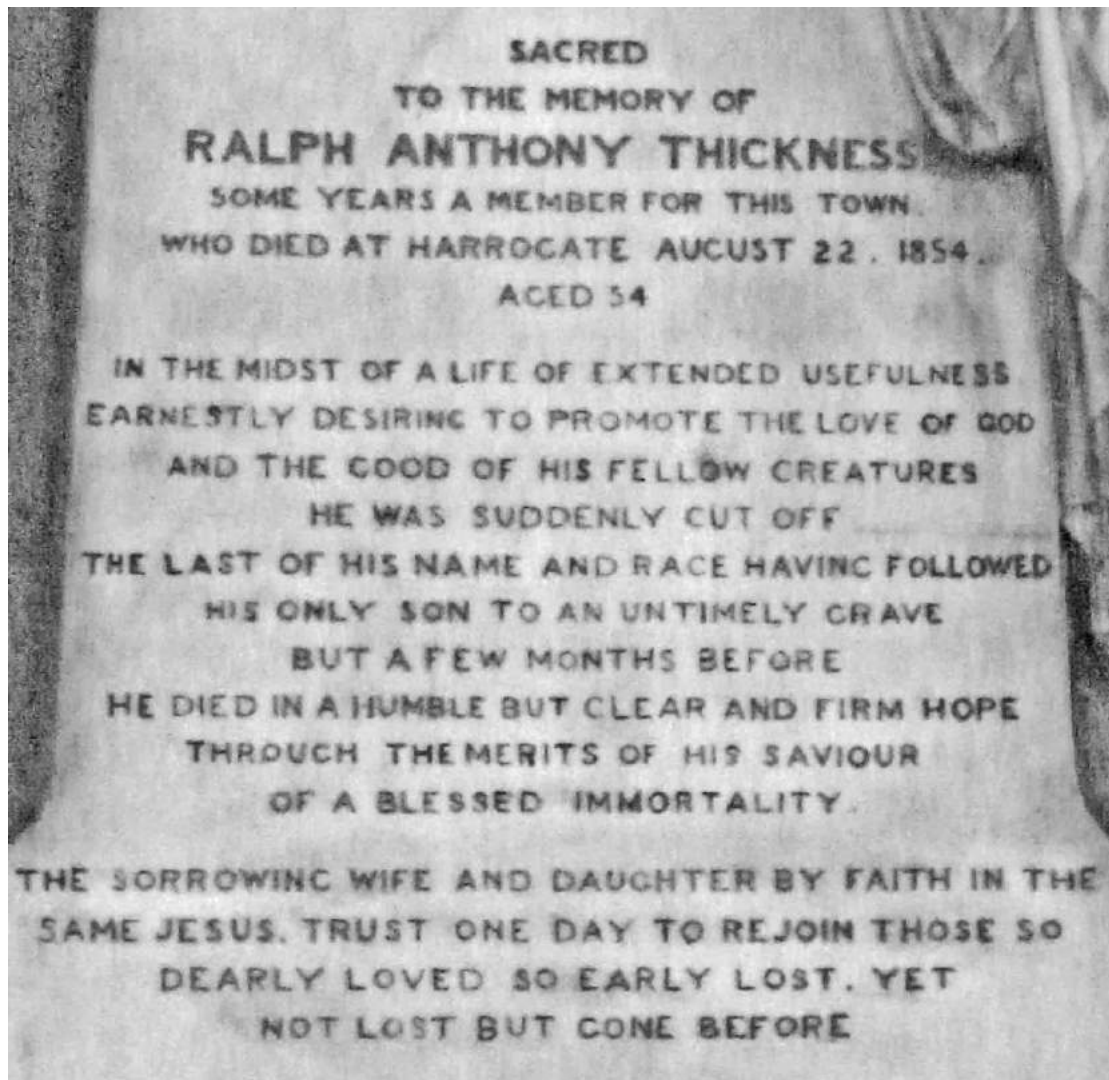
<sup>465</sup> Harris uses the expression 'the great folks' to refer to the gentry under the English class system. They might have been among Harris's customers when he conducted his druggist's business in Wigan.

<sup>466</sup> On the Cardwells of Blackburn and other locations in Lancashire, see W.A. Abram, *Parish of Blackburn, County of Lancaster: a history of Blackburn town and parish* (Blackburn, 1877) pp. 390 f. The member of this family who might have been most familiar to Harris was James Cardwell, who chaired the committee established to govern the Wigan Fever-house, set up in 1818 to counter the current outbreak of contagious disease among the poorer classes of Wigan. See the booklet, printed in 1818 by John Brown, the recipient of these letters: *Rules for the government of the Wigan Fever-house* (copy preserved in Wigan Archives, D/DZ A 72 10).

<sup>467</sup> Ralph Thicknesse (1768-1842), only son of Ralph Thicknesse MD, of The Oaks, Cheshire and Wigan and Anne Dorothy Bostock, married (in 1798) Sarah Woodcock. He became established as a banker in Wigan and was subsequently in partnership with his brother-in-law Thomas Woodcock of Woodcock Hall, Newburgh (near Ormskirk, Lancashire) and Bank House. Together they founded Wigan Bank in 1792. Thicknesse had a residence at Beech Hill, just to the north of Wigan town centre, and became 'extensively engaged in the coal trade' at Birkett Bank and Ince; he was a co-proprietor of the lucrative Kirkless colliery, near Higher Ince. He was a liberal and reformer in politics, and served Wigan as Member of Parliament from the 1831 election (see note 880) down to 1834. He died, aged 74, at Beech Hill on the 1st Nov. 1842. By his will, he left all his property, including mines and collieries, to his only child, Ralph Anthony Thicknesse (1800-54), who continued the banking business and managed a number of cotton mills inherited from his father, but also began to reduce colliery operations. Among his acts of philanthropy was the establishment of a small free library in a house in Wigan, the founding of a school for his employees' children, and the provision of free trips to the seaside for his workers. He served as a Liberal Member of Parliament for Wigan from 1847 until his death in 1854. Tragedy would befall the next generation when, on the 13th September 1853, the cousins Ralph Thicknesse and Thomas Woodcock, aged 20 and 19 respectively, were drowned in a boating accident on Lake Windermere. For further information, see <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/thicknesse-ralph-1768-1842>; A.E.P. Gray, *The lineage and genealogical achievement of the Woodcocks of Wigan, co. Lancaster* (Wigan, 1881); & W. Lee Woodcock, *History of the Woodcock family, from 1692 to Sept. 1, 1912* (n. pl., 1912).



**The memorial plaque to Ralph Thicknesse and Thomas Woodcock on the wall of All Saints Church, Wigan**



**The memorial plaque to Ralph Anthony Thicknesse on the wall of All Saints Church,  
Wigan**

If they do, you may tell them that I am more comfortable than I ever promised myself to be. I remember Mr. Gaskell with respect. Nothing but his profession prevents him from being a very estimable character in society. But law is enough to spoil any man.<sup>468</sup> One of our most respectable citizens of Aurora is a lawyer, but he is honest,

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<sup>468</sup> Henry Gaskell (1778-1849) is listed as a solicitor in Baines, *DW*. In 1807 he married Jane Lomax, who bore him a son, Henry Lomax Gaskell (1813-1889), the later proprietor of Kiddington Hall in Oxfordshire. Henry Gaskell sen. has been described in the following terms by Josceline Dimbleby: 'This hard but extremely astute man was known all over Lancashire as "the Devil of Wigan" because he squeezed every halfpenny he could, as well as farm and land, from his clients. He was also known for his caustic tongue and pungent wit. The Devil, who spoke with a broad Lancashire accent and who lived modestly himself, was determined that his son should become a landed gentleman, as he stipulated that a large part of the fortune he left should be spent on a country estate. It pleased the Devil greatly, shortly before he died, when Henry Lomax married an heiress, Alice Brooks... daughter of Samuel Brooks, a well-known Manchester banker.' (*May Gaskell, her daughter Amy, and Edward Burne-Jones* [London, 2005] p. 62.) Henry Gaskell was admitted and sworn a burgess of Wigan on the same day (2nd October 1820) as John Brown, the recipient of these letters. (*BC*.) He also held the office of Mayor of Wigan in 1821, but in the May riots of 1832 he incurred the wrath of the mob to the

and *consequently poor*.<sup>469</sup> I cannot form any idea of what W. Simmons is about in Philadelphia. Probably Mrs. Wadsworth & her family may land in your country about the same time with this. I am not interested in her movements, yet I should like to know as much about that family as you may be able to tell me. Their reports will be of course gloomy. I think she acted *very foolishly* in not coming on to these parts; at least she sh[oul]d have sent Henry to reconnoitre. We cannot believe that all is so well and clever in Old England as you would have us believe. However, I believe that our gracious Father will guide *you* right. Had you been at Pittsburgh instead of Wigan, you would have seen me landing from a steamboat to assist in your catalogue. The distance is about 547 miles up the stream. Of course you must have kept me through the winter. Your Liverpool merchants would be surprised at the traffic on this river. Remember me to Mr. Marshall,<sup>470</sup> Mr. Marsden,<sup>471</sup> &c. &c. Be sure to observe that these notices include the wives & children, as Mrs. Brown, Mrs. Alston, Mrs. Marshall &c. &c. Pray tell Mr. Hammersley that on opening a small parcel a few days ago, I found a letter addressed to “Capt[ai]n Hewitt, Philadelphia”,<sup>472</sup> which, to the best of my recollection, he gave me as an introductory and which I could not find when in that city. Supposing it to be only an introductory, I do not send it now

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extent that he was knocked down in the street, his clothes were torn off, and he was kicked and beaten as the mob cried out, ‘Kill him, we will have his blood!’ (RP.)

<sup>469</sup> The reference is most probably to J.L. Holman, on whom see the Introduction. For some background to Holman’s struggles against manipulative and corrupt political climbers, see Blake, *HV*, pp. 17-27.

<sup>470</sup> ‘Mr. Marshall’ might be either: (1) William Marshall (b. 1792) who in 1822 succeeded John Ralph as minister of the Congregational or Independent Hope Chapel in Wigan, but his coming ‘led to a secession of four members of the Committee of Management, and these took with them thirteen out of the fifty church members. For a time they had separate worship, but the numbers eventually dwindled almost entirely away.’ Marshall, a native of Glasgow, continued to minister in Hope Chapel until his death in 1861. (Nightingale, *LN*, pp. 87 f.) In the year that Harris sailed for America, Marshall was still serving as pastor to the Congregational Church in Macclesfield and published *Stanzas addressed to a missionary, on leaving his native country; with other poems, moral and religious* (Wigan, 1821). However, before removing to Wigan in 1822, he had been a frequent visiting preacher in Hope Chapel, Wigan. (Horsman, *HHCC*, p. 33.) This William Marshall attracts particular attention in *HSCCMB*, in which he recorded most of the proceedings of Hope Chapel. Alternatively, the person referred to by Harris might be: (2) William Marshall who in September 1796 was baptized and joined the new Baptist church meeting in Brick Kiln Lane that would later find a home in Lord Street, Wigan. He personally paid the rent of the Brick Kiln Lane meeting place for 12 months (1798-9) before it was given up. (*BCBSW*, pp. 1, 8 f.) It seems more probable that Harris’s reference is to the former of these two persons. See further in following note.

<sup>471</sup> Too many Marsdens were associated with Hope Chapel Congregational Church in Wigan for us to be absolutely certain regarding the identity of this person, though in this context the most likely candidate is T. Marsden, the father of Elizabeth Marsden, who married the first William Marshall mentioned in the preceding note on the 10th April 1820 (marriage register of All Saints, Wigan). T. Marsden was a confectioner who, with his wife Mary, lived at the bottom of Millgate, Wigan. Both were prominent members of Hope Chapel. (Weeton, *JG*, vol. II, p. 205.)

<sup>472</sup> Thomas Hewitt, sea captain, was listed as residing at ‘11 Pine’ in *PD 1822*. He is probably to be identified with the Thomas Hewitt, baptized 2nd December 1770 in Stonington, CT, who married Elizabeth Austin on the 16th April 1801 and died on the 8th July 1832, being interred in St. Peter’s Episcopal Church Yard, Philadelphia. He was most likely a descendant of the Thomas Hewitt of Stonington, CT who in 1662 sailed out of Mystic, CT with a cargo destined for trade in the West Indies and was lost at sea. (J.B. Linn & W.H. Egle, *Record of Pennsylvania marriages, prior to 1810*, vol. I, repr. [Baltimore, 2008]; [http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=Hewitt&GSfn=Thomas&GSbyrel=all&GSdy=1832&GSdyrel=in&GSob=n&GRid=90194067&df=all&](http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=Hewitt&GSfn=Thomas&GSbyrel=all&GSdy=1832&GSdyrel=in&GSob=n&GRid=90194067&df=all&http://www.werelate.org/wiki/Person:Thomas_Hewitt_(7);); [http://www.werelate.org/wiki/Person:Thomas\\_Hewitt\\_\(7\);](http://www.werelate.org/wiki/Person:Thomas_Hewitt_(7);) ‘Some descendants of Thomas Hewitt’, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nanc/hewitt/aqwg01.htm>.



p[er] mail, especially as it is of so old a date. I regret that I should have been so remiss. Like all our past faults, it is now remediless, though not unpardonable.

You remember my having Wilkinson's Atlas classica of you. This is now on my table every morning. Two or three children come to see me every morning to read the Bible. After they have finished their chapters, we go over them again to find out the place in the map. One of them, a girl about nine, is a tolerable [*sic*] proficient in the map of Canaan.<sup>473</sup> Last Sunday evening, to a full congregation in our log meeting-house, a Methodist preacher gave an accurate description of Nineveh, from Herodotus, with a concise history of its prosperity and downfall. Thus the inhabitants of these forests become acquainted with the events of other countries & ages. We have a subscription-library, to which I have made some additions to entitle me to a share in it.

23rd March. Our church has lately agreed to have the Lord's Supper monthly instead of quarterly. I commenced this part of my office with them on the 14th inst. The congregation gradually increases.

April 12th. Last Sunday morning James Latham called upon me. I was highly gratified with his conversation. He was not so reserved as formerly, yet not *very* communicative. However, I could understand from him that sin is hateful and that he is desirous of knowing more of the Lord Jesus. He seems humble in spirit. Respecting this world he is going on well, continues in the same place and is respected. He says he will write. You will cheer his parents with this.

[unsigned]

12th April 1824

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<sup>473</sup> *Atlas classica, being a collection of maps of the countries mentioned by the ancient authors, both sacred and profane, with their various subdivisions at different periods*, containing a series of maps in folio, was published between 1796 and 1808 by Robert Wilkinson of London, who published another edition of the work in 1823. Wilkinson's map of 'Canaan or the land of promise to Abraham and his posterity' contained rather abstruse information for a nine-year-old girl, showing the territories of the Sidonians, Kadmonites, Rephaims, Girgashites, Perizzites, Amorites, Hivites, Jebusites, Philistines, Anakims, Emims, Horims, Zuzims, and Zamzummims!

## Letter 5: 28th-31st January 1825

Aurora, Dearborn County, Indiana  
Jan[uar]y 28, 1825

[Addressed to 'Mr. John Brown, Bookseller, Wigan, Lancashire, Old England'; inscribed 'paid 25... Febr 8 Aurora PO [?]'<sup>474</sup>, 'P[er] first Liverpool Packet from N. York'; and very faintly [by John Brown?] in pencil 'Received March 22nd [?] 1825'; with postal marking '1/2'; stamped 'SHIP LETT[ER] LIVER[POOL]'; and with black wax seal of 'S.H.']

Dear brother Brown,

I have not heard from you since mine to you in the early part of last May, yet I do not therefore conclude myself forgotten by you. As a proof, I am now instructing my niece to turn aside out of her direct course from Liverpool to Gloucester, to visit you as my representative, under the notion that you may be gratified by a visit for a day or two from one who has been constantly with me from the week in which I suffered the greatest loss a man can sustain on earth, to the present time; and who can describe exactly my situation and all about my concerns, habits, engagements, &c. You remember her youngest sister Elinor (now Mrs. Philip D. Tuckett, Gloucester), who spent part of 1813-14 with me.<sup>475</sup> My niece Sarah is my late brother's oldest child, and Elinor the youngest.<sup>476</sup> Upon my mentioning her as about to leave me for England, you are ready to inquire, why? and, what am I to do without her? To the first I answer merely her sisters are desirous to have her with them, and with their brother<sup>477</sup> have made arrangements for her return, which she has rather resigned herself to, than eagerly complied with. At present she *wishes* that one or both her sisters with their husbands and families may be able and inclined to accompany her back to Aurora, being persuaded that though your country is at present (according to our papers) in a recovering state, yet *this* affords the surest prospect of quiet, comfortable living. (At this moment I see from my parlour window my son William Tell, with his straw hat and light summer dress (January 28th), driving his team of oxen, hauling wood for the supply of the steamboats. This he does cheerfully. I have not once heard him hint a wish for Old England again.) As for the other query, my reply cannot be quite so clear. At present my plan is to break up housekeeping towards the end of March, when Sarah will go to Cincinnati on her route eastward. William is fitting up a chamber for my use, which I expect to occupy from Saturday noon till Monday morning, for the convenience of being near our meeting-house,

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<sup>474</sup> Very faint ink used for these words within apostrophes.

<sup>475</sup> On the significance of Elinor's stay with Samuel Harris in Wigan at this time, see in the Introduction the biography of William Tell Harris.

<sup>476</sup> There were two *younger* sisters between Sarah Ann and Elinor: Isabella and Martha, which explains Harris's reference to Sarah's *sisters* in his following remarks. Elinor Harris (1797-1872) married Philip Debell Tuckett (1787-1841) in 1816. See [http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/BRISTOL\\_AND\\_DISTRICT/2009-04/1240681867](http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/BRISTOL_AND_DISTRICT/2009-04/1240681867) and <http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/k/a/h/Michelle-Kahler/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-0085.html>. The name Debell, originally de Belle, testifies to the Huguenot origins of Philip's family (Tuckett, *Mem.*, p. 7). Philip Debell Tuckett's death was reported in the *Bristol mercury* of the 6th November 1841, where he was described as a tea dealer of Stoke's Croft, Bristol. As has been noted in the Introduction, it was with her sister Elinor's family that Sarah Ann would pass the remainder of her years.

<sup>477</sup> The reference is probably to John Coldstream Harris, on whom see note 158.

which is at the edge of the town. My inestimable friend & brother Holman,<sup>478</sup> who resides on a charming spot about 1½ mile distant,<sup>479</sup> will build a chamber for me adjoining his house early in the spring, where I shall, when at home, provide for and wait upon myself like any other hermit. I say, *when at home*, as my expectation is to be travelling about among the churches in our association<sup>480</sup> during the travelling part of the year. Already my appointments engage the greater part of April, June, August, September, and October of this year and should my health and strength continue as now, the greater part of the next year may be engaged northward nearly 200 miles, in the neighbourhood of the Indians. My visits to Kentucky may be longer and more frequent. But you are saying, “Pause, brother, pause. What says James iv. 13 &c.”<sup>481</sup> This is *constantly* in my mind; all my plans and projects are connected in my thoughts with the probability that ere they are begun, “my countenance will be changed &c.”<sup>482</sup> Every letter I write is with the feeling that the friend addressed may be as she was to whom my brother brought so many sheets full fraught with affection from sister Brown and others. But this thought, this uncertainty must not hinder either correspondence or arrangements.

But it is right for me to be particular about Sarah’s visiting Wigan. First, her intention was to go down the Mississippi and embark at N[ew] Orleans, early next month.<sup>483</sup> With this view, she has a letter from daughter Lawford for her friend

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<sup>478</sup> On Jesse Lynch Holman, see the Introduction.

<sup>479</sup> Harris refers to Holman’s original home named Veraestau, located about 1½ miles to the south of William Tell’s cabin on Mount Tabor. Veraestau was a two-story log house with a brick addition built in 1810. After the log house burned down in 1837, Holman’s son-in-law Allen Hamilton bought the property, salvaged the remaining brick portion, and in 1838 added a single-story Greek Revival structure. With later additions and developments, in 1973 Veraestau was successfully nominated to the National Register of Historic Places and remains in use to the present day for a variety of special events. See further at <http://www.indianalandmarks.org/historicsitestoursevents/veraestau/pages/default.aspx>.

<sup>480</sup> In travelling to Baptist Associations in different regions, Harris would be representing the Laughery Baptist Association (see note 396). Cady (*MBCI*, p. 145) presents an interesting description of Association meetings in the following manner. ‘The annual meetings of the Associations were held in the dry season of the late summer or fall, when roads were passable. They lasted for several days, beginning on Friday or Saturday and extending sometimes until Monday. Friday and Monday might be used for business, and Saturday and Sunday for preaching. Each church sent several messengers to bear its letter and contributions for the minutes, and to represent it officially, but all individuals who were interested were at liberty to attend the session. Great crowds often assembled, the situation approximating somewhat the early camp meetings of Kentucky. Business might be in process of transaction in the church building while preaching continued uninterruptedly in a neighboring grove. The order of business was pretty definitely fixed. After the messengers and letters had been received, the body usually proceeded to the appointments of committees on program, new officers, queries, corresponding letter, resolutions, and obituaries. The reports of Corresponding bodies were then received and visitors seated. At a later business session the reports of the various committees were heard and adopted, applications of churches for membership considered, queries discussed, and new business undertaken. In the meantime there was much singing, preaching, exhortation, and prayer. The meetings provided exceptional opportunities for mutual encouragement of the struggling congregations. They seem to have been thoroughly enjoyable occasions.’

<sup>481</sup> ‘Go to now, ye that say, Today or tomorrow we will go into such a city, and continue there a year, and buy and sell, and get gain: whereas ye know not what shall be on the morrow. For what is your life? It is even a vapor, that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away...’

<sup>482</sup> Job 4. 20.

<sup>483</sup> The southern route to the coast, taken, as Harris notes a little further down in this letter, by James Latham, would have been preferred so early in the year on account of the freezing of the Ohio River in winter. Sarah Ann’s subsequent decision to delay her departure would have enabled her to take the more direct route to the east coast at a higher latitude. There were in effect two shipping seasons up

Margaret (Mrs. Gaskell).<sup>484</sup> You will mention this to her with her love, and also to that whole family. But this N[ew] O[rleans] plan is relinquished and she now intends to sail from N[ew] York or one of the eastern ports, early in May (I fear she will not reach the coast 'till late in that month) by one of the Liverpool packets. On her landing, her first application will be to Mr. Fitzhugh,<sup>485</sup> Coopers Row, with an introductory from my son, who will assist her through the custom house &c. I would give her a line to our sister, Mrs. Rushton,<sup>486</sup> and to Mrs. W[illia]m Hope,<sup>487</sup> but she wishes not to increase her expenses by delay in Liverpool. She will then take the packet for Wigan,<sup>488</sup> first writing to you, stating her arrival and the day she hopes to be with you. As her head will not be clear from the ship's motion, she will be scarcely competent to manage for herself in the confusion, as it appears to a stranger. On the mooring of the packet, this hint is needless to you, to let one of your young folks meet her there. But I'm going too fast. Many circumstances may occur to render her visit inconvenient. Sickness may occupy all your attention, or your house may be otherwise full. This may be the case at Mr. D. Brown's and at Mr. Alston's. In such case, all you will have to do will be to let a line be addressed to her and left, sometime before May ends, at Mr. Fitzhugh's, telling her so; and then she will proceed strait [*sic*] on to Gloucester, by way of Manchester.

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the Ohio: April-June and October-December. From January to March there was too much ice in the river, while from July to September the water level could fall too low to permit shipping. Thus, May would normally be a good month in which to sail upriver from Aurora to Wheeling or Pittsburgh.

<sup>484</sup> For discussion of the identity of Margaret Gaskell (*née* Brown), see Appendix II.

<sup>485</sup> Probably William Sudlow Fitzhugh, who acted as special agent for the United States Chamber of Commerce to put a stop to frauds and impositions practised on emigrants to the USA. Fitzhugh took up his duties in April 1823 and had his offices in 4 Coopers' Row, Liverpool. (Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, *Report of the Select Committee on Emigration, 1826*, IV [404], p. 296; cited in W.S. Shepperson, *British emigration to North America: projects and opinions in the early Victorian period* [Minneapolis, 1957] p. 21.) Fitzhugh's answers to questions put to him regarding his business and some letters addressed to him from would-be emigrants to the USA are included in the *Second report from the Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom, 1827*, where his evidence, given on the 31st March 1827, is contained in pp. 189-200. In 1827 William Fitzhugh, general agent, had a 'Passenger Office for Emigrants' at 18 Brook Square, Liverpool. By 1832 he was in partnership with Caleb Grimshaw, under the company name of Fitzhugh and Grimshaw, merchants. Their business address was 10 Goree Piazzas, situated on the main Liverpool waterfront. This partnership and business continued until 1841 (<http://www.grimshaworigin.org/Webpages2/CalebGrimshawTransatlantic.htm>). William Sudlow Fitzhugh's lifespan is given as 1792-1838 in <http://genforum.genealogy.com/sudlow/messages/361.html>, suggesting that it took approximately three years for his partnership with Caleb Grimshaw to be dissolved after his death. It would appear from Harris's remarks in the present letter that Fitzhugh might also have made his services available in assisting visitors travelling in the opposite direction.

<sup>486</sup> Either Phebe Rushton (*née* Copley, 1773-1832), the wife of William Rushton sen., or Mary Rushton (*née* Brown), the wife of William Rushton jun. See the obituary of the former in *The Baptist magazine*, vol. XXV (1833) pp. 467-9 and for the latter see in Appendix II.

<sup>487</sup> See note 303.

<sup>488</sup> This suggests that Sarah Ann intended to travel via the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, the Liverpool-Wigan stretch of which had been completed by 1781. Express packet boats, known as 'fly-boats', would leave Liverpool at 8 a.m. and arrive in Wigan by 5 p.m. Passenger transport along the canal continued until the 1840s, after which the new railways captured the passenger traffic. In 1832, the year when Harris died, Wigan acquired its first railway, a six-mile line to Parkside, where it connected to the Liverpool-Manchester line. (Horsman, *HHCC*, p. 44.)

Now you will oblige me by addressing a line to Mrs. Wadsworth, Ardwicke Green,<sup>489</sup> telling her of Sarah's return and of her intention, if convenient, to spend a day with her in her progress towards Gloucester. You will also furnish her with Mr. Fitzhugh's address, with whom she might leave a line to say whether such a visit would be convenient. Perhaps Mrs. Wadsworth may be able to give Mr. Edmund or Thomas Grundy an opportunity of hearing an authentic account of this part of the country from Sarah. In your letter to Mrs. Wadsworth pray say that her daughter, son-in-law, and granddaughter<sup>490</sup> are all very well, very comfortable, and much respected. Perhaps they enjoy themselves as much as any couple having to work their way in the world can do.

You will rightly guess that I shall be looking with some earnestness, not only for account of my dear niece's safety in your country, but also of the impression which her account of us all, our accommodations, &c. will make upon you and what alteration it may make on your views. This indeed, were I to consider temporals merely, would be useless now, as by all accounts, distress is not known among you. But our papers give some hints respecting some ecclesiastical projects, which, if they have the least foundation, have led you to allow your old friend some foresight. My impression for many years has been, as you know, that an approximation between Rome and England has been desired, intended, and planned among the higher powers in Church and State. Wix's pamphlet<sup>491</sup> appeared before I left England. It appeared like a feather thrown up to try which way the wind was. Should the coalition take place, where about will the Baptists be? Their sentiments are more the antipodes to Rome than any other sect's.

31st. Perhaps my hints about religious difficulties on your side may as well end on the other page,<sup>492</sup> as [they can] be continued. I cannot make it better. Should troubles on this account arise, you will wish yourselves all on this side, perhaps when too late. *Think well on it.*

I was in Cincinnati last July, and was sorry not to find James Latham there. He had left his situation a few days before without giving any notice. His employer, a very respectable man, a Methodist, spoke handsomely of him, but complained, as *all have done*, of his unaccountable reserve. The church to which he had attached himself was grieved at his acting so irregularly, contrary to his covenant, in not asking for a letter. A little after my return home, a letter from his father came to our p[ost]

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<sup>489</sup> Ardwick Green was at this time a private park on the south-east side of Manchester's city centre. On the residence there of Mrs. Wadsworth and her family, see Appendix IV.

<sup>490</sup> Harris here refers to (1) his daughter-in-law Catalina Harris (*née* Wadsworth), (2) his son William Tell Harris, and (3) his granddaughter Sarah Ann Harris, the only surviving child of Catalina and William, on each of whom see further in the Introduction.

<sup>491</sup> A probable reference to one of the publications of Samuel Wix (1771-1861), described by Peter N. Nockles as 'a pre-Tractarian high-churchman with a then unusually eirenic view of Roman Catholicism.' He added, 'Wix's theological position found expression in three of his most significant publications: *Scriptural Illustrations of the Thirty-Nine Articles* (1808), *Reflections concerning the expediency of a council of the Church of England and the Church of Rome being holden, with a view to accommodate religious differences* (1818...), and *Christian Union without the Abuses of Popery* (1820)' (*ODNB*). It would no doubt have been one of the latter two publications to which Harris referred. While the thoughts aired by Wix were to be expounded at length through the Tractarian movement, Wix himself nevertheless became an opponent of Catholic emancipation in the 1820s.

<sup>492</sup> Harris has just begun to write on a new page.

office, which I paid for (27 cents, or 1/2½<sup>493</sup>) in the hopes of learning where he was & sending it on. A little after we heard he had been at Louisville, where he was thought well of, but was now gone on to N[ew] Orleans, intending to embark there for England. Sarah will bring the letter, when his father may pay her for it on my account, as I shall have an account with her. 'Tis a great pity that young man maintains so much pride. It leads him into inconsistencies. Setting this aside, he appears to be highly respected, and to have conducted himself exemplarily, but his reserve has hindered him from availing himself of the advice of those who were well able to assist him with it. Perhaps he will be with you ere this reaches you. By a note he left written with pencil on a board at Mr. Smith's (his employer), it appears he was in arrears there, w[hich]<sup>494</sup> I doubt not he considers obligatory upon him. That note exhibited considerable uneasiness of mind, but whether on a religious account or not, I could not clearly make out. But for that foolish reserve, it was generally thought he might have done *very well* in Cincinnati and had as much *good work* as he could manage. I did not hear of the least slur upon his moral character. Mr. Fall,<sup>495</sup> the Baptist minister at Louisville, spoke in high terms of him at Cincinnati. I have been thus particular about James, lest his taciturnity, or rather his unexplicitness [*sic*] might lead his friends to suspect he had been guilty of some improper conduct at Cincinnati from his leaving it so abruptly. It was literally absconding without any reason for so doing. The members of the church thought well of him and all lamented his reserve which hindered his usefulness.

You will not wait to see my niece before you write. I am longing to hear from you. Your last letter is nearly twelve months old and that is the last news from Wigan. I have just read the trial of Fauntleroy<sup>496</sup> in a N[ew] York paper, also the *tail* of an account of a factory falling in at Manchester when 16 lives were lost,<sup>497</sup> also that your government is pursuing measures to conciliate the different parties. I am an

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<sup>493</sup> Approx. £0.06 in modern British currency, with an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £3/\$4.50 in 2016.

<sup>494</sup> A little damage to the text at this point, where the seal has been detached.

<sup>495</sup> Probably Philip Fall (1798-1890), who came under strong influence of Alexander Campbell and his restorationist theology. In January 1823 Fall went to serve as the Baptist minister in Louisville, where in November 1824 he was visited by Alexander Campbell. He removed to Nashville in late 1826 or early 1827, but returned to Louisville in 1830, before again returning to Nashville in 1858. See <http://www.truthmagazine.com/archives/volume19/TM019195.htm>; and Foster *ESCM*, pp. 329 f. A short biography of Fall, with his portrait and other images, including his grave inscription in Frankfort, Kentucky, may be found at <http://therestorationmovement.com/fall.ps.htm>. On Fall's activities in Cincinnati, see Richardson, *MAC*, p. 122.

<sup>496</sup> Henry Fauntleroy (1784-1824) was an English banker and forger, the last person to be hanged for forgery in the United Kingdom.

<sup>497</sup> The reference is to the collapse of Nathan Gough's steam-driven mule spinning mill (Islington Mill), located near to Oldfield Road, Salford (Manchester's twin city), where a serious accident occurred on the 13th October 1824, in which, out of more than 250 persons presently working in the mill, in fact 19 lives were lost: those of 3 boys and 16 females, most of the latter in the age range 12-20, but including also 3 married women and one in an advanced state of pregnancy. (*The Cambridge chronicle and journal*, 22nd October 1824.)

American citizen,<sup>498</sup> yet I feel interested in and rejoice at the prosperity of Britain. “Shine, mighty God, on Britain shine”<sup>499</sup> is my sincere wish.

I have not yet determined whether to send Flavel’s Works by Sarah for to have your binder’s blunders corrected or not.<sup>500</sup> If I do, she will take charge of them for me, unless you should see good cause to emigrate with all your family and come to my aid here as a preacher. In this case I might see Flavel again. I do not now recommend emigration from personal motives as I cannot expect to remain long enough to enjoy much of their company. Had I occasion to visit England once more, my present feelings are that I should not tarry there, much as times are mended. This country, this state, this town suit me more than any spot I have hitherto visited. But my niece will tell you all about it.

Pray let me have a full abstract of your journal of events for the past year & up to the time of writing: what increase of family, what your publications, state of your church,<sup>501</sup> the two Independent churches,<sup>502</sup> how Mr. Marshall goes on. My respects to him & Mrs. M. Tell me all about Mr. Alston, Hammersley, Lyon’s [*sic*], Roby,<sup>503</sup> Marsden, Tennants & Cloth hall,<sup>504</sup> Sowerby, Steill,<sup>505</sup> what you hear of father Simmons, James & John, what changes have taken place among the great folks, and

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<sup>498</sup> In fact, although Samuel Harris and his son William Tell had filed documents of intent to assume American citizenship on the 20th July 1821, soon after arriving in Philadelphia, their citizenship was not ratified until the 3rd October 1826, as is confirmed by Circuit Court Order Book no. 1 of Dearborn County, Indiana. (Information kindly supplied by Chris McHenry, from *Indiana source book, genealogical material from The Hoosier genealogist, 1979-1981*, vol. IV [Indianapolis, 1987] p. 14.)

<sup>499</sup> The first line of a hymn by Isaac Watts.

<sup>500</sup> See above in Letter 2.

<sup>501</sup> That is Lord Street Baptist Church, in Wigan.

<sup>502</sup> That is, St. Paul Independent Chapel and Hope Chapel, both in Wigan.

<sup>503</sup> William Roby was born at Haigh, near Wigan in 1766 and attended Wigan Grammar School. After teaching at a school in Bretherton, he went for a time to Lady Huntingdon’s College at Trevecca, before coming to Wigan to assist John Johnson in the ministry of St. Paul Independent Chapel, becoming sole pastor of the church meeting there on Johnson’s removal to Tyldesley. During his time at St. Paul’s, the building was enlarged through the construction of galleries, and in 1795 he removed to Manchester to minister in Cannon Street Congregational Church, later superseded by the spacious chapel in Grosvenor Street. There Roby continued to minister until his death in 1830. (Nightingale, *LN*, pp. 76 f.; Robinson, *WR*; *idem*, *LCU*, pp. 30 f. & *passim*.)

<sup>504</sup> A Cloth Hall had been built in Wigan in 1784, from which local hand-weavers would purchase their cotton yarn and to which they would return to sell their products to mercers. In 1816 the Commercial Hall, with 68 shop units on two floors, was built just to the west of Wigan’s Market Place, where Harris formerly had his druggist’s business, by one of the Tennant family, possibly James Tennant (so Whitehouse, *HTBW*), the third floor of which was devoted to a new Cloth Hall. Christian institutions of different denominations were also the object of Tennant benefactions. Thus, we learn that ‘Mr. Tennant, proprietor of the Commercial Hall’ greatly assisted the Sunday School of Wigan’s second Baptist Church in King Street. (Brown, *FTY*, p. 5.) After the decease of Richard Tennant, on the 28th January 1842 the extensive property in Wigan of George and Richard Tennant (who were probably the sons of James Tennant, d. 1819) was placed in a bankruptcy auction at the Royal Hotel in Wigan. (*London gazette*, issue no. 20056 [31st December 1841] p. 3384.) Much of this property was situated in or near to Market Place and included among the sale items was not only the Cloth Hall but also ‘all that chief or ground-rent of £9.7s.6d. reserved and made payable from and out of Hope Chapel and premises, situate in Hope-street, in Wigan... for the residue of a term of 999 years’, notwithstanding the inclusion also of a double seat or pew in the parish church of Wigan.

<sup>505</sup> On Alexander Steill, see under ‘St. Paul Independent Chapel, Wigan’ in Appendix V.



little great folks.<sup>506</sup> If old Mr. Salmond was here he would find himself at home upon a pretty little spot about 16 acres<sup>507</sup> I bought last spring with my large atlas, silver watch, a diamond ring and some other trifles, close to Aurora – a fine prospect &c. I intended it for Sarah at my decease, but she is going from it. Should she not return, 'twill be a pretty addition to William's Mount Tabor. Should our town continue to improve as it has done lately, this property will be valuable a few years hence. At present, land is very low owing to the scarcity of cash.

I have already mentioned Mr. D. Brown's. That family interests me greatly. Pray be very particular about them all. Can you tell me anything about poor James Sharp?, his brother Isaac, Weightman, young Parkin.<sup>508</sup> I forget whether the daughter is living.

May the Lord Jesus Christ be with you and sister B. and all yours.

Yours very affection[ate]ly

Sam[ue]l Harris

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<sup>506</sup> On Harris's expression 'the great folks', see note 465. The 'little great folks' are perhaps either the children of the gentry, or the middle classes, situated between the gentry and the lower (or labouring) classes.

<sup>507</sup> On this plot, see note 440.

<sup>508</sup> On 'young Parkin', see note 916.

## Letter 6: 6th-30th March 1827

Aurora, Dearborn County, Indiana, U.S.  
6 March 1827

[Addressed to 'Mr. John Brown, Bookseller, Wigan, Old England'; inscribed 'Single sheet, paid 25', 'P[er] first Liverpool Packet from N. York', and [by J. Brown?<sup>509</sup>] 'Answered June 25, 1827; Sent parcel August 8th'; with postal marking '2/6'; stamped 'LIVERPOOL SHIP LETTER'; and with red wax seal of 'S.H.']

My dear friend and brother J.B.,

My memorandum book tells me that our correspondence stands dated as follows: 1825 June 20th from you; Sept. 29, do.<sup>510</sup> Octr. 31, to you.<sup>511</sup> Here it stops, to my loss. After waiting 'till May,<sup>512</sup> uncertain whether you were still in this vale of trouble, I wrote by my daughter to Mr. Alston, from whom I had not heard for two years, and by a letter from him, received last December, I learn that you are in usual health, though probably in considerable inconvenience owing to the division in Lord str[ee]t church, which he gives me a very scanty account of. It is no more than what I expected and, afflictive as it must be, [I] do expect that it will end in good for that little society. I am very desirous to know all the particulars of that and of every other matter relating to that tender interest. Mr. Alston's letter contains an imprint of the address for Scholes school from your press,<sup>513</sup> which of course you knew was intended for me, and as Mr. A. did not fill up the sheet, I should have been obliged to him to hand it to you to fill the vacant page. However, I trust you will favour me with a large sheet *full* from your memorandum book, from the date of your last, which was June 1825,<sup>514</sup> including such accounts also of St. Paul's as you will easily suppose may interest me, also Greatbatch;<sup>515</sup> St. Helens, Sharp, father and sons;<sup>516</sup> Chester,

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<sup>509</sup> See also inscription notes to Letters 4, 5, 7, and 8. Though the comparable samples are small, it may be said that the handwriting here and on some other letters is certainly similar to the signature of John Brown on the pages of his will.

<sup>510</sup> In view of Harris's mention a little lower down in this letter that his last letter from John Brown had been written in June 1825, it is tempting to imagine that by 'do.' (ditto) here Harris refers to the year '1825', not the words 'from you', but this imposes an unnatural strain on the sentence, first because the year-month-day sequence is inverted and, second, because a mere month between letters dispatched from Harris to Brown is a much shorter period than normal between his letters to Brown. It seems we must deduce that he overlooked Brown's letter of 29th September 1825 when mentioning the letter of June 1825 lower down and that was possibly because the letter of 29th September did not rehearse events transcribed from Brown's memorandum book, which was Harris's particular concern here, as had been Brown's previous letter of 20th June.

<sup>511</sup> This last-mentioned letter, written by Harris, has not been found.

<sup>512</sup> I.e. May, 1826.

<sup>513</sup> Harris refers to this leaflet again in Letter 11; see also note 385.

<sup>514</sup> But see note 470 above.

<sup>515</sup> George Greatbatch (aged 23 in 1802 and so some 12 years junior to Samuel Harris) has been considered 'the father of Southport Congregationalism'. He was one of the first Independent itinerant preachers in Lancashire. His ministry receives particular notice in B. Nightingale, *Lancashire nonconformity... vol. VI: The churches of Southport, Liverpool, and the Isle of Man* (Manchester, 1893), pp. 10-31; *idem*, *The story of the Lancashire Congregational Union, 1806-1906: centenary memorial volume* (Manchester, 1906) pp. 19-21, 35-39, & portrait; Robinson, *LCU*, pp. 26 f., 33 f., 44, 47, 49; and C. Binfield, 'A matter of appearances: the Boothroyds and Southport Congregationalism', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. XCVI (2000) pp. 135-138.

Clubbe;<sup>517</sup> young Parkin<sup>518</sup> if known; with all the &c's of persons who, for want of my being reminded of, are fading away from my memory.



**Portrait of George Greatbatch, from B. Nightingale, *The story of the Lancashire Congregational Union***

I did not send you our last Association<sup>519</sup> letter, as it had nothing remarkable about it to interest you, and the type was not good. I was not at that meeting, consequently my name did not appear in it.

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<sup>516</sup> On Isaac Sharp sen. and his sons Isaac Sharp jun. and James Sharp, see notes 387 & 390. The elder Isaac Sharp had, in fact, died just three weeks prior to Harris's writing this request for information about him.

<sup>517</sup> Harris might well have been thinking of Thomas Clubbe, one of the Clubbe family of brewers in Chester. See <http://www.chesterwalls.info/oldpubs8.html>. In 1838 Thomas Clubbe was the only remaining trustee of Thomas Jones's Charities for Independent Ministers, established in 1810 (*Reports from commissioners... [vol.] 4: Charities. Vol. XXVII: Session 15 November 1837-16 August 1838*, p. 472), which links him with Harris's former Christian denomination and locality. Clubbe was quite possibly the author of a pious verse offering superscribed 'Chester: Mr. Thomas Clubbe, aged 20' included in *The poetical monitor*, 8th ed. (London, 1819) p. 146.

<sup>518</sup> These two names are again mentioned together in Letter 11 below. On 'young Parkin', whose wife, like Thomas Clubbe, was a native of Chester, see note 916.

<sup>519</sup> See note 480.

My first three months of last year were spent in and about Cincinnati, where I was considerably engaged, first with one of the great dons<sup>520</sup> of Kentucky in ordaining a very hopeful young man over a large Baptist church there, then visiting two established churches in the neighbourhood, debating and contending with some of our erroneous brethren chiefly of the antinomian stamp.<sup>521</sup> The rest of the year has been spent in four visits in Kentucky, one long one among four of our churches on this side of the river, and another visit (November) to Cincinnati again. Since that time I have been wholly at home, confined by the weather. A heavy fall of snow (very unusual here) in December, followed by a very severe frost for five weeks, and succeeded by as much mud and mire as a warm thaw and heavy rains could produce, all proved sufficient to confine me to a home where the warmest and most comfortable place is *bed*, under seven or eight blankets. Indeed it has been very pinching. I am now peeping out a little and expect shortly to venture abroad again. My visits to Cincinnati have enlarged my acquaintance and correspondence. My controversies with antinomians and other false interpreters of the Scriptures oblige me to a more critical study of that book and our increasingly attentive congregation interests me more to inquire for them at the great storehouse of truth.

I have also a charge in my little granddaughter, who is attempting to talk, though late being nearly 2 years and half old. With the assistance of “Caslon’s Specimen of Types, 1763”<sup>522</sup> (which you threw into a bag of waste paper, by weight once) she knows the letters perfectly, and I hope shortly to shew her how to put them together. In this country they scarcely ever attempt to shew a letter to a child under five years old.

I suppose you are aware that scarcely anything is printed on your side but we have it here very soon, sometimes not reprinted, only a N[ew] York or Philadelphia titlepage. This I saw to be the case with Bagster’s Pocket Bible<sup>523</sup> with marginal references between the two columns in the page, a copy of which was shewn to me in Cincinnati as a fine specimen of American printing. I immediately recognized the identical London print. I have often regretted that I did not possess myself of the references only for the whole Bible, and also the Septuagint.<sup>524</sup> I have paid some

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<sup>520</sup> Harris wrote ‘great Dons’, but it would be a mistake to assume he had in mind a person bearing the surname Don. Since the seventeenth century, the Spanish title *Don* has been used in English to indicate ‘a distinguished man; one of position or importance; a leader, first class man’ (*OED*, where Dryden’s phrase ‘The great dons of wit’ [1665] is cited in example). The identity of this great don of Kentucky remains elusive, although possible candidates might include John Taylor, Jeremiah Vardeman, and Silas M. Noel.

<sup>521</sup> In several places in his letters Harris referred to the dangers of antinomianism, controversy over which was at its height among Dissenters in London at the time that Harris arrived there. He must have been witness to this sometimes heated debate, at the centre of which was the demagogic preacher William Huntington (1745-1813). See the two chapters ‘Antinomianism’ and ‘William Huntington’s controversy with the Particular Baptists’ in Oliver, *HECB*, pp. 112-145. K. Dix cited evidence of Huntington’s brand of antinomianism affecting the Little Prescott Street Baptist Church, under Abraham Booth, at the time when Harris arrived in this area of London (*SP*, p. 21).

<sup>522</sup> *A specimen of printing types, by W. Caslon and Son, letter founders, in London* seems to have been first published in 1764.

<sup>523</sup> Samuel Bagster, both father and son of the same name, published many aids to Bible study, including polyglot Bibles. Both were active in the Baptist communion.

<sup>524</sup> Bagsters contributed immensely to the cross-referencing of Biblical texts, most significantly by the publication in c. 1833/4 of *The treasury of Scripture knowledge*, consisting of ‘a rich and copious assemblage of more than 500,000 scripture references and parallel passages from Canne, Brown,

attention to the Greek lately and find it very useful in helping me to the meaning of many passages, formerly obscure to me. George Campbell's Gospels with Dissertations and Notes<sup>525</sup> have helped me considerably, though I do not lean upon him. I want McKnight,<sup>526</sup> though Scott speaks unfavourably concerning him. Scott<sup>527</sup> is a great favourite here. Proposals are issued for an edition of Henry after Burder and Hughes,<sup>528</sup> but I apprehend it will have a limited sale. Perhaps it may be only the surplus of Bagster's edition sent over. This I believe is often done. I observe the 8vo. Cruden<sup>529</sup> advertised at 7 dollars ([£]1.11/6<sup>530</sup>), which you stated as at [£]1.5/-<sup>531</sup> with you. Notwithstanding our boast of cheap printing, really our prices is [*sic*] dearer than yours, when the editions are equal. Henry is proposed to subscribers at 6 dollars (27/-<sup>532</sup>) p[er] vol[ume] in boards. Waverly [*sic*] novels<sup>533</sup> are reprinted in 12mo and 18mo close type, and thus *come much lower than* your Constable or Longman [editions]. I have had opportunity of seeing some of them and was entertained much by them. The delineations of characters and manners pleased me much and, had they not proved so fascinating, I would be glad to read them all. The character of Cromwell and that vile wretch Charles Stewart [*sic*] in Woodstock are finely and I think accurately touched. However, the author has the knack of describing his scenes so strikingly that they take too fast hold of my imagination and force themselves upon me at seasons when they ought not. I have therefore forbade myself to read any more of them and my endeavour has been to eradicate from my memory what I have read. In a considerable degree my efforts have been successful. If we find vain thoughts troublesome, 'tis unwise to do anything which may add to their number and strength. This is my chief objection to historical novels and dramas. Fancied characters are generally painted much higher than real life. Fair colours are united to such vices as they are totally incompatible with. Thus the mind is vitiated and unfitted for social enjoyment and duty, independent of its being rendered incapable to a high degree of religious feeling. This is also the case to a very considerable degree with real characters when dressed up into novels.

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Blayney, Scott, and others'. The work remains in popular use until the present day, with on-line versions also now available.

<sup>525</sup> *The four Gospels, translated from the Greek, with preliminary dissertations, and notes critical and explanatory* by the Scottish professor of divinity George Campbell (1719-1796), in two volumes, was first published in 1789. A new edition appeared in 1821.

<sup>526</sup> Harris probably had in mind the Scottish theologian James Macknight (1721-1800), author of *A harmony of the four Gospels* (1756; 5th edition, 1819), *The truth of Gospel history* (1763), and *A new literal translation from the original Greek of all the Apostolic Epistles*, in four volumes (1795; reprinted in 6 volumes in 1806 and 1816). See also notes 536 and 725.

<sup>527</sup> *The Commentary on the whole Bible* by Thomas Scott (1747-1821) was first published in four volumes between 1788 and 1792. It ran into multiple editions over many subsequent years.

<sup>528</sup> See note 455.

<sup>529</sup> *The Complete concordance to the Holy Scriptures*, commonly known as *Cruden's concordance*, as it was compiled by Alexander Cruden (1699-1770), was first published in 1737 and has remained in print ever since.

<sup>530</sup> Approx. £1.57 in modern British currency, with an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £80/\$121 in 2016.

<sup>531</sup> £1.25 in modern British currency, with an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £62/\$94 in 2016.

<sup>532</sup> £1.35 in modern British currency, with an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £67/\$101 in 2016.

<sup>533</sup> The Waverley novels form the long series of historical novels by Walter Scott (1771-1832). As proof of the Waverley novels' popularity in this western region at this time, we may mention the delight of Frances Trollope in reading again through these volumes during a convalescence in Cincinnati in 1829 (*DMA*, p. 138).

Perhaps in my last I told you that a young man (resembling Waldenses Jones<sup>534</sup> in sentiments only much more violent) had issued proposals for publishing the New Testament according to Campbell, McKnight, and Doddridge. It has appeared in large 8vo at 2 dollars (9/-<sup>535</sup>).<sup>536</sup> Our western Baptists do not generally understand it. Some call it Socinian because in John i. 3, 4 *It* is substituted for *Him*. You will immediately conclude that these persons are not grammarians. Possibly I may get one for about ½ dollar, which will of course furnish me with McKnight. As I pay more attention to the translation of the H[oly] Scriptures, the less disposed I am to quarrel with it; at the same time, I the more earnestly desire a revision and correction of it, on account of the change in our language during the last two hundred years,<sup>537</sup> so that a mere modern reader is very likely to mistake the meaning of the sacred writer. I frequently witness this in our ministers in this part of the country. Very few of them are grammarians, still fewer linguists. When they fall in with such words as conversation, prevent, offence, visit, ministry, &c. they make strange confusion. But this is not peculiar to this country. I have often witnessed it in yours.

A small pamphlet has been published in a little town just above us, attempting to prove that the Millenium [*sic*] will commence in 1847. His calculations seems [*sic*] to me better grounded than any I have yet seen. Possibly the author (Tho [?] R. Robertson) may have copied it from some late English publication. It has about 17

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<sup>534</sup> An allusion to William Jones (1762–1846), author of a *History of the Albigensians and Waldensians* (1811). He became a Scotch Baptist in Chester in the 1780s and towards the close of his life still served as elder of the Scotch Baptist Church meeting in Windmill Street, near Finsbury Sqaure, London. From 1793 he was a bookseller in Liverpool and from 1812 carried on the same trade in London. Between 1834 and 1836, principally through his journal *The millennial harbinger and voluntary church* advocate, Jones helped to introduce the ideas of Alexander Campbell to Britain, thus involuntarily opening the way for the establishment of the Churches of Christ, which drew members from the Scotch Baptist communities. He later parted company with Campbell on theological grounds. (ODNB; see also short biography and list of publications in Whelan, *BA*, p. 410; and more fully in *Autobiography of the late William Jones* [London, 1846], esp. pp. 122-134.) He could well have been known personally to Harris before the latter's emigration; he was certainly know to Brown (or at least his father) as early as 1795 (see letter of Archibald McLean in Whelan, *BA*, pp. 77 f., where McLean reported that Jones wished Brown and his family to relocate and join him in Liverpool, much as Harris in later years would express the wish for Brown to join him in Indiana). John Brown is listed among the booksellers offering William Jones's two-volume *Biblical cyclopædia*, published in 1816.

<sup>535</sup> £0.45 in modern British currency, with an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £22/\$33 in 2016.

<sup>536</sup> As Harris plainly states a little further down in this letter, the 'much more violent' young man referred to by him was no less a person than Alexander Campbell (1788-1866), already mentioned in notes 495 and 534 and referred to several times subsequently in Harris's letters. The publication alluded to is Campbell's edition of *The sacred writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ, commonly styled the New Testament, translated from the original Greek, by George Campbell, James MacKnight, and Philip Doddridge, Doctors of the Church of Scotland. With prefaces to the historical and epistolary books; and an appendix, containing critical notes and various translations of difficult passages* (Buffaloe, Virginia [now Bethany, West Virginia]: Alexander Campbell, 1826). (The title 'Doctors of the Church of Scotland' seems inappropriately applied to include Philip Doddridge.) A useful presentation of Alexander Campbell, his views, and his *New Testament* may be found at <http://www.bible-researcher.com/campbell.html>, where, amongst other matters, it is noted that Campbell 'was born in northern Ireland of Scottish stock, the son of Thomas Campbell, a minister in the Seceder Presbyterian Church of Scotland. He was educated privately by his father. In 1807 his father emigrated to western Pennsylvania in America, and in 1809 Alexander followed him. The Campbells eventually settled in a frontier area, just east of the Ohio River, in the village now known as Bethany in West Virginia.' See further the major article by L. Garrett in Foster, *ESCM*, pp. 112-134 and article in *ODNB*.

<sup>537</sup> That is, since the publication in 1611 of the English translation of the Bible commonly referred to either as the Authorized Version, or the King James Version.

pages small 12mo. I give you his tables, not as conveying his ideas satisfactorily without his reasons, but merely to draw from you some account of the originals, if this be a plagiarism.<sup>538</sup> He gives 4 tables:

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<sup>538</sup> Chris McHenry has kindly assisted in identifying this apparently 12-page pamphlet, by reference to C.K. Byrd & H.H. Peckham, *A bibliography of Indiana imprints, 1804-1853* (Indianapolis, 1955), on p. 69 of which is listed item 293, viz: Th. R. Robertson, *A paraphrase on the vision of Daniel, and Revelation of St. John the divine* (Lawrenceburg, Ind., printed by D.V. Culley, 1826). (On David V. Culley, see *HDO*, p. 180.) A note to the entry in Byrd & Peckham's *Bibliography* is appended, offering comment by L.E. Froom, but this was perhaps written in haste as it contains some small inaccuracies. We may quote Froom's more considered remarks published in *PFF*<sup>4</sup>, p. 223: 'This is approximately the first third of Davis' 1811 *The millennium* [sic]. The figures in the text referring to the interval between the time of publication and 1847 are revised to fit the date of this reprint. The master table [cf. Harris's representation of this in his letter to Brown] is identical. The rest of the Davis treatise is omitted... Whether Robertson was [a] pseudonym of Davis or a piratical printer, or whether this is a plain act of plagiarism has to be determined.' The work by William C. Davis on which Robertson depended was the former's publication, *The millenium* [sic], or, a short sketch on the rise and fall of Antichrist, which, as the title-page of the first edition stated, was 'written in January, 1811' and published in that year. Davis was pastor of Bullock's Creek Presbyterian Church in South Carolina, an office which he resigned in 1810 after condemnation by the Presbyterian Church courts of his 1809 publication *The gospel plan; or, a systematic treatise on the leading doctrines of salvation*, thereafter becoming a leading light in the Independent Presbyterian Church, which spread through the Carolinas and Tennessee. (Froom, *PFF*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 391 f.; *PFF*<sup>4</sup>, pp. 212-223.) Five editions of Davis's work on *The millenium* have been identified, viz: Salisbury, N.C., 1811; Cambridge, S.C., 1813; Frankfort, Ky., 1815; Lexington, Ky., 1817; and, in England, Workington, 1818. On the title-page of Robertson's plagiaristic pamphlet, the author styles himself 'Professor of the Greek, Hebrew, Natural History, and Moral Philosophy', but no information regarding the identity of this person has yet been discovered. Harris was quite probably correct in his perception that the material used in Robertson's pamphlet, and by Davis before him, had been borrowed from other writers, as there had in fact been no shortage of date-fixing speculation basing itself upon the mysterious numbers of the books of Daniel and the Revelation. A distinguished propagator of this prophetic view was James Hatley Frere (1779-1866), concerning whom Timothy C.F. Stunt wrote, 'Frere published *A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, Esdras and St John* (1815). This was the first of six books (the last one appearing in 1850) in which he argued that the prophecy of Daniel 8:14 was a prediction of the downfall of the papacy in 1847 and that the establishment of Christ's millennial kingdom would occur in 1867' (*ODNB*). Citing a letter from Frere, the Jewish-Christian missionary Joseph Wolff (1795-1862) similarly expressed his view that the 2300 days (interpreted as years) of Daniel 8. 14 would end in 1847 with the coming of the Messiah in power and glory. (J. Wolff, *Researches and missionary labours among the Jews, Mohammedans, and other sects*, 2nd ed. [London, 1835] pp. 398-409; see further on J. Wolff and his preaching of the second coming in 1847 in Froom, *PFF*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 461-481 & *passim* for other writers, including William W. Pym [1792-1852] and Daniel Wilson [1778-1858], Bishop of Calcutta, who likewise made predictions for the year 1847.) In turn, Wolff's prediction was taken up in America by the famous woman preacher Harriet Livermore (see her publication *Millennial tidings*, no. 1 [Philadelphia, 1831] pp. 3 f., 45). Coincidentally, as Livermore herself revealed in the second edition of no. 2 of her *Millennial tidings* (Philadelphia, 1839), the first edition of issue no. 2 was published in the very place (Cincinnati) and at the very time (the autumn of 1832) where and when Samuel Harris was struck down by the fatal cholera outbreak. Livermore wrote that the first edition was 'delivered to me at the time when that most appalling and very strange pestilence, styled Asiatic Cholera, was "walking in darkness" through the western states of "the land of the overshadowing wing"'. At Cincinnati the alarm was dreadful indeed; but I dared not quit my post until this pamphlet had come from the press. After a few copies were folded and stitched, I felt my conscience bestir me to move on toward the wilderness, whither my poor oppressed red brethren were marching by thousands...' (pp. iii f.). It should be noted that Livermore believed that the Native Americans were, in fact, 'the lost ten tribes of Israel'. Reflecting later in this publication on the cause of the cholera outbreak, she remarked, 'In Cincinnati I was sickened by a stink in the air for nearly two weeks previous to the breaking forth of judgment by Cholera upon that city, as often as I walked in the streets' (p. 75). See further E.F. Hoxie, 'Harriet Livermore: "vixen and devotee"', *The New England quarterly*, vol. XVIII (1945) pp. 39-50.



I	
	years
Daniel's 70 weeks, or...	490
which overrun the vulgar æra by...	<u>37</u>
	453

II	
	years
Time of Daniel's vision...	2300
subtract...	<u>453</u>
The end of the vision	1847

III	
	year
The end of the vision...	1847
subtract the reign of Antichrist...	<u>1260</u>
The year of the rise of Popery...	587

**Table IV**

	years
From the time of the vision to Christ's birth...	453
_____ thence to the rise of Popery...	587
_____ to the Pope's downfall...	<u>1260</u>
	2300. the time of the vision

This fourth table he gives as an arithmetical proof of the correctness of the other three. From the going forth of the decree to rebuild the city and walls of Jerusalem, to the birth of Christ were 453 years. From that to the call of the Gentiles were 37 years, making Daniel's 70 weeks. From the birth of Christ to the rise of the man of sin, 557 years. From thence to his fall are to be 1260 years, which brings the overthrow of Babylon the Great to the year 1847. The only reason why former calculators have been so bewildered on this subject is they have totally overlooked the *seventieth* week, Dan. ix. 27, and consequently had no number to direct their calculations.

I have formerly thought on this subject, not to make any calculation for myself, but to examine into those already made, but I found so little satisfaction that during the last twenty years [I] have generally passed over such pieces on the subject which have occasionally appeared in the periodicals. I saw this when in the press, but took no notice of it, but a few days ago an old sagacious Presbyterian minister shewed it to me as well worth attending to. I have never seen any of Faber's works,<sup>539</sup> which are thought much of here. Probably I may turn to the Eclectic Rev[iew] on them soon, supposing I may have leisure.

<sup>539</sup> George Stanley Faber (1773-1854) was the author of a wide variety of works, including several on Biblical prophecy in which he indulged the tendency to calculate dates that were apparently fixed in prophetic Scripture. They included *A dissertation on the prophecies that have been fulfilled, are now fulfilling, or will hereafter be fulfilled relative to the great period of 1260 years; the Papal and Mahommedan apostasies, the tyrannical reign of Antichrist... and the restoration of the Jews*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (1807); *A dissertation on the prophecy included in Daniel ix. 24-27, generally denominated the prophecy of the seventy weeks* (1811); and *The sacred calendar of prophecy*, 3 vols. (1828).

Last year was spent much in travelling about. The season now before me will probably be more retired. One of our brethren<sup>540</sup> about three miles off, on the Kentucky side, has invited me to the office of domestic tutor. I have partly accepted it and expect the habitation now erecting for me, a few yards from his own, will be ready for me about the end of April. 'Tis almost literally a prophet's chamber,<sup>541</sup> about 16 feet square.<sup>542</sup> 'Tis likely that I may spend at least two Sabbaths every month in Aurora, coming over on the Friday or Saturday, and returning on the Monday, so that letters for me will not lie long in that p[ost] office. If I do undertake the tuition of his children, I shall confine myself pretty much to it. The other hours of the day will be more my own than I can have here.<sup>543</sup>

The late severe weather has kept me tolerably close to the fire with some pocket volume in my hand, thus allowing me to reperuse some of my little favourite duodecimos. Dorney's *Contemplations*<sup>544</sup> now in hand. You remember Mr. Steill used to recommend it strongly. His style is too much loaded with nouns and is somewhat obscure, a little mystical—you know that, to me, is not a fault—highly Calvinistic, in one or two places bordering on antinomianism, yet, when attentively considered, not touching it.<sup>545</sup> I have sometimes amused myself in forming a syllabus of such pieces as have pleased me and perhaps may try to do so with this, or rather, to embody his ideas in my own language.

Some time ago a gentleman, understanding I was willing to dispose of some of my books, wrote to me for a catalogue. I enumerate[d] about a third of my 8vos and 4tos, but on looking them over felt somewhat like the poor Arabian with his courser,<sup>546</sup> and though I should be very glad to see them in the hands of one who

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<sup>540</sup> That is Reuben Graves, as Harris makes clear in Letter 7. See note 592.

<sup>541</sup> The expression derives from 2 Kings 4. 10.

<sup>542</sup> In Letter 7 Harris's estimate shrank to 'fifteen feet square', perhaps reflecting initial, external assessment and later, internal assessment.

<sup>543</sup> This last comment probably reflects the fact at this time Harris was dwelling in the restricted accommodation of the Mount Tabor cabin, in close domestic association with his son, daughter-in-law, and granddaughter, a situation in which he could not easily detach himself from other members of the household during the whole 24 hours of each day. See in Appendix VI: 'The dwelling places of Samuel Harris'.

<sup>544</sup> Henry Dorney's *Divine contemplations* were first published (in 12mo) in 1684.

<sup>545</sup> The theological distinction between hyper-Calvinism and antinomianism was one which was made, among other Baptist leaders, by Andrew Fuller: 'We distinguish between High Calvinists and Antinomians. With the former we do not refuse communion but with the latter we do' (*Works*, p. 844, cited in Oliver, *HECB*, p. 119).

<sup>546</sup> Harris alludes to an anecdote contained in the *Etudes de la nature* by Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (first edition, 1784), translated into English by Henry Hunter and published in 5 volumes in 1796. Describing the customary humanity shown by the Arabs toward their horses, de Saint-Pierre remarked, 'It is impossible to read without being melted into tears, what is related on this subject by the virtuous Consul d'Hervieux, in his journey to Mont Lebanon. The whole stock of a poor Arabian of the Desert consisted of a most beautiful mare. The French Consul at Said offered to purchase her, with an intention to send her to his master Louis XIV. The Arab pressed by want hesitated a long time; but at length consented, on condition of receiving a very considerable sum which he named. The Consul, not daring, without instruction, to give so high a price, wrote to Versailles for permission to close the bargain on the terms stipulated. Louis XIV. gave order to pay the money. The Consul immediately sent notice to the Arab, who soon after made his appearance, mounted on his magnificent courser, and the gold which he had demanded was paid down to him. The Arab, covered with a miserable rug, dismounts, looks at the money; then, turning his eyes to the mare, he sighs, and thus accosts her: "To whom am I going to yield thee up? To Europeans, who will tie thee close, who will beat thee, who will render thee miserable: return with me, my beauty, my darling, my jewel! and rejoice the hearts of my

knows their value, as well as to have their worth in dollars, yet I felt well satisfied when he wrote me that recent circumstances forbade him to indulge his longings after them. He breathed most after Sibbes<sup>547</sup> and Owen.<sup>548</sup> This shewed him to be one after my own taste, and led me to desire his acquaintance. He is a Presbyterian minister, at present in Indianapolis, the metropolis of our State, distant about 80 miles. There are very few libraries in this State. I am told that mine is the chief, both for size and value. But my sight is rather weaker, and I cannot enjoy reading quite so much, though it is not a whit less engaging to me than formerly. Our Bible Society (American) Reports give me a tolerable idea of what is going on in the world in that way. We also receive the Br[itish] & For[eign] Bible S[ociety] Reports a year old. I cannot form an *exact* idea of how the Russian interdict extends, whether it takes away from the people what Bibles they have, or only forbids the further distribution.<sup>549</sup> The Reports are properly very sparing in their remarks. But the news we have from India chiefly concern the Burman Mission,<sup>550</sup> and are meagre of accounts respecting the old Serampore establishment and connexion.<sup>551</sup> If my recollection be correct, the *periodical* accounts ceased before 1820 and Annual Reports only were published afterwards. I have the An[nual] Report for 1820, since which time I have no regular account. Now, if you have any subsequent ones to spare, or could *reach* any, free of expense, for me, I should be very glad of them. I am among a people who know but little of what is going on and some of our Kentucky Baptists have had their minds sadly poisoned against these efforts. I have lately heard that 13 Baptist churches in one of the Carolinas (I forget which) have declared non-fellowship for any who take any part in Bible, missionary, tract, or Sunday school societies!!! Now all this is owing to misrepresentation, and *ignorance*. Alex[ander] Campbell (the publisher of

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children!” As he pronounced these words, he sprang upon her back, and scampered off toward the Desert.’ (J.H.B. de Saint-Pierre, *Studies of nature*, tr. H. Hunter, 5th ed., vol. III [London, 1809] pp. 313 f.) The story seems to have gained some currency in the popular imagination, being retold, for example, in John Church’s *Cabinet of quadrupeds*, vol. I, div. I, sect. I, 1: ‘The Arabian horse’ (London, 1805) and in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 6th ed., vol. XII, s.v. ‘Mammalia’ (Edinburgh, 1823).

<sup>547</sup> The Puritan divine Richard Sibbes (1577?-1635).

<sup>548</sup> On John Owen, see note 448.

<sup>549</sup> Since its establishment in 1813 and up to 1826, the Russian Bible Society distributed more than 500,000 Bible-related books in 41 languages of Russia. Several times in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, activities of the society were stopped by reactionary policies of the Russian government. Fearing an evangelical revival among the Russian people through distribution of the New Testament in Russian, the Orthodox clergy stirred up opposition against the Russian Bible Society and succeeded in persuading Czar Nicholas I to disband it in 1826. It was not reopened until 1944.

<sup>550</sup> That is, the American Baptist Mission in Burmah.

<sup>551</sup> The early nineteenth century witnessed intensive missionary engagement in the Danish colony of Serampore, in which the activities of missionaries Joshua Marshman, Hannah Marshman, William Carey, and William Ward were specially notable. It is quite possible that Harris had some personal acquaintance with William Ward since Ward was active in the Baptist society in Hull from about 1794 or 1795, where he had a printing business and was for some time editor of *The Hull advertiser and exchange gazette*. Ward embarked for missionary work in Serampore on the 24th May 1799, the year in which Harris probably arrived in Hull. He may well have heard him again on his return visit, via Liverpool, to England in 1819. Like Harris, Ward also died from cholera, during an outbreak of the disease in Serampore, in 1823. (S. Stennett, *Memoirs of the life of the Rev. William Ward* [London, 1825] pp. 11, 13 f., 66, 198, 212-224.) See also notes 303 & 512; and the articles by Timothy George (‘William Carey [1761-1834]’) and A. Christopher Smith (‘Joshua [1768-1837] and Hannah Marshman [1767-1847]’ and ‘William Ward [1769-1823]’) in M.A.G. Haykin (ed.), *The British Particular Baptists 1638-1910*, vol. II (Springfield, Miss., 2000) pp. 143-161, 237-271.

the New Testament just mentioned) has laboured to effect this.<sup>552</sup> I had a long debate with him on the subject last November,<sup>553</sup> which ended in his acknowledging his error, but it remains to be seen whether he will publicly retract his former writings.<sup>554</sup>

This subject, the instruction of the negroes, and the maintenance of ministers form my chief labour to insist upon in Kentucky. On each I have so far attained that our Baptist brethren now are willing to converse calmly on them, though at first they used to ridicule the ideas, especially the two last. I find them also considerably erroneous on religious education, family worship, and the obligations of the Sabbath. You will notice that that [*sic*] these are not publicly avowed and contended for, though some individuals do this.

Let me request you on no account to speak of these matters as coming from me, for they are of public notoriety here, no one likes to be thought amiss of abroad, and if it be repeated, it would come back again, *to my detriment*. My reason for entering upon the subject is plainly this. I have already hinted at my wish for missionary reports. Should you be able to make up a parcel for me of these, and have also my tract or pamphlet at hand bearing upon these subjects,<sup>555</sup> besides what you know I have, you may be assured they would be welcome, and *may be serviceable*.

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<sup>552</sup> The anti-missions movement among Kentucky Baptists had, in fact, been promoted prior to Alexander Campbell by Daniel Parker, who, quite the opposite to Campbell, arrived at his anti-missionism via an extreme antinomian Calvinism. As W.D. Nowlin remarked, 'We have here the curious spectacle of the highest antinomianism, represented by Parker and [John] Taylor, and the most extreme Arminianism, represented by Campbell, combined to attack the principles of missions. So we find that other things than politics make strange bedfellows. The one side claimed it to be an infringement of the divine, and the other of church sovereignty.' ('The Anti-Missionary Controversy of Baptists in Kentucky from 1832 to 1842', in *Kentucky Baptist history, 1770-1922* [Louisville, Ky., 1922] pp. 100-115.) For a full discussion of this movement in Kentucky Baptist history, see B.H. Carroll, *The genesis of American anti-missionism* (Louisville, Ky., 1902). In more than one place the churchbook of the Bullittsburg Baptist Church, with which Harris was in close association, testifies to the baneful influence exerted on its fellowship at this time by Daniel Parker.

<sup>553</sup> Mention is made of Alexander Campbell's 'filling... some appointments in Indiana' in 1826 in Richardson, *MAC*, p. 168. This may have been the occasion of Harris's debating with him.

<sup>554</sup> Harris's conversations with Alexander Campbell might indeed have caused the latter to modify his antagonistic views toward Christian societies, for his thinking on this subject, commonly referred to as the acceptability or otherwise of 'expedients', did undergo a moderating shift between 1823 and the 1830s. See Foster, *ESCM*, pp. 325, 534.

<sup>555</sup> This tract has not been traced with certainty, but a possible candidate is the 12-page pamphlet bearing the imprint 'Wigan: printed for the author, by J. Brown; and sold by W Baynes & Son... London' and entitled *An appeal to humanity in behalf of the heathen world, particularly addressed to snuff-takers & tobacco-smokers in all Christian lands*, by Minimus, 2nd ed. It was dated at the end by the author 'December 1st, 1821'. Since there seems to be a strong implication in Harris's request that Brown is the distributor of the publication and no other of Brown's publications (the present editor has compiled a catalogue which augments the fullest listing previously published, being found in Folkard, *WD*) is so close as this to the topic of missionary endeavour discussed by Harris in the present context, it seems reasonable to suggest that this is the work being referred to and that Samuel Harris was the user of the pseudonym 'Minimus' ('the youngest' – Samuel Harris was the youngest of three brothers). The identification is also perhaps supported by Minimus's citation from the Serampore missionary William Ward (see note 551) towards the end of the pamphlet, as also by a more Arminian than Calvinistic tone in respect of human responsibility in missions to the heathen. On the other side, however, Minimus interprets Matthew 28. 20 in a quite different manner to Harris's use of that text in Letter 12, since Minimus believed that Jesus's command there applies not exclusively to the Twelve, but to all modern-day Christians. In addition, despite the pamphlet's strong condemnation of Christians' using snuff and tobacco, where Harris does mention tobacco in these letters, he does not stop to condemn its production and use, although he might have recognized the different circumstances

An Episcopalian paper (Philadelphia) has given me an extract from “Bishop Watson’s Institutes”,<sup>556</sup> which excites in me a desire to see that work. It is reprinted here. The extract goes to prove that the doctrine of the Trinity is not only necessary to the understanding of the H[oly] Scriptures, but also of the works of creation and providence. By the way, our American English Episcopacy is making very strenuous efforts to shine. One of our bishops has succeeded in collecting a considerable sum among your church folks and [they] are establishing Kenyon College (Lord Kenyon gave the large sum) in Ohio State,<sup>557</sup> but they appear to need an Act of Parliament to bind them to uniformity. Without the strong arm of civil power, diocesan Episcopacy cannot stand erect long. Already has the House of Bishops been obliged to make concessions and the liturgy is to be used fully or partially, *as convenient*.

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applying in America, where one could grow one’s own tobacco without monetary outlay and, as Cady (*MBCI*, p. 182) notes, ‘The use of tobacco was not usually condemned, but some protest was raised occasionally against the habit of many ministers indulging the chewing of tobacco while preaching.’ No complete certainty regarding the identification may therefore be arrived at on the basis of present knowledge, but the general thesis of the pamphlet, that Christians’ abstention from tobacco could provide the financial means of supporting missionary endeavour, is interestingly very similar to the argument of Harris’s Baptist colleague in Aurora, Jesse L. Holman, who in September 1824 had written, not of tobacco but of alcohol, ‘Considerable might be saved... by avoiding some of the luxuries which Christians are in the habit of making use of, for Instance let every Christian in the Western Country use one gallon less of ardent Spirits... in the Course of the year and apply the savings to the Support of the Gospel in some Way how much good might be Done’ (quoted in Cady, *MBCI*, p. 95). Harris did not make use of beer or wine, as he states in Letter 4. Finally, the way in which the author Minimus describes his non-sectarian Christian stance in his Preface is perfectly suited to Samuel Harris: ‘I... consider and embrace every professing Christian, who bears the image of the Saviour, as “my brother, or sister, or mother.” I have long been convinced that vital godliness is not confined to any sect or party...’

<sup>556</sup> Harris was perhaps confusing two writers of the same name. Bishop Watson must be Richard Watson (1737-1816), Bishop of Llandaff, but he does not appear to have published any work with the word *institutes* in the title. Harris was no doubt thinking of *Theological institutes* (London, 1823) by Richard Watson (1781-1833), since the sections in this work dealing with the doctrine of the Trinity accord with Harris’s anticipation of its subject matter; however, *this* Richard Watson was a Wesleyan minister. Confusion between the two Richard Watsons might well have been in Harris’s source, the ‘Episcopalian paper’. Intriguingly the same confusion is to be found in L.E. Froom’s *Conditionalist faith of our fathers*, vol. II (Washington, Wash., 1965) pp. 257, 31, where Froom reviews theological publications of Henry Grew (1781-1862) and George Storrs (1796-1879) promoting the doctrine of conditionalist immortality against the traditional Christian doctrine of eternal hell. Froom might have perpetuated a conflation of the two men that he found in an early nineteenth-century publication involved in this debate. Intriguing also is the fact that George Storrs was a *Methodist Episcopal* minister and, further, that a copy of Jacob Blain’s *Death not life* (New York, 1853) in the New York Public Library, in which the author cites first Richard Watson (p. 36) and then Bishop Watson (p. 37), contains a manuscript presentation inscription by Jacob Blain to George Storrs. All this might suggest that when writings of the two Richard Watsons were referred to in close proximity, conflation of the two men into one might have been an error easily made on the American side of the Atlantic.

<sup>557</sup> Kenyon College was the brainchild of the first Episcopal Bishop of Ohio, Philander Chase, who, noticing a severe lack of trained clergy on the Ohio frontier, planned to create a seminary to rectify this deficit. Finding little local support for the project, he sailed to England and solicited donations from George, second Lord Kenyon; from Lord Gambier, whose name is perpetuated in the village of Gambier, Knox County, Ohio in which Kenyon College is situated; and from the writer and philanthropist Hannah More. The College was incorporated in December 1824 and Kenyon was certainly the chief contributor to the project since, in April 1825, he collected £6,000 for help in the founding of the college and donated an additional £2,000 for the purchase of lands.

The Wesleyan Episcopal Church, the nominally very large and, *upon paper*, the preponderating body, is something like the feet of Nebuchadnezzar's image,<sup>558</sup> and 'tis generally expected that its firmness will soon cease.

The Romanists are exerting themselves greatly. They have built a large church in Cincinnati<sup>559</sup> and appear almost as innocent as Dryden's "Hind".<sup>560</sup> The Methodists have, in my opinion, prepared the way for them, but this is not suspected by that people. But I ought not thus to give my conjectures. My opportunities for observation are many, but I dare not offer remarks upon all I witness. However, this I have observed: that very few are pleased with those who try to open their eyes for them, or to shew them their danger. This is not peculiar to this country. I have seen it in Lancashire. *It belongs to human nature in its depraved state.*<sup>561</sup>



**St. Peter's Cathedral, Residence, and Athenaeum (Catholic seminary), 1830, from J.H. Lamott, *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati 1821-1921* (New York & Cincinnati, 1921)**

<sup>558</sup> See Daniel 2. 31 ff.

<sup>559</sup> After a site was purchased on Cincinnati's Sycamore Street (the present site of St. Francis Xavier's church), on the 19th May 1825 the corner-stone of the old St. Peter's Cathedral was laid and the completed edifice was dedicated by Bishop Edward Dominic Fenwick on the 17th December 1826. A contemporary writer described the cathedral on Sycamore Street as a 'neat and elegant building of about one hundred feet by fifty, distinguished on the outside only by the regularity of the brick work, fine Gothic windows, a large cross formed by the pilasters, in front, and a small spire designed to support a clock; a handsome iron gate and railing separate it from the street' ('Notice on the state of the Catholic religion in the State of Ohio', *U.S. Catholic miscellany*, May 3, 1828 [cited in DePalma, *DF*, p. 56]). Since Harris spent much time in Cincinnati during 1826 (see earlier in this letter), he would no doubt have witnessed the constructing of the church and other buildings in the complex.

<sup>560</sup> John Dryden's long poem *The hind and the panther* was published in 1687, soon after his conversion to Roman Catholicism. It is allegorical in form and in it the Roman Catholic Church is portrayed as 'a milk-white hind, immortal and unchanged'.

<sup>561</sup> On Harris's use of the word 'depraved', see note 615.

Perhaps I have already mentioned that the Presbyterians in N[ew] England are publishing a very respectable magazine called “The Christian spectator”,<sup>562</sup> somewhat upon the plan of your “Christian observer” (which work is also republished here).<sup>563</sup> I have seen some numbers of it. The editors appear to be of considerable talent, though perhaps not very profound. The chief defect in the *literary* religious world on this side, which must be looked for mainly among the Presbyterians, is *in correct taste*. What think you of “the angels *looking over the battlements* of heaven down into our religious assemblies”? – addressing the Almighty as “the God of *battles*?” – “seeing the *stately steppings* of the Lord in His Sanctuary?”<sup>564</sup> – and many equally sublime expressions with which our public devotional addresses are often ornamented? These are caught up by those who aim at grandeur of style as some of your rustic lasses trick themselves out in gay colours and would pass for high-born ladies. I should pass over these with a smile, had not long observation convinced me that much mischief is done by words, phrases, proverbial sayings. Sometimes I venture to ask the meaning of these inflated expressions, but seldom have a satisfactory answer.<sup>565</sup>

27th March. The long season which has elapsed since our intercourse in some measure lessens the number of subjects, but on the other hand we ought to suppose that in course of two years our views of things are more correct and clear, and that our thoughts are more judicious. This thought has occurred to me in thinking of your late

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<sup>562</sup> A journal which traces its history back to 1819, when a group of Yale faculty members started a quarterly journal then known as *The Christian spectator*. It was later renamed *The New Englander* and its contents were broadened to matters beyond theology. In 1892, under its new editor, Henry Walcott Farnam, the magazine changed its name again, to become the prestigious *Yale review*.

<sup>563</sup> *The Christian observer, conducted by members of the established church* was published in London between 1802 and 1874, and was reprinted in Boston.

<sup>564</sup> The high-sounding alliterative phrase ‘stately steppings... sanctuary’ seems to have infected the language of local Baptists too, since it is found in the somewhat sub-literate letter written on the 2nd September 1830 to the Laughery Baptist Association, currently meeting in Aurora, by the Bethel Church in Switzerland County: ‘Dear brethren pray for us for we seame to have sat down by the coald streames of Babalon our harps seme to be on the willows and hosanas Languysh on our tungs) O that the Lod woud ride foarth in the galleries of his grace that his stately stepings mite Be seen in his earthly sanctuary...’ (*LBAL*). In fact, the terminology goes back at least as far as the Scottish Presbyterian minister Ralph Erskine (‘... when his people see his stately steppings in the sanctuary, they find it impossible for them to tell how beautiful his feet are upon the mountains of Bether’; *The sermons and other practical works*, vol. IX [Falkirk, 1796] p. 186). It is to be found again in another Presbyterian writer, William Speer (‘In the month of September, 1802, the Lord began in a glorious manner to show his stately steppings in the sanctuaries of his grace’; *The great revival of 1800* [Philadelphia, 1872] p. 26); it recurs in a letter written by the Congregationalist Hannah Gilman Robbins, on whom see again in note 646 (‘I have seen his stately goings in the sancturary’; Hildreth, *BHM*, p. 315); it was taken up again by the originally Dutch Reformed but later Presbyterian minister John B. Romeyn (‘The stately steppings of God are then seen in the sanctuary’; *Sermons*, vol. II [New York, 1816] p. 59); and continued in vogue throughout the 1820s, being employed, among others, by the following: the Presbyterian William Neill (‘There we beheld the stately steppings of Zion’s king’; ‘Thoughts on revivals of religion’, *The Christian herald*, vol. II [New York, 1820] p. 710), the Episcopalian John Bristed (‘... his eldest born, alone, waits upon the stately steppings of Jehovah, in the Sanctuary’; *Thoughts on the Anglican and Anglo-American Churches* [New York, 1823] p. 1), and the Dutch Reformed minster Abraham Messler (‘Hence the stately steppings of Jehovah are seen in the sancturary’; ‘Dedication sermon preached in the Reformed Dutch Church at Lodi’, *The magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church*, vol. II [New Brunswick, 1827] p. 40). The other rhetorical phrases mentioned by Harris might similarly be traced in the pulpit oratory of the nineteenth century, especially that of Presbyterian divines.

<sup>565</sup> On the cultural clashes between refined New England Presbyterianism and pioneer Hoosier manners, see Madison, *IW*, pp. 102-104.



trials in Lord street.<sup>566</sup> Some years ago I should have been much provoked and irritated by such folly as your neighbours<sup>567</sup> have displayed, but now I pity them, and though mourning over the apparent injury which the cause of religion sustains by it, yet recollecting many instances of like kind in former times (for yours is a very common case) I should not despair of seeing some good arise out of it and perhaps produced by it expressly, so evidently that the good cannot be tracked up to any other cause. Shall I suppose a benefit likely to result from this evil? You will be more willing to allow the Son of Man the privilege [*sic*] of governing and taking care of His concerns in His own way. I know enough of the management of churches to know that very much of worldly maxims, contrivance, and cunning is employed in it. Some expectations are formed of advantage and assistance from those who are *somewhat* in this world. This was my feeling, I confess, when a certain family came over to us from St. Paul's. "Jonah was glad because of the gourd."<sup>568</sup> Now, it seems, from that very quarter all the evil springs. Perhaps this is as it should be.

In one point of view, we may augur favourably from this circumstance. Such a spirit as appears to reign in that quarter must operate as a hindrance to growth in grace and in the knowledge of Christ Jesus *our Lord*.<sup>569</sup> To me, such a disposition reigning in anyone of my congregation would be a very uncomfortable drag in my ministrations, and I confess to you that I felt it so when exercising among you on the last Sabbath I spent on British land. On the whole, I may congratulate you on deliverance from such spirits as would not draw comfortably with you in the yoke.<sup>570</sup> You may miss their pecuniary assistance, but the Lord can make up all that may be really wanting and more would be injurious. You will say that the concern, as it is now, requires a regular support and money is necessary. It will not do to let the meeting-house fall into other hands. True, but I hope that the faithful few who remain will meet for social worship regularly, if they cannot raise sufficient to maintain a pastor. You may adopt the plan followed by our churches here. They have their monthly meetings, when they are visited by some neighbouring minister, who *occasionally* breaks bread among them. I hope that with you this will be *regular*. Above all, let the spirit of prayer and faith subdue and annihilate the spirit of disputation and animosity. You will find it very profitable to pray earnestly for the seceders and be very careful not to manifest anything like resentment towards any of them. So you may expect a blessing upon your little band. You observe I take for granted that your whole and sole desire is the glory of the Redeemer and the welfare of immortal souls, but if it be a party spirit that actuates you, it does not signify whether the cause stand or fall. I know that sometimes this spirit will prompt to very great exertions. Self will be gratified and will strive very hard to effect it. In this respect the genuine follower of Jesus may blush at his own comparative supineness.

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<sup>566</sup> The event underlying Harris's comments regarding secession from Lord Street Baptist Church in Wigan in this and the following two paragraphs concerns the formation of a second Baptist church in Wigan, on which see Appendix V.

<sup>567</sup> Harris's reference is probably to 'the other Brown family' (see Appendix II), consisting, among others, of David, William, and Margaret Brown, who were neighbours of John Brown in Wigan.

<sup>568</sup> See Jonah 4. 6, a text from which sermons have been derived on the foolishness of worldly cares above spiritual concerns.

<sup>569</sup> Cf. 2 Peter 3. 18.

<sup>570</sup> A figure of speech derived from 2 Cor. 6. 14: 'Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers...'

However, as it concerns the seceders, it is not probable that they will hold together long. There is no principle of union in the system which they advocate. But they may be kept together *by pressure*. Let them be opposed by sneers, jeers, evil-speaking, &c. and the spirit of resistance will operate wonderfully to *troop* them together. If any of them be *real Christians*, they probably will rejoin you, supposing that your conduct towards them during the secession has been in the spirit of meekness and true Christian love. As for the disputatious, quarrelsome spirits, 'tis well to be well rid of them. And if it prove at last that the Lord has been using Satan's sieve to sift out some of your dust, chaff, &c., your song will be of mercy and judgment.<sup>571</sup> May the eye of the Redeemer be constantly upon you for good.<sup>572</sup>

Your last letter told me that good old father Simmons was decaying fast. Probably he is long ere this "made perfect".<sup>573</sup> James I suppose is growing in usefulness. How comes on "son John"? Is he shaped into a humble servant of Christ? I would inquire also about William and, supposing his brain-pan full of gimcracks, pray what has he brought forth lately? Thomas Chamberlain and his mother sometimes come across our minds. Perhaps he is one of the seceders. We are in great hopes that James Latham has returned safe, as we have not heard of him since the beginning of the last year. 'Tis probable he may have gone to Mexico,<sup>574</sup> as that country held out many allurements to mechanics and he did hint at it once. We did hope he would have returned to us last summer. We wish much to hear about him. We all respect him much. The last account we had about our old friend Salmond was that his daughter had failed. We hope he behaved kindly to her and she is recovered to the right path. Perhaps you may be able also to tell us something about the Bent family. You know that my daughter Susan with her husband & child are at his father's, near Leeds. I have heard from her once, but do not know their intentions for the future. You would have heard from me by her, but I did not suppose she would be able to visit the old spot. Her sister-in-law, who came over with us and accompanied them back, has written to her correspondent here her desire to return and intention to do so. Few persons who have tasted the sweets of this country can content themselves to remain in Old England. You have more embellishments, but we have more solid comforts. I shall also be glad to hear that the attempt to humanize old Scholes<sup>575</sup> succeeds to your wishes. Certainly, Old England has appeared to assume a more favourable aspect lately. Your commerce is declining and cannot ever maintain the superiority it once had, and much distress must necessarily follow till the habits of the country accommodate themselves to existing circumstances, yet your government seems more rational and disposed to act upon more *sane* principles than formerly. Also the attempt to instruct all classes seems to be more general.

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<sup>571</sup> Psalm 101. 1.

<sup>572</sup> In fact, the secession of members from Lord Street Baptist Church to form the new King Street Baptist Church in 1826 proved ultimately to be positive in its effects, for each church worked in parallel and in good fellowship with the other for no less than 143 years, before the two companies were reunited in 1969 to form one Wigan Baptist Church, meeting in Scarisbrick Street, close to the former Lord Street premises. See Johnson, *OHY, passim*; & Sellers, *PF*, pp. 10-31.

<sup>573</sup> The expression derives from Hebrews 12. 23. In fact, John Simmons had died in January 1826 (see notes 277 & 400).

<sup>574</sup> At the date when Harris was writing, Mexico would, of course, have been much more extensive than the present republic, incorporating vast tracts of land in what is today south-western USA, so that it is possible that James Latham was contemplating moving southwards to, for example, Texas. However, he might only have travelled as far as Natchez, Mississippi (see Letter 7).

<sup>575</sup> See note 385.

We seldom see an English paper. However, an acquaintance in Washington city sent us six of "The Sun", from Nov. 4 to Decr. 1; these interested us greatly.

I have already intimated a desire to see some things which probably you may be able to forward to me without inconvenience. On no other account would I willingly receive them. At any time, a parcel lodged with Cropper, Benson & Co.<sup>576</sup>—addressed for "me, *to be forwarded when a convenient opportunity offers*", under cover, addressed to *John Sharp Esqr. Jun. Merchant, Philadelphia*—would soon find its way to me. Two things should be observed. 1st. Letters, *folded, addressed, and sealed* as letters, *must not be enclosed*. 2nd. A true list of contents must accompany the parcel, so that Messrs. C. B. & Co. may know what they send. If you or any friend should indulge me with *a manuscript or two*, stitched with a cover, it may be stated as a quarto MS,<sup>577</sup> though I would rather receive a letter by mail in regular way as usual, announcing such a parcel on the road.

I have already told you that my premises by this town consist of four acres on the side of a hill from the summit downwards, facing and overlooking the town, and four acres from the summit back on the ridge.<sup>578</sup> William is desirous of ornamenting it with cow[s]lips, primroses, holly &c. and also to enrich his garden with some of your beautiful polyanthus's [*sic*] and liburnums [*sic*]. He brought with him some seeds of these, but had not the ground ready for them till the third year after gathering them, and they proved useless. He says there were some fine liburnums [*sic*] and hollies near Wrightin[g]ton.<sup>579</sup> Now if this letter should reach you in time for this year's seeds and you could forward them in course of the summer or autumn, we might receive them in time for the ensuing season. Now I hope, my dear brother, that these little requests, if they be found troublesome, will be laid aside without notice, but if not inconvenient, I shall be gratified by receiving such memento's [*sic*] of your friendship. You know my taste. Mr. Sharp will have opportunity of forwarding them

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<sup>576</sup> James Cropper (1773-1840) was brought up near Ormskirk, Lancashire and in 1790 took up an apprenticeship with the Quaker mercantile company of Rathbone & Benson (est. 1786). His diligence and keen business sense earned him respect and promotion, so that eventually he accepted the patronage of his former master Robert Benson and joined the latter's cousin Thomas Benson in partnership, so that the firm of Cropper & Benson was formed in 1799, later becoming Cropper, Benson & Co. The firm claimed the credit for originating in December 1817 the first line of packets between England and America sailing on specific days (instead of waiting for full loads or ideal weather conditions), carrying mail, passengers, and cargo. James Cropper, or at least his father Thomas Cropper, might well have been known to Harris prior to Harris's emigration, since the father worked a farm at Winstanley, near Wigan and supplied the firm of Rathbone & Benson with barley and malt. See further J. Wake, *Kleinwort Benson: the history of two families in banking* (Oxford, 1997) pp. 31, 34, 41 f. 'The house of Crapper [*sic*], Benson, and Co. at Liverpool' receives mention as the recommended agent for shipping to America in Henry Bradshaw Fearon's notes 'For the information of emigrants' appended to his *Sketches of America: a narrative of a journey of five thousand miles through the eastern and western States of America* (London, 1818) p. 454, a publication which Harris might well have examined before his emigration in 1821.

<sup>577</sup> Harris seems to be hinting that this was one way of disguising letters in order to escape their exclusion from parcels.

<sup>578</sup> Harris is describing lots 39 and 40, known as Mount Tabor, on which see further in Appendix VI: 'Property acquired by Samuel Harris'. In Lake, *ADCI*, p. 63 these lots (then shown to be in the ownership of Benjamin Vail) are marked as consisting respectively of 4.53 acres and 4.5 acres. Harris is therefore using rounded figures.

<sup>579</sup> Located in Lancashire, approximately six miles to the north of Wigan.

to me, in packages of merchandise to Cincinnati or of Bibles to our Auxiliary Society. What are sent to me from N[ew] York are consigned to his care.

Some of your merchants could scarcely imagine the regularity with which goods are conveyed over this vast and wild continent. I have not heard of any regular conveyance like your stage wagons, packet boats &c. going steadily as to time in any part of this western country and yet we can calculate within two or three weeks of the arrival of goods from New York, a distance of about nine hundred miles (as they travel) without any *established* mode, as to fixed time, and in this we are improving yearly.

But I am at the end of my paper and must conform to it. I have omitted to inquire who are the faithful remnant in Lord street. To them I desire my Christian love, as well as to sister Mrs. Brown. Your children are now rising men and women. I hope they are to your comfort, but if not, marvel not at the matter, for the like afflictions have befallen others before you.<sup>580</sup> How does our old friend James Skirrow content himself? Is his family settled around him? He would not have been satisfied here, I think, and yet might have done very well with his mechanical genius.<sup>581</sup> So poor Wm. Johnson is gone!<sup>582</sup> How go on the Lyons? May the Lord bless you!

Yours in all Christian affection  
Sam[ue]l Harris

March 30th

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<sup>580</sup> Harris is probably making an oblique reference to himself. See e.g. his comments regarding his son and daughter-in-law towards the end of the first paragraph of Letter 7.

<sup>581</sup> On James Skirrow, see note 283

<sup>582</sup> Harris's remark seems to suggest the death of William Johnson, in which case we would have to distinguish this person from the William Johnson, a member of Hope Independent Church, who died in 1851. See note 336.

## Letter 7: 16th October-12th November 1827

Aurora, Dearborn County, Indiana, U.S.  
16 Oct. 1827

[Addressed to ‘Mr. John Brown, Bookseller, Wigan, Lancashire, Old England’; inscribed ‘Aurora Novmb. 12th 1827’, ‘Single sheet, paid 25’, ‘P[er] first Liverpool Packet from N. York’, and [by John Brown?<sup>583</sup>] ‘Rec[eive]d in Wigan Decr. 23rd 1827’ and very faintly in pencil ‘Mr Page’ and ‘Mrs Hodson’<sup>584</sup>; with postal markings ‘3’ and ‘2/4’<sup>585</sup> and small arithmetical calculation;<sup>586</sup> stamped ‘LIVERPOOL SHIP LETTER’; and with red wax seal of ‘S.H.’]

My dear friend and brother,

In my *visit* to the above place on Sept. 20th your very welcome letter date June 25 at commencement was handed me at the p[ost] office. It would have been immediately attended to had you not in it hinted at another from my valued brother Hughes being on its way. That letter also met me last Saturday on my visit there, and now on my return *home* I address myself without further delay to the pleasant employ of realizing you before me, and writing because I can in no other way converse with you. I date as from Aurora still, because *that is my post office*,<sup>587</sup> but as you notice, it is not my home. I cross the Ohio at the Aurora ferry,<sup>588</sup> into Kentucky (slave-holding Kentucky<sup>589</sup>), walk along its pleasant bank, shaded on one side by peach trees and on the other by horse-chestnut (called here, buck-eye<sup>590</sup>), ash, oak, &c. trees for about a mile and half, to Petersburg,<sup>591</sup> a small town on a high, flat ground, across which I walk, leaving the river bank, ascend a steep hill, somewhat higher than Millgate,<sup>592</sup>

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<sup>583</sup> See note 509.

<sup>584</sup> See note 418.

<sup>585</sup> Original ‘2/6’ altered to ‘2/4’.

<sup>586</sup> An addition, apparently in £.s.d., is calculated on the back panel of the letter: ‘22.1.1/13.4½ [=] 22.14.5½’, with the sum repeated in larger script. ‘5-’ and ‘1.3’ are written in the same hand on the front panel.

<sup>587</sup> The Aurora post office was established in 1819 (*HDO*, p. 318), the same year in which the Petersburg post office was also established on the opposite bank of the Ohio (*ENK*, p. 727).

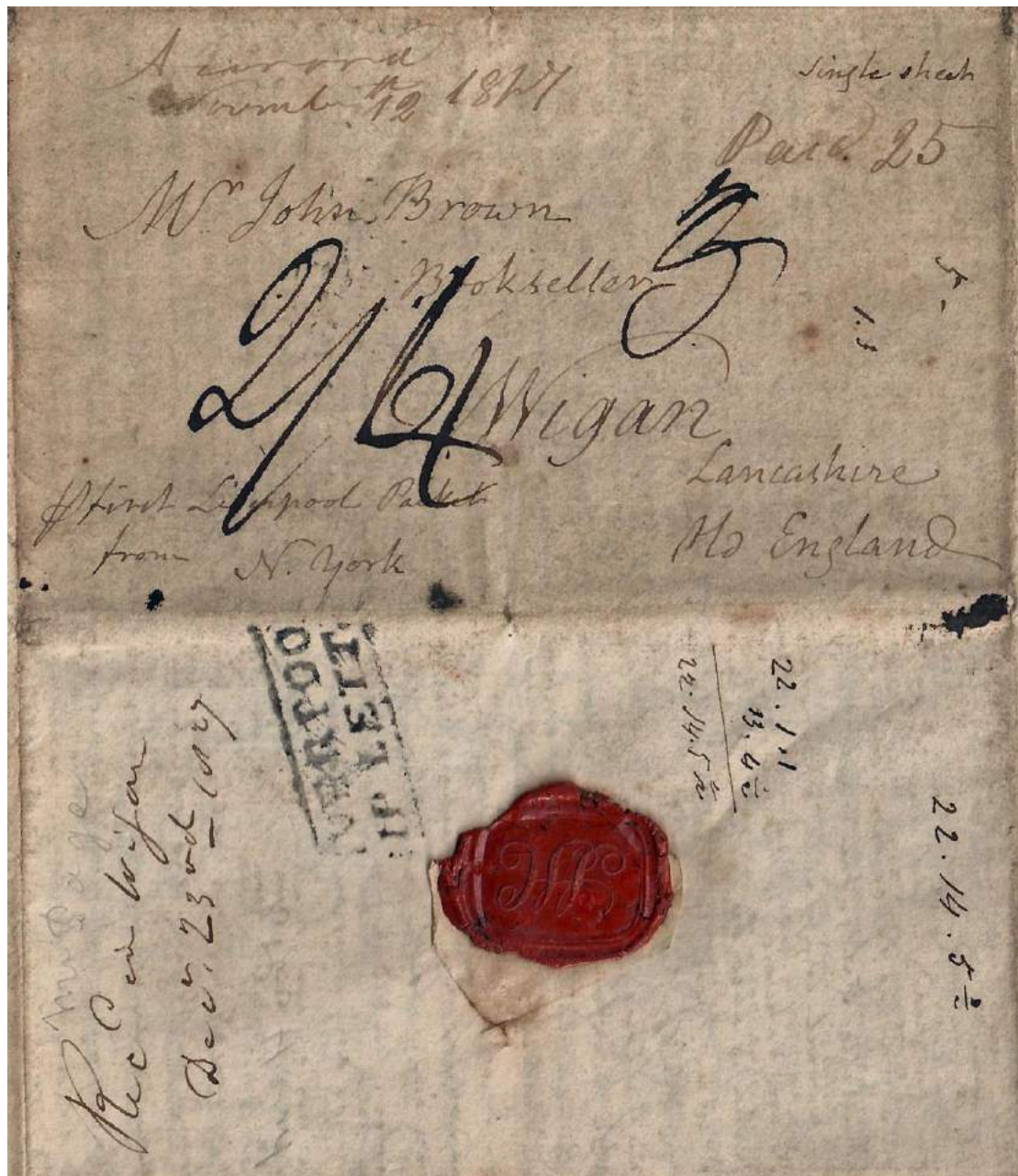
<sup>588</sup> Photographs of the Aurora-Petersburg ferry at later dates may be viewed in Striker, *LRT*, pp. 71-73.

<sup>589</sup> Although anti-slavery agitation was well underway in Kentucky by the time that Harris wrote this letter, the movement continued to be strongly resisted by anti-abolitionists and slavery was only finally ended with ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, but even so Kentucky would not formally ratify it until 1976.

<sup>590</sup> The European horse-chestnut (*aesculus hippocastanum*) is a ‘relative’ rather than the exact equivalent of the Ohio buckeye (*aesculus glabra*).

<sup>591</sup> The common spelling is now Petersburg. It is situated close to the left bank of the Ohio River in Kentucky’s Boone County (so named in 1798 for the legendary American frontiersman Daniel Boone). Built over a Native American settlement that flourished between about AD 1200 and 1600, Petersburg’s first European settler, in 1790, was John Tanner, so that the site was then called Tanner’s Station. (Tanner’s son-in-law, who lived with him, a man by the name of Hogan, is said to have given his name to the creek that flows into the Ohio on the opposite bank at Aurora [C. Cist, *The Cincinnati miscellany*, vol. II (Cincinnati, 1846) p. 62].) In 1806 Tanner’s Station was renamed Caledonia, finally becoming Petersburg in 1818, so named (for an apparently now unknown reason) by John J. Flournoy, who bought the land from his father-in-law John Grant, the nephew of Daniel Boone. See further *ENK*, s.v. ‘Petersburg’; & Striker, *LRT*, chap. 4.

<sup>592</sup> An inclined main street in the centre of Wigan, where John Brown, the recipient of these letters, had his business premises at an earlier date. Millgate climbs up toward the junction of Market Place and Standishgate, where Harris and Brown had their respective business premises.



**The front and back panels of Letter 7**

then descend it on the other side, almost as abruptly as you do that hilly street, when at the foot, turn short round to the left as though returning to the river, cross a stream two or three times, and presently reach my *home*: a log cottage, about fifteen feet square, in a corner of a court, the centre of which is occupied by my friend and brother Reuben Graves's house,<sup>593</sup> about twenty-five yards between his door and

<sup>593</sup> In Letter 10 Harris refers to Reuben Graves as 'Major Graves', but it would be a mistake to identify Harris's friend Reuben Graves with the Major Reuben Graves, son of Will G. Graves, who was 'a soldier of the War of 1812... [and] a distinguished officer of the Mexican war', who also resided in Kentucky until, 'wishing to get away from what he regarded as the baneful influences of slavery, he removed with his family to Illinois after freeing his slaves and disposing of his property in Kentucky.' (N.W. Durham, *History of the city of Spokane and Spokane County, Washington*, vol. III [1912] p. 361.) In fact, the Major Reuben Graves referred to by Harris in this series of letters was the twelfth and last child of John Graves (1737-1825) and Ann Rice (1741-1826). He was born on the 18th May 1786

mine. I reckon the whole distance between my son's habitation and my own to be three miles.<sup>594</sup> As I have promised, that while health and strength remain and weather is favourable, to visit Aurora on those Sabbaths when they do not expect any other minister, the average of my visits there have [*sic*] been about five in two months, and I suppose it is likely to continue so at present, excepting when the river may be blocked up with ice, when I must of necessity remain on the side where I may be at the time. I have my bed &c. &c. on that side as well as on this, and *now* (praised for ever be that God who still heareth prayer!), I find nearly equal pleasure in the *domestic* society on either side. This, as you know that in Aurora my residence is with my son, you will consider as an intimation that his and his wife's society is now pleasant to me in<sup>595</sup> a religious light. Without going so far as to conclude that a radical change has taken place in either, they have of late given me proof that they value me as a Christian instructor. *This encourages me to hope.*

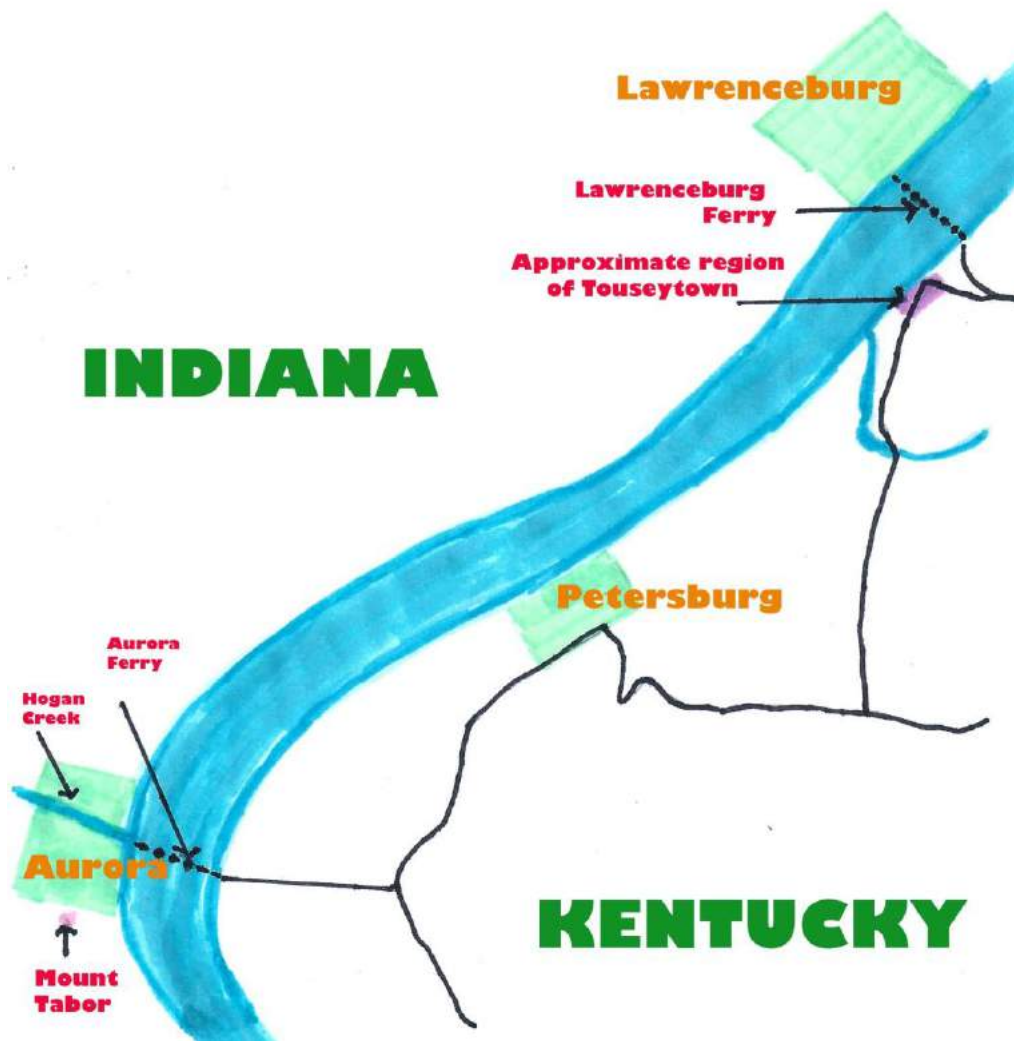
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and among his elder siblings was the Baptist pastor Absalom Graves, referred to in notes 432 & 433. (See Graves family history at <http://catalog.bcpl.org/POLARIS/Search/components/ajaxFusionContentFrm.aspx?bid=449616&titl=Graves+Family+File+1>.) Little seems to be known about this Reuben Graves, apart from his services within Bullittsburg Baptist Church. On the 1st November 1811, he was added to the church in the wake of revivalist preaching which brought in no less than 170 new members. Graves served as clerk of the church and deacon from 1820 until 1826, when he asked to be released from both these duties (Kirtley, *HBC*, pp. 15 f.), after which it seems that he devoted some of his time and energy to fulfilling the role of President of the Board of Trustees of Petersburg Academy. A notice above his name in the *Indiana palladium*, 17th July 1830, announces the second session of this institution and introduces its curriculum and teaching staff. Beyond this, information on Graves is scarce, apart from two subsequent references to him in the present series of letters. We do know additionally, however, that he was one of the officers, along with John J. Flournoy (who platted the town of Petersburg), of the Petersburg Steam Mill Company, which in the 1830s became the Petersburg Distillery and grew towards the end of the century to become one of the largest distilleries in the USA (*ENK*, s.v. 'Petersburg Distillery'). Furthermore, when on the 17th January 1818 Petersburg Bank had been chartered by the legislature, Reuben Graves was named among its stockholders. (*Bits of history of Petersburg, Kentucky* by Mary Rector, citing information copied from an old issue of the *Kentucky state journal*, posted at [http://www.nkyviews.com/boone/pdf/Bits\\_of\\_Petersburg\\_History\\_Rector.pdf](http://www.nkyviews.com/boone/pdf/Bits_of_Petersburg_History_Rector.pdf).) He seems clearly to have been a leading citizen of this Kentucky town. See also transcript of R. Graves's letter to Samuel Harris, dated 13th December 1828, in Appendix I.

<sup>594</sup> Harris's descriptive account of his itinerary from the Aurora ferry to his lodging with Reuben Graves suggests a locality in the area known as Touseytown, located between Taylor and Second Creeks, a settlement founded in 1804 but which failed to grow like Petersburg into a village or town and which remained no more than a tiny hamlet, hence Harris's reference to a 'court' rather than a village or town, as again in Letter 9. A good account of Touseytown's history is to be found in Chapter 3 of Striker, *LRT*, but see also 'Omer Tousey' in *HDO*, pp. 948 f., where the writer (in 1885) commented, 'Not a few of our old inhabitants remember "Tousey Town," once a flourishing village on the opposite side of the river, whose chimneys still stood not many years ago. Not a trace of the old village now remains.' Touseytown was located close to the area in which the Bullittsburg Baptist Church was located, which was clearly the loadstone for Harris's interests on the left bank of the Ohio River. The first meeting place of Bullittsburg Baptist Church had been erected in 1797 and from this church several 'daughter' churches were planted in the North Bend corner of Kentucky's Boone County in following years. We know, for instance, that Harris preached in this church just ten days prior to commencing to write this present letter. (*BBCB*.) It may also be noted that Bullittsburg was a town that was planned, on land granted to Thomas Bullitt in 1785, the area being originally referred to as Bullitt's Bottom, but the planned town was never developed, the name surviving only in the title of the Bullittsburg Baptist Church. The name North Bend, strictly the designation of a village on the opposite bank of the Ohio River, is now generally applied to this northernmost region of Kentucky. See Striker, *LRT*, pp. 46 f.; and Kirtley, *HBC*; as well as extensive additional historical documentation on the Bullittsburg Baptist Church, available at <http://baptisthistoryhomepage.com/bullittsburg.histry.index.html>.

<sup>595</sup> Harris wrote 'is', which has here been corrected to 'in'.





Sketch map to illustrate the journey described by Harris in the preceding paragraph, from the Aurora Ferry, eastwards through Petersburg, up and down a hill, and then northwards, via the Lawrenceburg Ferry Pike road, across two or three streams, to reach Touseytown

I deeply lament not having heard from my daughter since last November. I wrote to her by mail Jan[uar]y 3rd 1827, but I have not heard since. I suppose Sam[ue]l Brown sees her two or three times a year. You will oblige me by requesting him to repeat this which I now am writing to her and if possible to learn the true reason why she does not write. We hear that her husband is taken into partnership with the father and brother, and that they will remain here 'till affairs grow worse. I hope they will be wise enough to return to their Winthrop estate<sup>596</sup> before they lose all

<sup>596</sup> Possibly a reference to the land and property situated 10-11 miles inland from Aurora that Susanna and Samuel Lawford had left. It cannot refer to Winthrop in Warren County, Indiana, which lies some 200 miles north-west of Aurora. As the name Winthrop, denoting an estate, seems to be untraceable in this region of south-east Indiana, we should perhaps assume it was a name that Samuel and Sarah attached to their property, for unknown reasons, and that the name disappeared after they left it. See Appendix VI for an attempt to locate this property.

they are now gaining at Mill bridge,<sup>597</sup> near Leeds. This thought almost impels me to give vent just at this instant to my wishes respecting *you*, but I ought first to thank you for the very interesting series of information your letter contains, not the least item of which is without its share of importance, but the chief is that which concerns the Lord str[ee]t church. I have no doubt that the troubles that have visited will prove in the end for good, and that each individual of the two parties upon cool reflection in secret, with His Father who seeth in secret,<sup>598</sup> will discover somewhat more or less of his *own* spirit to be humbled for [*sic*], even when engaged in contending for *the Truth*. As for the other side, the parties must ere long become ashamed, unless harsh treatment and *unaffectionate* reflections from the *right* side be presented to keep up the excitement and bad feeling. I hope you all pray *for*, not against them, not for a blessing upon their present path, but that they may be enlightened and strengthened in the Truth as it is in Jesus. May the instruction from your pulpit never be tainted with acrimony against what *others* say, but be clear in stating and urging what the great Teacher says. J. Newton's maxim is just and worthy of constant remembrance: "establish the Truth, and Error must fall."<sup>599</sup>

If I may advise the course to be pursued in future, it is, be very careful whom you receive into the church. While you carry it in a Christian manner toward the seceders, never intimate a wish for their return. Should any of them offer to rejoin you, *be well satisfied* that the conversion be *real*, for it is possible that some *wily ones* may plan to attain a majority in the church to carry their point by guile. *Be on your guard*. May I also suggest that it is of absolute necessity that true Christian *humility* be a shining characteristic grace in your pastor. You have witnessed what woful [*sic*] effects have followed, and perhaps shall follow, the opposite predominating disposition in the old place and I would rather hear that that [*sic*] you had not a pastor, than that you had a proud, supercilious fool under that title.<sup>600</sup> I have seen and do

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<sup>597</sup> Mill Bridge is situated approximately 8 miles to the south-west of Leeds, Yorkshire, between Liversedge and Heckmondwike. On the evidence of the present passage, it seems to have been with the purpose of working in the family business that Harris's daughter Susanna and her husband, Samuel Lawford, took up residence in Mill Bridge. We learn from Pigot, *CD* 1818 that Abraham Lawford was the owner of a blanket-making business in that town, or village. Later evidence shows that the business, trading then under the names of Abraham Lawford and Son (who is named as John) was legally dissolved on the 26th July 1828. (*London gazette*, issue no. 18518 [28th October 1828] p. 1959.) In Letter 11 Harris mentions the death of Abraham Lawford, who in fact died, aged 56, on the 28th August 1829 (*The Leeds patriot*, 12th September 1829). Pigot's directory of 1834 lists John and Samuel Lawford, blanket manufacturers of Mill Bridge. It seems reasonably clear therefore that John and Samuel Lawford were brothers, sons and successors of Abraham Lawford. They continued in business partnership until the business was dissolved on the 29th April 1846, following Samuel's death in February of that year.

<sup>598</sup> Matthew 6. 4.

<sup>599</sup> In its fuller form, the saying which has been attributed to John Newton ('My principal method of defeating heresy is by establishing truth. One proposes to fill a bushel with tares: now, if I can fill it first with wheat, I shall defy his attempts') is found in Richard Cecil's *Memoirs of the Rev. John Newton*, 2nd ed. (London, 1808) pp. 244 f.

<sup>600</sup> After the retirement, in April 1823, of John Simmons as pastor of Lord Street Baptist Church in Wigan, an unsettled time ensued during which no permanent pastor could be found to replace him. First, through May-July 1823 George Crook supplied for ten weeks and in September agreed to supply for only one year, at the end of which, 'matters not being so comfortable as could be wished he accepted an invitation to South Shields.' It was not until May 1825 that Thomas Frearson came to supply the church 'during the vacation' and in July was invited by the church to accept the pastoral office, but, as the record book notes, 'after keeping the Church in suspense Six Months at length declined the invitation given him.' Then, in 1826, Benjamin Millard came from Bath, but soon drew away a portion of the membership to commence the second Baptist church in King Street. In 1827,

deeply lament the wide mischief accompanying the aim to attract the world to a place of religious instruction by means of merely popular talents. A fine-toned “box of whistles”<sup>601</sup> is a less objectionable lure. The sample you give me of [a] certain minister with his “turrets”<sup>602</sup> may be easily matched in this part of the world. However, my dear brother, I trust you will consider the church (if Christ’s) as under His care, and aim to be yourself His servant under His direction, and acting in the Spirit. Let not ill treatment or opposition weary you out of doing well<sup>603</sup> in His service, but be very careful that all be done in His Spirit, and according to His rules.

That W. Ellison continues his ministerial labours is pleasant to learn. According to the recollection I have of his abilities, I cannot see why you do not encourage him to exercise his gifts for the edification of the church in Lord Street. His style was plain and neat. He must be considerably advanced in divine knowledge and if he does not aim to go beyond the information he has gained, as your “turret” man certainly does, he cannot disgust the most cultivated taste. I would not take him entirely from the loom, but raise as much towards his support as would allow him some leisure for study and intercourse with his brethren.<sup>604</sup> ’Tis very likely that he might not be brilliant, but he would be abundantly more useful than some who pass for diamonds. Let this be a subject of consideration and *prayer*. What is called “effect” is too much studied in the present day. ’Tis a theatrical phrase.

19th Oct. While I was writing about our good brother Ellison, I felt a strong inclination to express the wish that *he* and *you* with your respective families were *here*. Neither politics nor religion enter into my motives for this wish, though with respect to him, ’tis probable that he might be of greater service in this part of his Master’s vineyard than where he is. I shall not launch out into many arguments to prove that if you can effect that which you tell me you *sometimes wish*, you will find it to be to your advantage. Now I must premise that no selfish consideration can lead me to this attempt, because I have no ground to expect that my life would be continued to enjoy your society, even supposing you were to commence preparations for such a step immediately.<sup>605</sup> My sixty-first year is more than half gone and I feel

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following the usual trial system, William Davies supplied for four months and was then invited to accept the pastoral office, but he remained for only six months and in the following year George Crook returned from South Shields, to hold the pastorate until his death in 1835. (*BCBLSW*, pp. 17-19, 21 f.)

<sup>601</sup> Harris possibly uses this phrase to allude to a church organ. Horsman noted the agreement of members of Hope Chapel and those meeting in Chapel Lane Presbyterian Church in abhorring the use of a church organ, referred to as a ‘chest of whistles’ (*HHCC*, p. 49). The phrase has also been used, in a contemptuous sense, to refer to groups of instrumentalists who accompanied church choirs, like the ‘bass viol, two violins, two clarionettes, and two flutes’ that accompanied psalmody during the Harris party’s voyage to America (see Letter 1).

<sup>602</sup> The most likely explanation of Harris’s reference here and in the following paragraph to *turrets*, in the context of an unnamed minister’s lack of cultivated taste, is that he is here taking up certain references in a preceding letter from John Brown, which in turn quite possibly continued Harris’s mention in his last letter (Letter 6) of the phrase ‘angels looking over the *battlements* of heaven’ in the outlandish rhetoric of Presbyterian pulpit rhetoric (in contrast to William Ellison’s ‘plain and neat’ style mentioned here by Harris). Reference to both *battlements* and *turrets* might, of course, have found their inspiration in certain passages in the Old Testament.

<sup>603</sup> Cf. Galatians 6. 9 & 2 Thessalonians 3. 13.

<sup>604</sup> On William Ellison’s career, see note 279.

<sup>605</sup> It is curious that Harris should contemplate his approaching decease on the 19th October, exactly five years before the actual event.

my *muscular* strength much lessened, though my general health not in the least so; indeed it seems much firmer than before I left England.

Now to the point: if I understand you aright, the general state of commerce as it respects yourself appears to threaten the lessening rather than the increase of your present *property* and you would (naturally enough) like to secure what you have. What we call “prosperity” is in its nature fluctuating, but yet in some situations much less so than in others. It is not *every one* who brings property over to this country that secures it, or that lays it out to the best advantage. But it *may* be secured here. If he loses it, it is entirely owing to his own indiscretion (humanly speaking).

I will suppose you landed in Philadelphia, with your family early in *October*, with a sufficient stock of clothing for *one* year (not more), perhaps of shoes and boots for any time up to *ten* years, of the strong sort.<sup>606</sup> Either our hides are not so good as yours (a Cincinnati tanner told me this is the fact in this western country owing to the want of cultivated, enclosed pastures – our cattle graze in the woods without any control), or else our tanners do not use sufficient tanning. However, all this will improve in less than ten years. Our taylor[sic] get very high prices, but we can buy your manufactured cloths as *cheap* as you can and our own manufactories are fast improving. You will of course bring a well-chosen collection of books for your own use, but you *need not for sale*. Dictionaries and the larger school books, especially classical ones, bring with you. The paper and binding here are bad. Elementary books<sup>607</sup> are best here, *because suited to this country*. Your hymn books are not of much use here on the same account. Of course, you will bring sufficient pottery ware (Staffordshire),<sup>608</sup> better sort of glass ware, for your own use, well packed in *small*, strong cases. Stationery, cutlery, plate (as spoons &c.) of all descriptions, for your own use—observe, I do not recommend anything for sale—even watches and clocks (which here are very poor) provide amply, but only for yourself. You might perhaps sell for what they cost you or a little more, but the speculation is not worth attending to.

You will bring cash sufficient to pay passage and landing here. Our custom house duties would be regulated by the number and size of your packages. Mine were so numerous and heavy that the C[ustoms] H[ouse] officers could not but notice them and I paid heavily, perhaps near 50£,<sup>609</sup> while others with a much smaller proportion paid a very trifle. But your main property, say from 1500£<sup>610</sup> and as much upward as you please, you will leave with Cropper and Benson,<sup>611</sup> who will empower you to draw upon them from Philadelphia or New York. The balance of exchange is generally sufficient to warrant you a handsome premium upon your drafts, sometimes as high as 12 p[er] cent. This will pay your passage and perhaps expenses in Philadelphia. This money you will leave with C & B’s correspondent there, who will

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<sup>606</sup> John Brown’s brother William was possibly a shoemaker (see note 226), remembering which, Harris might have been prompted to specify this memorandum.

<sup>607</sup> ‘Elementary books’ are books dealing with first principles. A pioneering settlement required useful books of instruction in the basic crafts of living and producing a livelihood.

<sup>608</sup> At the time of his own migration, Harris might have had a ready source of such Staffordshire ware through acquisitions that came to his wife and himself through his wife’s uncle Samuel Tabor (see note 40).

<sup>609</sup> £50 would have an approximately equivalent purchasing power of £2,100/\$3,166 in 2016.

<sup>610</sup> £1,500 would have an approximately equivalent purchasing power of £63,000/\$98,795 in 2016.

<sup>611</sup> See note 576.

allow you interest [of] 6 p[er] cent upon what you engage to leave in his hands above a year, and you will take the remainder, say 1000 dollars, with you and move on to Pittsburgh or Wheeling, where you might spend the winter very comfortably and economically (if you get into a right track) or if the weather continue open and the river at a proper stage, come down at once to Cincinnati or *Aurora*, where you would be as comfortable and live more economically still. In the cities I have mentioned, house rent is very high, but provisions fine and very reasonable. Had I known what I do now, above half of my expenses during my first two years might have been spared, yet then it appeared very cheap.

While here, you will look about you, pause, consider, and digest your plan according to your means and information as you gradually obtain it, in the meanwhile living upon the interest of your funds in Philadelphia. As soon as it is known that you incline to buy land, you will be pestered with offers of bargains, some of them very tempting. You will first fix upon the District, County, State where you prefer to abide and in this you may soon bewilder yourself, unless you consult your Bible and Mrs. Barbauld's little piece on Inconsistency of Expectations.<sup>612</sup> Had I to begin again here with such a family as you have, I would purchase a quarter, half, or whole section, which had been begun to be cultivated, build a convenient brick habitation upon some eligible part of it, retain 20 or thirty acres of it near my house, and rent out the remainder upon such easy terms as would secure to me *good* tenants.<sup>613</sup> The rent would amply supply me with corn, hay, &c. (that is, produce) for house and cattle. My thirty acres should be in pasture and garden, for roots and other vegetables. Here would be sufficient employment for myself and children. My land would be improving every year, while abundant leisure after the first year would be found for the *mental* improvement of my family and neighbourhood. I should not have more to do with the world *than I chose*. I should reserve a little capital in bank to supply me by its interest with the little cash necessary for taxes (which are too trivial to be noticed), tea, coffee, &c. without being *under the necessity* of seeking a market for my produce. Opportunities often occur of selling, but they are not regular, unless near such a town as Cincinnati.<sup>614</sup> From what I have seen and do know of this country, I

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<sup>612</sup> Anna Laetitia Barbauld's essay entitled *Against inconsistency in our expectations* was published in 1773 and advocated moderation of desires as the way to prevent disappointment.

<sup>613</sup> Harris's advice to Brown assumes the availability of relatively small settler lots. Under the Ordinance of 1785, which laid down provisions for a survey and division of Indiana Territory in rectangular fashion, with townships comprising six-mile square sections each made up of 36 one-mile squares of 640 acres each, such small lots were not immediately available. However, legislation of 1800 reduced the minimum size of lots by half (320 acres), and this minimum size was further reduced under subsequent legislation from Congress after Indiana's admission to statehood in 1816. See Madison, *IW*, pp. 31-33, 63; and James Flint, who wrote of the auction of 'half quarter sections', consisting of 80 acres, at Jeffersonville in 1820 (R.G. Thwaites [ed.], *Early western travels, 1748-1846*, vol. IX: *Flint's letters from America, 1818-1820* [Cleveland, 1904] p. 257). For an illustrated description of the general system employed to survey and lay out townships, see *The Indiana gazetteer, or topographical dictionary of the State of Indiana*, 3rd ed. (Indianapolis, 1849) pp. 22-24, and for technical details of the survey system, see 'General instructions to his deputies, by the Surveyor General of the United States, for the States of Ohio and Indiana, and the Territory of Michigan' (Cincinnati, 1833) in C.A. White, *A history of the rectangular survey system* (Washington, [1983]) pp. 291-300.

<sup>614</sup> In the early nineteenth century, Cincinnati underwent rapid growth. Harris would have seen its population virtually triple over the years that he visited the town, and later city. From a population of 750 in 1800, Cincinnati grew to have 9,602 residents in 1820, 24,831 in 1830, and 28,014 in 1832, the year of Harris's death in Cincinnati (C. Cist, *Cincinnati in 1841* [Cincinnati, 1841] p. 38 [minor statistical differences are shown in the Street plan of the city of Cincinnati, 1842 following Letter 12]).

am persuaded that a person of common discretion (and with religion enough to know that mankind *everywhere* is essentially depraved and corrupt<sup>615</sup> and therefore not expecting exemption from the inconveniencies resulting from the neighbourhood of such) may live here freer from vexation, anxiety, or dread of want than in any part of the world that I know of, at least in any part where laws have power to protect and where civilization has been in any degree influential. Everyone worthy of respect finds it here, but it is the respect which man shews towards his equal. Here is no servility,<sup>616</sup> and if the meanest person suspects that you look *down* upon him, 'tis most probable he will take the first opportunity to insult you (not by any *violence* however). I do sincerely lament that true Christian honesty is not understood here or practised better or more than it is in your country, and it may be infringed upon with more impunity. If you are defrauded and complain, you are laughed at for a simpleton for suffering yourself to be overreached. A swindler here is not indeed so much respected as a seducer is among fashionable circles with you, but he is not detested as he ought to be. It was not so formerly, but the general distress occasioned by depreciation of paper money rendered it necessary to protect those who thereby were rendered unable to discharge their obligations, and thus the honourable principle was greatly enfeebled. The same law which protected the honest insolvent sheltered the knave, and now that *inability* of paying has been so general, that *not to pay* is not a disgrace. However, the inconvenience of this may be avoided by taking care *not to be a creditor*.

Want of proper discipline in our churches has been also a grievance to the pious emigrants, but this evil may be remedied and is in some small degree less than heretofore. Among our Baptist brethren some incorrect ideas respecting the Sabbath, &c. are found, which sometimes annoy me, but I hope my efforts to remove them from the small circle in which I move have not been altogether in vain. However, on the whole, even supposing my means had been as equal to my support in England as here, I am fully satisfied with the step I took. As you read bro. Hughes's letter to me, you may suppose rightly that I have his animadversions on this head in my mind while saying this. I cannot suppose it possible that my poor talent as a minister would have been esteemed as reaching to mediocrity among you, while here a little man may be of some use among pigmies. Don't misunderstand me; I am not so esteemed among our public congregations. I cannot rattle away so fast, sing out so loud, neither do I choose to use such *big, learned* words as most, if not all, *our* popular preachers do. Consequently I do not *take* with the multitude, yet I have sufficient proof that "here a little, and there a little"<sup>617</sup> have taken root and the tender blade is already

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After reaching a peak population of approx. half a million in the 1950s, the population of Cincinnati has subsequently gone into steep decline.

<sup>615</sup> We should not mistake Harris's words here as a sardonic expression of a misanthropy fostered by himself and his religious associates, since he is merely reflecting on the theological doctrine of man's total depravity, i.e. perverted or corrupted quality, derived from the Augustinian concept of original sin in consequence of the fall of man, so that each person is utterly dependent on the grace of God for his or her salvation.

<sup>616</sup> Clearly Harris has momentarily overlooked the status of the slave population, although by 'here' he might well have been thinking not of the USA as a whole nor of Kentucky, in which state he was presently residing, but of the State of Indiana in particular. In Indiana slavery and involuntary servitude were almost extinct, though for some time, under the constitutions of 1816 and 1851, negroes continued to be excluded from voting rights.

<sup>617</sup> Isaiah 28. 9-11: 'Whom shall he teach knowledge? and whom shall he make to understand doctrine? them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts. For precept must be upon precept,

shewing itself above ground.<sup>618</sup> My present location proves very favourable for my endeavours to counteract some of the evils which crept in among our folks.

26th Oct. As a specimen of my method: last evening I was visited by three of our slave-owning Baptists in a social way. Our conversation ran upon the untractability [*sic*] and unprofitableness of the negroes. I took up the subject and reasoned with them upon the inconsistency of expecting persons unjustly enslaved to respect their oppressors, that the kindest treatment cannot compensate for for [*sic*] robbery, that uncultivated minds cannot be expected to reason expansively. The poor *fellow*-creatures cannot be indeed liberated all at once, but they ought to be prepared by instruction. Everything conspires to demand this. Common sense, religion, policy, self-interest all point out the necessity of it. I argued the annual depreciation of their property. Those who were formerly rich are gradually sinking into poverty and it is generally acknowledged that the negroes do not maintain themselves by their labour. Providence seems to be now frowning upon the owners for not obeying and walking in the light, which has lately forced their attention to this subject. I was gratified to observe that what I dared scarcely to hint at five years ago was now favourably listened to in all its ramifications and I was permitted to amplify and reason as closely as I could. It is this quiet way that I hope to be of some utility. It would be highly preposterous to occupy the pulpit *here* with this and similar subjects at present. The congregations would not receive them. But in this way, their minds take them in unawares and I know that already some are very uneasy, like the convinced sinner. The obligations of the Christian Sabbath also seem to be very imperfectly understood. Upon this head I find great difficulty. The manner in which the stiff but unconverted Presbyterians have almost burlesqued that day, by their formal sanctimonious rigour in the external observance, has driven their descendants<sup>619</sup> into the other extreme, so that when I begin sometimes to speak of it, they respond with insinuations about “Pharisaical cant, hypocritical ceremonies[”] &c. and will seldom condescend to reason upon it, cutting the conversation short with “Every day is the Lord’s.” You may in some measure judge the mode of reasoning generally used by these good people when I observe that it is not *new* to me after fifteen years’ residence in Lancashire, and you will now be able to judge how I am exercised by comparing it with your own trials in this way.

In reading over that part of your letter detailing the affairs of the church, the custom of some churches has occurred to my recollection which I recommend to your consideration: when in need of a pastor, they do not write *to* the person recommended but depute one or two of their body, in whose judgement they rely, to visit the place where he exercises his ministry, or *did so lately*, for any length of time. There they enquire concerning him, his general conduct, his doctrine &c. They then hear him preach, obtain interviews with him in other company and alone, without signifying their object, or at least expressing any intention. According to the report of these brethren, the church acts and seldom acts wrong. This plan is abundantly less

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precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little, and there a little. For with stammering lips and another tongue will he speak to this people.’

<sup>618</sup> Cf. Mark 4. 26-29.

<sup>619</sup> By the Presbyterians’ descendants Harris is perhaps thinking of the Unitarians and possibly also the Universalists. For comments on Cincinnati Presbyterians’ campaign against the Sunday mail at this time, see Aaron, *CQC*, pp. 175 f.



expensive than the one you adopted.<sup>620</sup> Respecting the edification of the church, you will do well to promote a Bible class among you. If your present pastor be a pious and sensible man, he will doubtless be pleased with the opportunity such a plan will afford him of gradually training the younger part of the society into the knowledge of the Lord and into an accurate acquaintance with His word. It is practised among the Episcopalians and Presbyterians chiefly in this country, as I learn by our religious newspapers. I have tried to excite an attention to it among the young folks here (Kentucky), but various hindrances have hitherto baffled me. In Aurora my estimable brother Holman<sup>621</sup> has established one on a small scale, which he finds already to be useful. Since the good old practice of catechizing,<sup>622</sup> not only children but young converts also, has been dropped, our young soldiers have been much less acquainted with the Christian armour than our predecessors were and this may be considered as one reason that may be assigned for the many Waverleys<sup>623</sup> in the professing<sup>624</sup> world at present. The old ones or elders do not take sufficient pains to establish them in the truth. A large portion of the troubles arising from the antinomian leaven probably is owing to the incorrect statements of the nature of the two covenants Paul writes concerning to the Hebrews, ch. viii & ix,<sup>625</sup> but I shall not trouble *you* with my lucubrations on this head now. If my health &c. be continued two or three weeks after I send this off, perhaps I may give them to bro[the]r Hughes, though this will oblige me to take one of these large sheets and you know he almost discourages me from doing so. However, as I shall beg of him to return *weight* instead of *measure*, he need not to be alarmed at my royal quartoes [*sic*]. I wish to submit my thoughts to him, because though they appear to me very plain, yet I do not remember meeting with them in any publication or commentary. Owen<sup>626</sup> is almost an oracle with me, but not quite. Henry<sup>627</sup> and Doddridge<sup>628</sup> do not satisfy me on this subject. I meet with very few thinkers in this part of the world, and yet they all think, but it is *in parcels*. They take a sentence or a point of doctrine and they try how many different ways they can twist it (detached from its connection) and this they call explanation or illustration. I impute much of this to their fondness for Gill,<sup>629</sup> whose method they try to imitate without knowing how. A few months ago, a preacher gained great applause

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<sup>620</sup> On the problems experienced around this time by the Lord Street Baptist Church in Wigan in obtaining a satisfactory pastor, see note 600. Clearly Harris was of the opinion that the practice followed in Lord Street, of first inviting a prospective pastor on trial for a limited period and then, if he seemed acceptable, of offering him the office of pastor on a permanent basis, had proved a failure. Instead he proposed a careful examination of a prospective pastor by visit and reference before making any overtures towards inviting such a person to serve in the church.

<sup>621</sup> On whom, see the Introduction.

<sup>622</sup> On Harris's concerning for the catechizing of the young, see note 371.

<sup>623</sup> Possibly an allusion to Edward Waverley, the protagonist of Walter Scott's historical novel *Waverley*, published in 1814, Edward Waverley being an example of a person of shallow-rooted convictions since, swayed by a romantic attraction, he transferred his loyalty from the Hanoverian army in which he was commissioned to the cause of the Jacobite pretender. Alternatively the name might have been used in coterie speech between Harris, Brown, and others in Wigan to designate a person of *wavering* convictions, possibly deriving from the name of Scott's fictional character.

<sup>624</sup> On Harris's use of this word, see note 700.

<sup>625</sup> The view that Paul wrote the Letter to the Hebrews is today generally discarded.

<sup>626</sup> See note 448.

<sup>627</sup> See note 455.

<sup>628</sup> The Independent minister and writer Philip Doddridge (1702-1751) was the author of the popular Biblical commentary, *The family expositor*, published between 1739 and 1756.

<sup>629</sup> The *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments*, in nine folio volumes, by the Particular Baptist minister John Gill (1697-1771) was published between 1746 and 1766 and became an essential part of most Baptist ministers' libraries.

from a large concourse of people (perhaps four or five thousand) by proving that God the Father was a carpenter, from Matth. xiii. 55.<sup>630</sup> He was, as you may suppose, a Freemason. Were I to give way to this method of characterizing the turn of mind which some of our most popular preachers have, I could fill another sheet with anecdotes equally brilliant.

My brother-in-Law, Mr. Jonathan Fox,<sup>631</sup> King Street, Liverpool, sent to me lately "The World, of June 27, 1827", containing Robt. Hall's<sup>632</sup> Discourse before [the] Baptist Mission[ar]y Society.<sup>633</sup> You may suppose that it pleases me, by my *copying it out*, though it certainly was not corrected by him. The newspaper was put into the ship's bag in Liverpool and came to me by mail at the cost to me of one penny. Two papers would have cost 1½d.<sup>634</sup> I mention this, as a hint in the first place, that any newspaper you might wish at any time to indulge me with will be thankfully received. It was enclosed with *open end*, as you send them by mail in your country. We have the *important* political news copied into our papers very quickly. I had seen all the circumstances of Canning's death<sup>635</sup> a fortnight before receipt of yours, but the minor ones, as well as local events, would prove interesting, especially debates, arguments &c. on the state of the Catholic question. I also request that if opportunity should offer by private, you will hand him a note stating that "The World" was received to my gratification, at an expense too trifling to be mentioned. You will also tell him that *two* papers together cost me only half as much again as a single one. I wrote to him, August 7th, and hope he will not drop the correspondence.

My son desires me to express his request that, should this reach you in time, you will enclose a few walnuts for setting. We have plenty of a species of walnut in our woods, but they [are] very inferior to the English walnut.<sup>636</sup> The hickory nut also, which is sought after by the young folks, is insipid<sup>637</sup> compared to your walnut. Your children will be amused with our squirrels, which *infest* not only the woods, but also the cornfields, to the injury of the farmer,<sup>638</sup> as do the rabbits likewise. Both animals

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<sup>630</sup> Snatching from its context the astonished remark of Jesus's auditors, 'Is not this the carpenter's son?...'.

<sup>631</sup> Jonathan Fox, the brother of Samuel Harris's wife Sally, was perhaps working in Liverpool with his son Henry to establish the shipbroking and commission merchant business with an address at 2 King Street, Liverpool. *The Glasgow herald* for the 22nd May 1854 contained an advertisement for 'The "Fox" Line of Packets, Liverpool to Australia, established 1828, for Melbourne, Port-Philip' and proclaimed the swift and elegant merits of the magnificent newly built clipper of 2,000 tons named *Queen of the Seas*. Indeed, Henry is said to have become 'father of the Australian trade, having been in that business long before Melbourne or the gold diggings were heard of.' See Power, *RPSS*, p. 144, 228 & *passim* for references to Jonathan Fox and for other information on members of the Fox family.

<sup>632</sup> The Baptist minister Robert Hall (1764-1831), to whom Harris will again refer later in these letters.

<sup>633</sup> Founded in England in 1792.

<sup>634</sup> Less than £0.01 in modern British currency, with an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £0.30/\$0.45 in 2016.

<sup>635</sup> The British prime minister George Canning died on the 8th August 1827.

<sup>636</sup> The two most common major species of walnut are grown for their seeds: the Persian or English walnut (*juglans regia*) and the black walnut (*juglans nigra*). The English walnut originated in Persia, and the black walnut is native to eastern North America. The black walnut is of high flavour, but on account of its hard shell and poor hulling characteristics, it is not grown for commercial nut production. (*Wikipedia*.)

<sup>637</sup> Harris seems to have been unaware that the pecan was a species of hickory, but since he was living on the northern fringe of the pecan's habitat range, he might have had no direct experience of it.

<sup>638</sup> The North American grey squirrel was first introduced to Britain in 1876 and there were further introductions in succeeding years. Britain's native squirrel, the smaller red squirrel, is a woodland

are fine eating and, with the quails (called *here* partridges), furnish a pretty change with pork at our tables.

To revert to the subject of emigration: I do not now *urge* it upon any. All persons have not a disposition or aptitude to accommodate themselves to circumstances. When I removed from London into Lancashire, staying five or six years in Hull<sup>639</sup> by the way, I found a much great[er] difference between the customs and manners as well as language of the two places, than between Lancashire and Indiana, so that having been prepared for the change, I was soon familiarised to my adopted country. But I have seen so many *grumblers* that I do not wonder at the disgust which the Anglo-Americans feel and sometimes express towards the Old Country in its representatives here. But, on the other hand, they seem pleased with them and *their fare*, which is by no means contemptible. You will meet with a richness and better spread table in a shabby looking wooden house with scarcely a whole pane of glass, than in most houses in Wigan or even London, and full as cordial a welcome. I should find a difficulty in characterizing the inhabitants of this country. They are English as much as their brethren in England are and yet they differ very materially; but I know not where the difference exists. A Lancashire and a Devonshire man immediately exhibit their appropriate distinctions, but here it is *felt* long before it is precisely *observed*. However, this may be said, that you may *feel* yourself more *at home* with those you never saw before in the first half hour, than you may in most houses in England in a month. But you must not look for anyone to put himself out of his way to accommodate himself to your fancy.

The information you gave me about James Latham is very consoling. We had the most distressing apprehensions respecting him. Knowing his very objectionable taciturnity about himself, we feared lest he had fallen sick & died among strangers, who would not notify the event to his friends, even if he had told them, that so they might the more securely appropriate to themselves his effects, which were valuable. He promised my son to write to him before he left the country. This he omitted to do, and we take it unkind. I cannot suppose that he will sit down contented in Wigan after having tasted and felt the superiority of this country for him, and as I think he will not object to bring over any little parcel for me, I hope he will inform you and also *Mrs. Wadsworth* when he intends to come over, as I think she will be glad of the opportunity to send over a parcel to her daughter. Should he not proceed onwards towards Aurora, he might leave the parcels with Mr. John Sharp Jun., merchant, Philadelphia for us. Or should he land in or go to Philadelphia & proceed onwards to Aurora, I hope he will inquire of Mr. Sharp for any parcels which may be there, and bring them on with him.

On looking over your letter again I noticed *with satisfaction* that though you substituted “*wish*” for “*think*” in the sentence which prompted me to write so much

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dweller, not generally seen by children living in towns, and has steadily lost territory to the American grey. There had been such an infestation of squirrels in Dearborn County in 1801 that the year became known as the ‘squirrel year’. It was reported that ‘they were so numerous that they devoured everything in the form of grain in their way. They travelled from one section to another, and when doing so nothing would check their march. Great numbers of them are said to have been killed while swimming the Ohio River. It was said one woman killed over 300 with her “clothes-beater”, while washing on the river shore near Aurora.’ (Lake, *ADCI*, p. 8.) See also the comments on squirrel infestations by an English traveller down the Ohio River in 1822-3, in Blane, *EUSC*, pp. 95-97.

<sup>639</sup> On Harris’s work as a druggist in Hull, see the Introduction.

about your coming to reside in this country, yet it seems that you were not without *thoughts* of it. In addition to what I have already said, I recommend you to *draw out* of James L[atham] what observations he made upon the country. *This* perhaps you may find somewhat *difficult*, unless he is greatly altered. And supposing circumstances or *apprehensions* do not drive you, you might not find the money ill spent in coming over *alone* to judge for yourself, though that would be more to try how you would *feel* here, than to learn more concerning *generals* than you can by *report*. I came *determined to be pleased* and I *am pleased, satisfactorily pleased*, and I apprehend it is known by the experience of all that to be pleased depends much on the *will*.

Nov. 6th. In my last visit to Aurora (on the 3rd) my son suggested to me the duty we are under of discharging the friendly, though mournful, offices of informing survivors concerning those who die in an unknown land. A young Scotchman who resided in Aurora about three or four years, perhaps longer, lately died at a small town called Rome, Perry County, in the western part of Indiana on the Ohio river. He first resided in Aurora as manager of a store there, belonging to Messrs. Wright and Peck, Merchants, Cincinnati.<sup>640</sup> After some time they dissolved partnership, and Mr. Wright sold his store, when the young man (*James McMinn*) possessed himself of two or three yoke of oxen, with which he maintained himself by hauling, plowing &c. and was much respected as a sober, industrious man. Last winter (which was a severe one) the man with whom McMinn boarded received a serious hurt, which confined him to his bed, and required so much attendance, that McM.'s lodging was greatly inconvenienced, which induced my son to invite to sleep at his house. This brought on an acquaintance which the sober, steady habits of the man rendered not unpleasant. It would have been very agreeable had there been something more than an expressed respect for religion. He used to speak often of his father and sister, and I think a brother also, who used to send him the most friendly advice on that head. Last August 12th he left Aurora in company with a man named Folbre<sup>641</sup> on a trading expedition down the river. When at Rome, about a hundred and forty miles below Louisville Falls, the whole party was taken sick, and James McMinn died early in September of a bowel complaint which came on as he appeared to be recovering from the fever. Folbre returned with one son, leaving the other not sufficiently recovered

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<sup>640</sup> *The Cincinnati directory for 1825* lists the grocery business of Wright and Peck at 180 Main St., Cincinnati.

<sup>641</sup> Possibly a relative (the father perhaps) of Folbres buried in River View Cemetery, Aurora. Charles and Thomas Folbre receive respectful mention as energetic young men of Aurora in Lake, *ADCI*, p. 12. Charles Folbre, a native of Boston, Mass., died on the 22nd January 1855, aged 48 and is buried in Holman Hill Cemetery, Aurora (<http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=pv&GRid=35708585&PIpi=16765901>). A son of Charles Folbre, Nelson Durbin Folbre, (see <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=11416184> & Shaw, *HDC*, p. 778) was a person of interest in the history of Aurora journalism. According to his headstone in River View Cemetery, Aurora, he was almost 30 years old at the time of his death on the 3rd March 1854. 'The *Independent Banner* was started at Aurora, in 1852, by N.D. Folbre, the first issue appearing August 12. Mr. Folbre remained the editor and publisher of the *Banner* until his death, which occurred March 3, 1854. The publication ceased with the paper of March 8, 1854. Mr. Folbre was born in Ohio in 1824, and, with his parents, located in Aurora in 1826. In 1836 he entered the Signal office in Aurora to learn his trade. From 1838 until 1845 he was employed in the office of the *Political Beacon* at Lawrenceburgh, where he remained until 1845, when the press changed hands, and our subject controlled the printing department. Later he was in the office of the *Western Republican*, printed at Lawrenceburgh by Mr. Lancaster, and when the office was moved to Aurora in 1847, Mr. F. returned with it.' (<http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~indearbo/Pages/journalism.html>.)

to travel and perhaps also to dispose of the remaining goods. Now you will do a kindness, by addressing these particulars to his father and sister, who live in *Doone Cottage*, at the mouth of the *river Dee*, Galloway County.<sup>642</sup> We are not quite certain whether it [is]<sup>643</sup> in Galloway. Probable [*sic*] your neighbour or some of the Scotchmen [*sic*] in Wigan will be able to inform you.<sup>644</sup> Thomas McMinn, another brother, is a merchant in Port au Prince, Hayti [*sic*], unless the recent disturbances (or expected disturbances) in the island have driven him thence. Mr. Wright, a respectable merchan[t] in Cincinnati with whom James lived, has taken out letters of administration there and one of our store keepers has done the same here,<sup>645</sup> but from what my son has heard, [it is] very improbable that when all is balanced, there will be any surplus worth inquiring after. He did not make my son acquainted with his affairs, of course he cannot do anything, and it is only because from what we know of the parties who now concern themselves in his affairs that we conclude they will not take the trouble to advise his connections, that I request you to do it.<sup>646</sup> Should you receive any reply to the communication, pray mention it in your next. 'Tis probable that some acquaintance of the family may be found in Wigan who will take this business upon himself; or, it might be inserted in some newspaper which circulates in that quarter, though *writing* would be more *soothing to the family*. On examining Guthrie,<sup>647</sup> I suspect some mistake about the county, but will try to rectify it when I go over to Aurora on Saturday.

You will oblige me in addressing a line to my niece, Miss Sarah Ann Harris, to care of Mr. Whittard, Draper, Wine Street, Bristol,<sup>648</sup> as soon as you know the

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<sup>642</sup> Possibly Doon Cottage, Twynholm, Kirkcudbright, Galloway, situated beneath Doon Hill and looking out across the estuary of the River Dee to St. Mary's Isle. See modern image of the cottage at <http://www.visitscotland.com/info/accommodation/doon-cottage-p222601>.

<sup>643</sup> A little damage to the text at this point and in succeeding lines, where the seal has been detached.

<sup>644</sup> On the connection of John Brown's neighbours, also surnamed Brown, with this region of Galloway, see Appendix II: The other Browns.

<sup>645</sup> An administrators' notice was placed in the *Indiana palladium* (2nd February 1828) by Zalmond Holley and Elias Conwell of Aurora, requesting information from McMinn's debtors and creditors, and also announcing a sale of the personal estate of the deceased in Aurora on the 23rd February.

<sup>646</sup> It is possible that news of James McMinn's death reached his family via another channel. In a letter written from New York on the 10th November 1827 by Hannah Robbins Gilman (referred to earlier in note 564) to Elizabeth Hale Gilman Hoffman, at Mrs. Mary Sargent's, Chestnut St., near 13 St., Philadelphia, the following sentence was included: 'We have received intelligence of the death of poor James McMinn. He died in August on a trading voyage down the Mississippi, without a friend to close his eyes. Your Pa'a will write to his brother tomorrow and give him the sad intelligence.' (From the database *North American women's letters and diaries*, published by Alexander Street Press; copy kindly supplied by Keir Hind, Lending Services, University of Glasgow, 20th June 2013.) Hannah Robbins Gilman's knowledge of McMinn's death might well have reached her through her husband, Benjamin Ives Gilman, originally of Exeter, NH, who established a store at Fort Harmar, Ohio and built ships for the transport of freight and passengers down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. (F.J. Milligan, *Ohio's founding fathers* [Bloomington, IN, 2003] p. 22.) A chapter is devoted to the biographies of Hannah and Benjamin Gilman in Hildreth, *BHM*, pp. 306-320, where we learn that Hannah (*née* Robbins) Gilman was a Congregationalist of Plymouth, Mass., who, after her marriage in 1790 to Benjamin Ives Gilman, moved with him to Marietta, Ohio, before moving again to Philadelphia in 1813. She was with her husband in Cincinnati in 1823 and there possibly she became acquainted with James McMinn. She died in New York in 1836.

<sup>647</sup> Probably one of the large geographical or historical publications of William Guthrie (1708?-1770).

<sup>648</sup> The business of Carden & Whittard, Linen Draper, 54 Wine Street, Bristol is listed in *Pigot's directory of Gloucestershire, 1830*. Whittard is to be identified with John Alfred Whittard, who, in Lambeth on the 17th March 1814, married Jane Good Harris (1786-1853), the daughter of Samuel Harris's elder brother John. (See

certainty of James Latham's intention of coming over, and about the time of his departure, as 'tis possible she may wish to send some small pamphlet, &c. as she knows what a treat such things are to me. I take for granted that J.L. will not object to such a charge. Pray give my regards to him and the family. You did not mention them. We esteem Mr. Neville's remembrance of us. Mrs. Fox writes to her correspondent here that James Latham talked of returning to *Natchez*. Pray learn of him, whether by way of New Orleans, or through Pennsylvania & by Aurora. *We hope* he will not omit to spend some little time here.

I find that the river Dee runs into Solway Firth, and that Dumfries is built upon it.<sup>649</sup> Probably that is the right town. However, Mrs. D. Brown will probably know.

Monday 12th Novr. Yesterday we had three baptized here as additions to our little church. I declined to officiate on account of weakness. A brother from neighbourhood came at my request. There appears a little something like life among us now and it is, I hope, of the *right* sort. But I hope to be able to write more fully, in my reply to your next, an account of what the Holy Spirit is, if I mistake not, effecting here. I have considerable encouragement.

My Philadelphia correspondent assures me of his attention to any parcel for me through the hands of Cropper, Benson & Co.<sup>650</sup> You will be careful not to insert any letter. They must always come by mail. Don't forget me about newspapers. You know what will interest me.

I wish affectionate remembrance to Mrs. Brown and your children, David Brown & family, Wm. Ellison & wife, all that remember me of y[ou]r church, E. Alston, James Skirrow, Neville, Newsham,<sup>651</sup> &c. &c.

Yours in all esteem  
Sam[ue]l Harris

You cannot write to[o] soon, or too much; every item interests me.

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[http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/BRISTOL\\_AND\\_DISTRICT/2009-04/1240665949](http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/BRISTOL_AND_DISTRICT/2009-04/1240665949).)

Sarah Ann was thus lodging with her cousin and the latter's husband.

<sup>649</sup> Harris is mistaken, since Dumfries is built on the River Nith. It is Kirkcudbright that is built at the River Dee's estuary where it meets the Solway Firth.

<sup>650</sup> See note 576.

<sup>651</sup> Possibly Samuel Newsham, an attorney with offices in King Street, Wigan. He was admitted and sworn a burgess of Wigan on the 1st October 1824 (*BC*). A poster dated the 3rd January, 1829, printed by John Brown, the recipient of these letters, and relating to the rebuilding of the Moot Hall in Wigan, indicates that Samuel Newsham then held the office of Sheriff. (Copy preserved in Wigan Archives.) Alternatively, Harris might have been referring to either Thomas Newsham, (a cotton manufacturer with premises in King Street), James Newsham (an ironmonger with premises in Market Place; see also note 213), or the linen draper Richard Newsham, whose establishment was also in Market Street (Baines, *DW*). The shop front of a trader with a business in Market Place is illustrated in the extreme right section of the engraving by Henry Winkles of James Harwood's drawing of Market Place made in 1824 (see further in note 266).

## Letter 8: 26th September-1st October 1828

Petersburgh, Boone County, Kentucky  
26 Sepr. 1828

[Addressed to 'Mr. John Brown, Bookseller, Wigan, Lancashire, Old England'; inscribed 'Petersburg Ky Oct 2nd 1828', 'Single sheet, 25 P. Paid', 'P[er] first Liverpool Packet', 'Dated 30th July rec[eive]d',<sup>652</sup> 'rec[eive]d 10th Novr.' and [by John Brown?] 'See Mr [?] Nevill who will write a few lines to [?]',<sup>653</sup> with postal marking '1/2'; stamped 'LIVERPOOL SHIP LETTER'; and with black wax seal of 'S.H.']

My dear friend and brother,

Twice have I set before me one of the large double quarto sheets to confabulate with you by, but the same consideration has each time obliged me to lay it aside and to take this.<sup>654</sup> I have no time to fill it,<sup>655</sup> and at this late date from the last of yours, what would then (at its arrival) have been fresh, would now be stale. Besides, if my recollection be correct (for my memoranda of correspondence are on the other side of the Ohio<sup>656</sup>), I have acknowledged that, and what remains for me now is to express my grateful notice of your kind memorials of friendship in the parcel sent last year. It reached Mr. Sharp, Philadelphia in regular course, and he advised me of its arrival, but owing [to] his having sent off a package of Bibles for our Aurora Society (in which I desired that it might be enclosed) before he received my letter, it remained with him till last spring, when a similar opportunity occurred, and I received it in May. Having occasion to write to Mr. Hughes shortly after, I mentioned it to him, and hope that he has informed you. I wished then to write immediately to you, but having my hands full, I delayed till a little leisure might occur. The present hour cannot be so called, but being somewhat relieved from the most urgent, I defer other business, that my thanks may be expressed for your kind manner of gratifying my desires, not only with the productions of your own, but also of other presses. The Alphabet, Picture Museum, and especially the Grammar are very welcome. The second exhibits some pictures which are foreign to this part of the world and, while they amuse my little granddaughter, now almost four years old, are interesting to our backwoods gentry.<sup>657</sup> The Preston Election papers are peculiarly so;

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<sup>652</sup> This note was added on posting the letter by Harris's nephew, to acknowledge a preceding letter from Brown, dated as above, which had just arrived in Aurora post office. See opening comments in Letter 9.

<sup>653</sup> This note written in bolder ink and probably by a different hand, quite probably that of John Brown (see note 509). A piece has been torn from the margin after what looks like the word 'to' (although with uncrossed 't') on a second line. On Neville, see Harris's remarks toward the end of this letter, suggesting that he had received the letter from Neville that Brown had apparently asked him to write to Harris.

<sup>654</sup> Harris writes on a large double folio sheet.

<sup>655</sup> Harris does nevertheless proceed to fill every space on the folded sheet, though not on the first day of writing.

<sup>656</sup> That is, in Aurora, Indiana.

<sup>657</sup> By 'Picture Museum' Harris might be referring to either (1) John Brown's undated quarto publication entitled *A picture book, consisting of ancient ruins, representations of persons of different nations, portraits of eminent military and naval officers and other interesting subjects* (listed in Folkard, *WD*, p. 68); or (2) Brown's 1809 publication entitled *A companion to Beilby's Museum: containing a brief description of its natural and foreign curiosities, and antiquities*; although it remains possible that some otherwise unidentified publication from another printer is in view.



as Cobbett<sup>658</sup> is an old acquaintance among them by his writings on (the naval part of) the late war.<sup>659</sup> Thicknesse's papers<sup>660</sup> engage much attention. I prize the little tracts. Is Hart's reply to Gadsby<sup>661</sup> calculated for much good? That and Thicknesse are good specimens of your typography. I value the 3rd vol. (labeled vol. V.) of Jones's Lectures.<sup>662</sup> You favoured me with the *first* volume by my brother, with two numbers of the second vol. Association Minutes and Circulars are increasingly desirable to me, and I hope it will not be inconvenient to you to favour me with a copy of as many as fall into your hands. I know not whether I have to thank you or our friend Hughes for the various missionary notices, reports, chronicles, &c. They are all highly welcome. I stitch them together in stiff covers. The memoranda of the late residence and trade<sup>663</sup> lead me to review the circumstances from 1816 which so clearly indicated the hand of Providence leading me through various changes to the hermitage in which I now write. You mention Jones's magazine.<sup>664</sup> I have sometimes regretted that I gave it up after the second vol. as the following ones I understand breathed a better spirit. Perhaps my last mentioned a similar genius in this country whom I met in Cincinnati. I am now engaged in reviewing, chiding, approving, combatting &c. a monthly 12mo (24 pp.) which he (Alex[ander]r

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<sup>658</sup> In the Preston (Lancashire) borough parliamentary election of the 26th June 1826, William Cobbett came in fourth position, winning only 995 votes, as against the 2,944 won by the elected candidate Edward George Geoffrey Smith Stanley, the fourteenth Earl of Derby, who would later serve as British prime minister. It was not until 1832 that Cobbett succeeded in being elected, as Member of Parliament for Oldham. Cobbett had fled Great Britain on the 28th March 1817 to escape incarceration under the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, taking great risk to catch a vessel that had already sailed four miles out of the port of Liverpool. (See J. Palmer, *Journal of travels in the United States of North America, and in Lower Canada, performed in the year 1817* [London, 1818] p. 2.) His voyage from Liverpool to New York was followed just two months later by William Tell Harris and in August both Palmer and William Tell were in Philadelphia at the same time. William Tell was quite probably well acquainted with John Palmer's travel journal and it is interesting to note that his own *Remarks made during a tour through the United States of America in the years 1817, 1818, and 1819* was published by Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, who had previously published Palmer's account. During his residence in the USA, in June 1817 Cobbett had passed by Aurora sailing in a skiff down the Ohio from Cincinnati to Louisville. On Cobbett see also note 381.

<sup>659</sup> Harris's reference is to the Anglo-American War of 1812-1815 and Cobbett's 1815 publication entitled *The pride of Britannia humbled; or, the queen of the ocean unqueen'd, "by the American cock boats", illustrated and demonstrated by four letters addressed to Lord Liverpool, on the late American war*. A new edition was published in Philadelphia in 1815, followed by a Cincinnati edition in 1817.

<sup>660</sup> On Ralph Thicknesse, see notes 467 & 880.

<sup>661</sup> In 1823 Henry Hart of Liverpool published *Antinomianism dissected; being a reply to Mr. Gadsby's pamphlet, entitled "Sandemanianism weighed in the balance and found wanting" in which the false weights of that author... are detected and exposed*. It was printed in Wigan, by J. Brown (as Harris's remarks indicate), and was written in answer to the Strict and Particular Baptist minister William Gadsby (1773-1844), who ministered in a chapel in Manchester from 1803 until his death. Hart's work attracted lukewarm praise from its reviewer in W. Jones's *New evangelical magazine*, vol. X (Feb. 1824) pp. 54 f.

<sup>662</sup> Joseph Jones is referred to in an earlier letter; see note 337.

<sup>663</sup> Here Harris would appear to refer back to his request made to Brown in Letter 6 (6th-30th March 1827): 'I trust you will favour me with a large sheet *full* from your memorandum book' retailing all the local occurrences among past friends and fellow tradesmen in the neighbourhood of Wigan. The implication is that Brown fulfilled the request by discussing people and events in Wigan (Harris's 'late residence') and Brown's business activities ('trade') in a letter which is now lost to us, although we may catch echoes of the contents of that letter in some of the remarks made in the present letter by Harris.

<sup>664</sup> On William Jones, see note 534. His periodical publications included the *New evangelical magazine* (1815-24) and the *Millennial harbinger and voluntary church advocate* (1835-6). It was probably the former of these to which Harris referred.

Campbell) issues: “The Christian Baptist”.<sup>665</sup> Jones is sugar and cream compared with him, though he is much less biting and stinging than he was. A *Christian* censor is greatly needed among us, and I endeavour in my monthly review of him (mere private correspondence) to dissuade him from his “firebrands, arrows and death”.<sup>666</sup> He is not quite equal to Jones, yet some few of his pieces are admirable. His work has caused great confusion among the Kentucky and Virginia Baptist churches,<sup>667</sup> perhaps because he is misunderstood, both by those who espouse and those who oppose his work or writings. “Campbellism” is quite a bugbear to many, as much so as “Fullerism” used to be to the high-toned Gillites.<sup>668</sup>

You mention a Mr. Saunders at Byrom Str[ee]t Chapel. If the same who was some years ago at Frome,<sup>669</sup> I have heard him there, and thought him much above mediocrity, but not *original*. You may suppose by this remark that I have y[ou]r “manuscript”,<sup>670</sup> which accompanied the parcel, before me.

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<sup>665</sup> Commenced publication in 1823.

<sup>666</sup> The phrase is borrowed from Proverbs 26. 18. For the assistance granted him through supply from his private library of an early copy of the King James version of the Bible containing the preface and apology for the translation, Alexander Campbell thanked ‘our venerable and much esteemed brother, *Samuel Harris*, lately from London, now a resident in Aurora, In. to whom we are also indebted for many invaluable hints and criticisms, both on this work and the New Testament, in his private correspondence.’ The publisher (D.S. Burnet) of the reprint edition of Campbell’s *The Christian Baptist* (Cincinnati, 1835), which included this item from vol. VI (1828), added the note (with slight dating error): ‘He [Harris] died in Cincinnati in 1833 full of years and wisdom and the Holy Spirit. “Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord”’ (pp. 482 f.). We do not know how much Harris might have spoken to Campbell, in his correspondence with him, of his former abode in Wigan, but Campbell did visit Wigan in 1847 and conducted meetings there in the Commercial Hall, which was then in use as a meeting place of the Church of Christ in Wigan, who would later build their own chapel in Rodney Street (today, 2016, transformed into a night club!). See Richardson, *MAC*, p. 550; & anon., *1841-1941: centenary of the Church of Christ, Rodney Street, Wigan*, p. 9, with picture showing the Commercial Hall meeting room on the last plate included in the booklet.

<sup>667</sup> Member churches in the Laughery Baptist Association were well aware of the disturbances being caused in their spiritual neighbourhood by the peculiar teaching of Alexander Campbell, so that, for example, Bethel Church in Switzerland County wrote to the association meeting held in Aurora in September 1830 requesting prayer to the Lord ‘that he woud keepe us by the power of his grace from the heritical doctrin that has invaded some of our sister assotiations causing grate callamity) which says that water Baptism constitutes the new birth and that OBediance places it in gods power to save the soul.’ (*LBAL*, preserving the writer’s idiosyncratic orthography.)

<sup>668</sup> The debate between Calvinism and Arminianism in the Baptist churches was championed respectively by John Gill (1697-1771) of London and Andrew Fuller (1754-1815) of Kettering. It is interesting to note that the party feeling among Baptists of either the Gillite or Fullerite persuasions was precisely what caught the disapproving attention of Alexander Campbell on his visit to Kentucky in 1824. See Richardson, *MAC*, pp. 104 f.

<sup>669</sup> Samuel Saunders (1780-1835) studied with Robert Aspland under Joseph Hughes in Battersea (Aspland, *MRA*, p. 32 f.) and was assisted by Joseph Hughes, the mutual friend of Harris and Brown, in gaining admission to the Baptist College in Bristol, where he trained for the preaching ministry. After first serving in Penzance, he accepted an invitation to the Baptist church at Badcox Lane in Frome, Somersetshire and attracted such an audience that a new, larger chapel was opened there in 1814. From there he removed in 1826 to minister in Byrom Street, Liverpool, which is perhaps where John Brown heard him. He remained in Liverpool until his death in 1835. Apart from some individual sermons, Saunders published *Discourses on the Lord’s prayer* (1825) and (posthumously) *Lectures on Nonconformity* (1836). See further M. Birrell, ‘Memoir of the late Rev. Samuel Saunders’, *Baptist magazine*, vol. XXXII (1840) pp. 1-5.

<sup>670</sup> Harris probably refers in this way to a *letter*, disguised as a manuscript, sent to him by Brown in a books parcel. See note 577.

Scott's Napoleon<sup>671</sup> I am now reading. It was lent to me in Cincinnati, *three* vols. 8vo, with a good head of Nap[oleon] &c. respectably printed. They are met with in most houses there. In the perusal I am carried back over a large portion of my life, and find that much has been vanity. All Scott's works are favorites [*sic*] here and are got up in cheap style, instance retail price of Waverley, b[oun]d [in] sheep[skin] [?], 2/3<sup>672</sup> (50 cents). In a former letter<sup>673</sup> I have intimated the great caution I have found necessary in looking into these works, and I am not aware that any advantage is lost or missed by abstaining from them. History is useful and I find it so, but works merely of fiction lay too fast hold of the imagination to allow the intellect to act freely,

The card of Wightman & Cramp,<sup>674</sup> which you sent, I preserve as a pretty specimen of embossed paper. Our prints notice a new mode of printing *in gold*. This must be curious. I cannot form any idea of its appearance, though of course it may be made to look very beautiful.

In a late visit to Cincinnati I sold a useless (to me) article, and with part of its proceeds bought a copy of Russell's Modern History, 2 vols. b[oar]ds for 6 dollars (27/-<sup>675</sup>) Jones's university edition. This is much higher than y[ou]r price, 21/-,<sup>676</sup> as labeled, but the duty on foreign books is great. At the end is advertised W. Jones's (intended) Continuation of that work to the latest period.<sup>677</sup> I wanted the work for my son. Our American editions are worth very little on account of the flimsy cotton paper,<sup>678</sup> and in articles, of same size and type, as high priced as yours. Perhaps you

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<sup>671</sup> *The life of Napoleon Buonaparte*, by Water Scott, was first published in 1827.

<sup>672</sup> Approx. £0.11 in modern British currency, with an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £5.60/\$8.50 in 2016. On the popularity of Scott's Waverley novels in the backwoods districts of Indiana and Illinois at this time, see Blane, *EUSC*, p. 196.

<sup>673</sup> See above Letter 6.

<sup>674</sup> In the 1820s the London Baptist publisher George Wightman (on whom see note 200) went into partnership with John Mockett Cramp (1796-1881), as Cramp, an aspiring Baptist minister who had studied at the Baptist College, Stepney from 1814 to 1817, had been appointed provisional secretary to the newly established Society for Promoting General Knowledge being promoted by, amongst others, the future prime minister John Russell. Wightman's publishing establishment at 24 Paternoster Row thereupon became headquarters of the new partnership and served as a depot for the SPGK's activities. Cramp also assisted Wightman in the editorship of *The Baptist magazine* between 1825 and 1828. Cramp, however, did not find the SPGK work satisfying to his wider interests as a Baptist minister and educator, and it seems he soon abandoned the enterprise. In 1844 he emigrated to Canada, where he had a very successful career as a writer and educator. (T.A. Higgins, *The life of John Mockett Cramp*, pp. 40 f.) The colophon of Joseph Jones's *Cottage lectures*, vol. III (1826-7) (see note 337) reads 'Wigan; printed and sold by J. Brown; sold also by Wightman and Cramp, 24, Paternoster Row, London', suggesting that Wightman and Cramp were more widely associated in publishing with John Brown. George Wightman was of course related to Brown through marriage.

<sup>675</sup> £1.35 in modern British currency, with an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £67/\$101 in 2016.

<sup>676</sup> £1.05 in modern British currency, with an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £52/\$79 in 2016.

<sup>677</sup> *The history of modern Europe, with an account of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, and a view of the progress of society from the rise of modern kingdoms to the Peace of Paris*, in 1763 by William Russell (1746-1793) was first published, beginning with two volumes in 1779, followed by three further volumes in 1784. A continuation of that work, down to 1815, was published by Charles Coote in 1817 and another continuation, down to 1825, was published by William Jones commencing in 1827.

<sup>678</sup> In 1829 in Cincinnati Frances Trollope also complained against the quality of American paper and printing, writing of 'dirty blue paper and slovenly types' and 'thin dusky pages' (*DMA*, pp. 83 f.).

will give me your opinion of Jones's Continuation when it comes out and whether it be printed uniform with the (Jones & Co.) edition of Russell.

I also observe in "The Record", which my niece sends me sometimes (they cost me postage 1½d for two papers when under one cover p[er] mail; I don't know what they cost her to put into ship's bag) advertised Russell's Connection of Sacred & Profane History, 2 vols., 8vo filling up the chasm between Shuckford (who brought his down to the death of Joshua) and Prideaux, who commenced his with Ahaz, king of Israel.<sup>679</sup> These two works, you know I have, the first in c[a]lf extra, the second h[a]lf b[oun]d Russ[ian calf] back. Pray inform me what is the general opinion of Russell's performance. If it be high, I shall endeavour to sell what I have, and hope it will empower me to remit to you for the whole work in good but plain binding, uniform, 10 vols., unless some able person will condense all that is really useful in the whole into four volumes, which I think might be done to advantage. Prideaux is an obscure writer in style.

I feel, as much as William does, though he has the advantage of them, great obligation for your kind attention respecting the seeds, which arrived safe, though too late for this season, owing to the delay in Philadelphia already mentioned. The only way in which I can suppose the primrose and cowslip seeds can be procured would be to convey the plants when in flower with the sod and soil into a garden, so to insure them from being crop[pe]d or gathered. You intimate your intention to secure the liburnum [*sic*] and holly in their season. There is also a valuable medicinal plant, called foxgloves, which used to be in great plenty in the fields beyond the Mesnes,<sup>680</sup> which I shall be obliged for some seeds of.<sup>681</sup> If you have the holly, liburnum [*sic*],

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<sup>679</sup> *A connection of sacred and profane history, from the death of Joshua to the decline of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, intended to complete the works of Shuckford and Prideaux*, 3 vols. (1827-1837) was the work of Michael Russell (1781-1848), Bishop of the Scotch Episcopal Church in Glasgow and Galloway. Samuel Shuckford had published, in two volumes (1728-1730), *The sacred and prophane history of the world connected, from the creation of the world to the dissolution of the Assyrian Empire at the death of Sardanapalus, and to the declension of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, under the reigns of Ahaz and Pekah*, while Humphrey Prideaux (1648-1724) had published, in two volumes (1716-1718), *The old and New Testament connected in the history of the Jews and neighbouring nations, from the declension of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the time of Christ*.

<sup>680</sup> Located on the north side of Wigan, Mesnes Park, or Mesnes Field is today (2016) the object of a restoration project on account of its historical importance, having once formed part of the manorial demesne.

<sup>681</sup> The common foxglove (*digitalis purpurea*) is thought to be native to west, south-west, and west-central Europe, and to be widely naturalized further east. It began to be introduced into North America in the latter part of the eighteenth century, most notably by Hall Jackson (1739-1797), a physician of Portsmouth, New Hampshire (see J.W. Estes, *Hall Jackson and the purple foxglove: medical practice in revolutionary America* [Hanover, NH, 1979]), who in 1786 imported foxglove seeds sent to him by William Withering, the discoverer and promoter of the plant's use in medical treatment, principally in cases of dropsy (oedema), and the author of *An account of the foxglove, and some of its medical uses* (Birmingham, 1785). Withering also noted the foxglove's possible use in treating cases of insanity, an application which was again promoted by the Bristol business associate of Samuel Harris's father, John Mason Cox (referred to in our Introduction and in note 826), in his *Practical observations on insanity*, 2nd ed. (London, 1806), a work which may well have been known to Samuel Harris, who would have requested foxglove seeds from John Brown in order that he might grow the plants in American soil and, as instructed by Cox in his publication, select from them the best leaves for drying and reducing to powder form, from which medicine could best be produced. Cox had written that 'no part of the kingdom furnishes this beautiful plant in greater perfection than the neighbourhood of Bristol' (p. 113), but Harris must have recognized in the environs of Wigan an equally excellent source of the plant materials. As a later consequence of the importation of foxglove seeds and the naturalization of the

and any other when you receive this, and should receive from our estimable friend Hughes any reports &c. for me, and should have aught of your own to add thereto, pray do not wait to make up a large parcel. Do not be at any expense to send it to Liverpool, but when any friend is going, who will undertake to deliver a small parcel to *Messrs. Rathbone Brothers, & Co.*,<sup>682</sup> under cover to *John Sharp Esqr. Jun. Merchant, Philadelphia*, I shall be obliged for any memorial, however small. I shall be pained to think of your paying any money for carriage, as you have done, and hope there will not be any need of it in future. Our correspondence cannot be carried on without it, and I never pay money more cheerfully than at the p[ost] office.

If Dr. Rippon be living and publishing his Baptist Register,<sup>683</sup> 'tis very probably you may see news from Cincinnati and many parts of Kentucky, of what are termed here "glorious revivals".<sup>684</sup> I spent nearly four months in Cincinnati this year, from Feb. 27 to June 20. A little business led me thither, when I unexpectedly found the large Baptist Church there without a minister, but expecting one almost daily. They requested me to tarry with them till he arrived from Alabama, where he was on a visit. I agreed and week after week passed over in tiresome but disappointed expectation, till a physician (who was also ordained Baptist minister) arrived from N[ew] Jersey, when I left them, and in a few days afterwards, their pastor arrived.<sup>685</sup>

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plant in North America, it is today listed as an 'invasive and noxious weed' by the United States Department of Agriculture. Estes included in his study of *Hall Jackson* a useful chart of 'Documented routes of transmission of new knowledge about digitalis, 1775-1815' (fig. 10 on p. 227), which indicates that knowledge about (and probably also use of) digitalis had by 1815 spread in America only into the New England states, New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, and Virginia. It was not until 1820 that tincture (alcohol extract) of digitalis became officially recognized in the *United States pharmacopoeia*. It is possible that Samuel and William Tell Harris were responsible for its introduction further west into Indiana.

<sup>682</sup> In 1824 the firm of commission merchants and shipping agents that had been built up through four generations of the Rathbone family of Liverpool began trading under the name of Rathbone Bros. and Co. The firm saw marked expansion in the mid to late nineteenth century, with strong American trade importing cotton and grains to Britain and exporting China tea and Brazilian coffee, leading to the establishment of the firm's New York agency, which, after the American Civil War, became 'Busk and Jevons'. See University of Liverpool, Special Collections & Archives: Introductory note to the archives of Rathbone Brothers & Co. at <http://archives.liv.ac.uk/ead/search?operation=full&recid=gb141rp-rpxxiv>.

<sup>683</sup> John Rippon (1751-1836) edited the *Baptist annual register* between 1790 and 1803 and in it sought to reflect and stimulate the new evangelical vitality in the Baptist churches of both England and America, but this organ, though not the man, had ceased long before Harris's writing. See further on Rippon in notes 239 & 240.

<sup>684</sup> This expression seems to have been in common usage among Kentucky Baptists. See e.g. Kirtley, *HBC*, pp. 51, 56.

<sup>685</sup> The new Baptist pastor, who is said to have taken up his duties in Cincinnati on the 28th October 1828 (and remained in office until his death on the 23rd December 1831), was George Patterson D.D. (Ford, *HCO*, p. 159), who is possibly to be identified with the 'Rev. George Patterson [who] became pastor of the First Baptist Church [in Trenton, NJ] in January, 1826, and closed his labors [there] in March, 1828' (J.A. Raum, *History of the city of Trenton, New Jersey* [Trenton, 1871] p. 123). Harris's use of the epithet 'physician' would seem to suggest that Patterson had both medical and theological credentials. In Cincinnati he replaced James A. Ranaldson (1789-1849) of Louisiana, who had worked as a missionary in the Indian territories of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana and who was a prime instigator of the Alabama Baptist Convention formed in 1823 at the Salem Church just outside Greensboro, Alabama. According to Ford (*HCO*, p. 159), Ranaldson served as pastor of the Cincinnati Baptist Church from the 30th November 1827 until the 8th April 1828, after which Samuel Harris must have filled the post until his return to Aurora and Petersburg on the 20th June. It would seem then that the Cincinnati Baptists were initially depending on the return of James A. Ranaldson from Alabama, but instead, during the time that Harris was with them, they then expected George Patterson to come

While I was there, a famous “revival-preacher”<sup>686</sup> spent three days with us and I had a full opportunity of witnessing “the method of getting up a revival”, as it is termed. Were I to attempt to describe the process, you would be ready to suppose your old brother caricaturing the Baptists of Kentucky. I therefore merely observe that to me the whole appeared as mechanical as some people’s dancing when they hear a merry jig played on a fiddle.<sup>687</sup> Shortly I left the place, this preacher returned, and in less than four weeks baptized above a hundred and twenty, of all sorts and ages. Many of them had been, I believe, real humble Christians for some time before, perhaps years, but afraid to venture upon an open profession, though now they slip[pe]d in with the crowd. But many were of a different stamp and though the church, to its honour, took considerable pains to discriminate, yet I apprehend they will find enough in to cause them much trouble. Indeed, when I went up, they were already in considerable uneasiness and will probably split in an uncomfortable manner. You have known what this is, in Lord-street. Already one attempt had been made to get possession of the house and it was defeated, as with you, by a very trifling majority.<sup>688</sup> I felt it my duty to refuse their solicitations to stay and help them out of their difficulties, being conscious that my views of the religion of the heart were so opposed to some of their notions that they would not co-operate with me. I have not since heard from them.

But wild, as I think, the Baptists have been and are, the Presbyterians far outstrip them. One of their churches received between three and four hundred in about six weeks’ space, and upon less scrutiny. For a few weeks the theatre, I am told, was shut up, and the excitement in the city was very great. This was about three or four weeks before I went up, but all was still then. I was there one Sabbath and had the pulpit the three times, as both the ministers were out of town, and they had no expectation of any one. Yet the house was quite full all day and very attentive. This was the only effect I witnessed of the revival, and I should have thought much of it, had not I been informed of their squabbings, which cannot be where the love of Christ is. Surely, something must be wrong in the received notions of religion, to allow the name of Christian to him who walks in a spirit so opposite to Christ’s [?].

I have already noticed with thanks the Association Letters you sent me. I am covetous of these articles, that I may shew to our people how these meetings are conducted with you. I observe the plan pursued here adopted by yours, which appears to me to be attended (at least *here*) with evil consequences: that of enumerating the baptized, dismissed, &c. of each church. Here it manifestly excites that “work of the flesh” called “emulation”, and hence that mechanical operation, imitative (though

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from New Jersey. As Harris’s remarks seem to indicate, Patterson must have reached Cincinnati earlier than the date stated by Ford, which is probably the date of Patterson’s induction, the few months intervening being either a time of probation or a time of some disruption in the Cincinnati Baptist Church.

<sup>686</sup> The person referred to here by Harris was most probably Jeremiah Vardeman (1775-1842), a Baptist revivalist preacher from Kentucky.

<sup>687</sup> Similar events must have been staged in Cincinnati in the following year, as an example of the proceedings was described by Frances Trollope (*DMA*, pp. 70-75), who interestingly concluded that the revivals were in some sense an unconscious substitute for the lack of theatrical entertainment in the city, which chimes well with Harris’s comparison of them to ‘some people’s dancing when they hear a merry jig played on a fiddle’. Trollope’s description of a camp meeting in Indiana in 1829 (*DMA*, pp. 129-136) is similarly worthy of attention as a contemporary witness to the sort of wild revivalism that likewise struck Harris with horror and distaste.

<sup>688</sup> On the divisions, separations, and dissolutions of the Baptist companies in Cincinnati in the early nineteenth century, see Ford, *HCO*, pp. 158 f.



clumsily) of the work of the Holy Spirit called a revival. It would grieve you to see and to hear the vain speech and vain self-important air of our popular preachers at our associations, when they present the letters from their respective churches. The crowded state of the houses where our associations are alternately held is too inconvenient for me now, as I feel old age coming upon me very fast, so that I cannot endure the fatigue incident to such meetings. *Our* association<sup>689</sup> was held a fortnight ago within ten miles of Aurora, but I did not attend it on that account. Next year it is appointed to be at about the same distance.<sup>690</sup> I keep myself more at home, and as our Aurora folks manifest an increasing liking to me, I go thither with greater satisfaction than to any other place, and though *I* may not witness the “whitening to the harvest”,<sup>691</sup> yet I am persuaded that upon some souls among us, the light of the morning has already dawned, and is gradually increasing to the perfect day.<sup>692</sup>

Our Sabbath school, under the fostering care of our very valuable brother Honble. J.L. Holman,<sup>693</sup> one of the three supreme judges of Indiana, has been considerably blessed and I trust that the seeds of sound knowledge are sowing into good ground. We have a collection every quarter for a Juvenile Library attached to it, by which means divine truth is taken into families which had been before entirely careless about their souls. Tracts are also appearing among them, and excite some attention. When I was in Cincinnati I possessed [?]<sup>694</sup> myself of a few hundred pages for distribution. Two or three tracts are made out of Adam’s *Private Thoughts*.<sup>695</sup> The great defect in our tracts and small books intended for children is the paper will not [endure?] handling, so that one book will scarcely reach the fourth reader in a legible condition as? it is made of cotton. It is this which makes me desirous of *English* editions. I suffered [my?] beautiful *Russisch und Lateinisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch* to pass away in barter for land and am now with[?] it. I bought a new 8vo one in Cincinnati some time ago, but was glad to part with it again [on?] account. I hinted to brother Hughes that if he had a spare duplicate in his library, I should [like?] it, but as ’tis probable he may not have, which you will know if one does not accomplish [any the?] Reports, &c. which he may forward to you for me soon (I wrote to him last week), you w[ill oblige?] me by enclosing one in good serviceable condition (if in sheep, *with a calf back*). I hope [soon?] to order payment to *your London house*, out of my next draft, February 1830 (the immediate next?) February, the draft for which I issue in December, will occur before it is possible I can hear [from you].? You will observe, I am desirous of a good second-hand copy, but not of a very early date, [since?] the editions during the latter half of the last century are much fuller.

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<sup>689</sup> The Laughery Baptist Association, on which see note 396.

<sup>690</sup> In fact, in 1829 the Laughery Baptist Association met in Aurora in February and the meeting was held again in Aurora on the third Friday of September 1830. Some of the letters written by member churches to the assembled company on the latter occasion do seem to bear out the cause of their inviting the adverse remarks of Harris in this place. (*LBAL*: letters to the September 1830 Association meeting from churches in Brushy Fork, Manchester’s First and Second Baptist Churches, and Bethel, Switzerland County.)

<sup>691</sup> John 4. 35.

<sup>692</sup> Language borrowed from Proverbs 4. 18.

<sup>693</sup> On whom see in the Introduction. Holman held this post from 1816 to 1830.

<sup>694</sup> Some loss to the text at this point and in succeeding lines, where a piece has been torn from the margin of the page.

<sup>695</sup> Harris is possibly referring to *Private thoughts on religion and other subjects connected with it, extracted from the diary of the Rev. T. Adam* (1st edition, 1786). Thomas Adam (1708-1784) was Rector of Wintringham in Lincolnshire and his *Private thoughts* remained in print in Britain and America throughout the nineteenth century.



Whatever you send, either this or anything you favour me with, by writing my name and place (Aurora, Ind[ian]a) you will remove the imputation of its being for sale, and thus avoid the duty on this side. The expense on the last parcel was none to me, excepting from Philadelphia to Aurora, about 2/-<sup>696</sup> for eight hundred miles. It is my hope that whenever you have any pamphlet &c. which can be spared, containing information as to religion, beneficent plans, improvements, and more especially corrections in theological notions, you will make a parcel of it and forward [it?] when convenient to Rathbone & Co., but on no account to make such parcel the vehicle of a letter as to you it will be, *most days*, easy to convey a letter to the ship's bag in Liverpool free, though to me it is always a quarter dollar both to and from the seaboard.

I heard from Susan early in the summer. Her abode is Littletown, near Leeds.<sup>697</sup> Sam[ue]l Brown has called on her, perhaps semi-annually.

Your binder Lloyd would have left his wife in better fashion had he ship[pe]d himself for Cincinnati, where he might soon have been in easy circumstances. I inquired there in vain for a “gradely”<sup>698</sup> bookbinder.

Poor Stock!<sup>699</sup> How long will it be ere the professors<sup>700</sup> of the religion of Jesus will lay hold of that pure religion by the right end, as it is in few words stated, 1

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<sup>696</sup> £0.10 in modern British currency, with an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £5.00/\$7.50 in 2016.

<sup>697</sup> Littletown, like Mill Bridge (see note 597), is one of the settlements constituting Liversedge, to the south-west of Leeds, in West Yorkshire.

<sup>698</sup> A frequently used word in Lancashire dialect indicating general commendation; thus: ‘worthy’, ‘praiseworthy’, ‘excellent’.

<sup>699</sup> Harris alludes to Aaron Stock, a cotton-spinner of Chapel Lane, Wigan, who was a member of St. Paul Independent Church and a stern Calvinist in faith, in the mold of the church's minister Alexander Steill. Stock was admitted and sworn a burgess of Wigan two days later (4th October 1820) than John Brown, the recipient of these letters (BC). Unfortunately, at the domestic level, Aaron Stock seems to have been almost totally bereft of the Christian graces. The story of his brutal treatment of his second wife, Ellen Stock (*née* Weeton) is told in Weeton, *JG*. See especially vol. II, pp. 129-185 (‘Wigan, September 1814-April 1822’). For the sake of some corrections of detail and a more balanced estimate of the importance of her Christian faith in the life of Ellen Stock, this is best read in conjunction with the further researches and presentation published by J. Alan Roby on ‘Ellen Weeton (1776-1849), governess’ in *PF*, issues 20-29 (1998-2001), almost all available at <http://www.wlct.org/heritage-services/past-forward.htm>. Aaron Stock was made bankrupt on the 8th May 1826 (*London gazette*, issue no. 18468 [9th May 1826] pp. 908, 910) and he was admitted into Lancaster Lunatic Asylum in 1828, where he died in 1830 (information supplied by J. Alan Roby). Ellen Stock sought refuge from her bullying husband in her Christian faith, receiving succour from William Marshall, the minister of Wigan's Hope Street Congregational Church, which had earlier seceded from St. Paul Independent Church. While she had been for some years a frequent attender in Hope Chapel and a good friend of William Marshall and his mother-in-law, Mary Marsden, Ellen Stock was formally admitted as a member of Hope Street Congregational Church in Wigan in July 1827 (*HSCMB*).

<sup>700</sup> As elsewhere in these letters, Harris uses the word ‘professors’ not of academic professors, but of those who might merely *profess* faith rather than actually *possess* it. In this he follows the language of the Authorized (or King James) Version of the English Bible, e.g. Titus 1. 16: ‘They profess that they know God; but in works they deny *him*...’ and this usage is the constant theme in W. Secker's seventeenth-century work *The nonsuch professor* (noticed by Harris in Letter 10), e.g. in such remarks contained in that work as the following: ‘The gospel professed, may lift a man *unto* heaven; but it is only the gospel possessed, that brings a man *into* heaven.’ In remarking on the hypocrisy of mere profession of faith without the practice of the Christian graces, Harris all the time seems to be reflecting on the hypocritical conduct of Aaron Stock (even perhaps making a deliberate pun in the phrase ‘stock in trade’) and others like him.

Corinth. iii. 23 and vi. 19, 20? This idea I labour to inform both publicly and from house to house.<sup>701</sup> “Ye are the Lord’s. Your family, property, trade, farm, &c., your strength, skill, time, understanding, affections, &c. – all are the Lord’s, and not your own.”<sup>702</sup> Be diligent to take care of, to improve your Lord’s property, stock in trade, farm, &c. that He might receive His own with usury. Apply the profits, *which are His also*, as He has directed in His word, which reaches to the most trifling acts of the body, as laughing, eating, &c. – so that, as the Lord’s stewards, you have no absolute authority over the most diminutive article of property, as *all* is His. This idea equally forbids *carelessness*, and *anxiety*, as the profit of our labour depends upon our Lord and not upon us. We are to Him, as our hired servant is to us.”

My brother, have you wrought this view into your daily feeling? *Blessed are you, if so* – attentive and diligent, not using a single improper, unsanctioned, *unsanctified* method to promote your Lord’s gains, or profits of your Lord’s business and shop, and taking cheerfully that portion of those gains which He directs in His word, for the well-being and comfort of family and self, adopting on all occasions that occur, David’s language, 1 Chron. xxix. 14.<sup>703</sup>

I met with very few in Cincinnati and still fewer in my immediate vicinity who understand me when discoursing in this style, though I hope one or two are beginning to perceive the truth, but till this be made a mark of the Christian (*is it not an essential mark?*) and enforced, it is not likely that professors<sup>704</sup> will be truly followers of Him who *pleased not himself*,<sup>705</sup> but Him who appointed him. Meditate upon this, my dear brother. If it be a new thought, it will introduce you into the path of *peace*. Urge it upon your fellow travellers. It is not a *worldly* maxim and the world will deride it as the Pharisees, who were covetous, derided the Author of it. But it explains how the *diligent* Christian cannot possibly be a *covetous* man, an idle man, or a spendthrift.

But I must turn over<sup>706</sup> and conclude. Mr. Neville’s half sheet, breathing the most friendly spirit, is before me, and though I have not enough for a separate letter to that estimable man, yet I must request you to tell him that I take his notice of me very kindly and his trouble to detail the account of the benevolent disposition of the Wiganers, which he was instrumental in exciting, for the relief of the poor. The poorest person in Dearborn County would, I ween, have looked very queer at being offered a quart of soup as a gift, though perhaps there is scarcely a town into which he would not enter with his hat on, with, “I guess I’ll eat a bit with you today,” taking a chair, and placing himself at the table, after which probably he would put his hat off and lay it on the bed if within reach, emptying his mouth of tobacco spittle on the floor whether carpeted or not.<sup>707</sup> *Here* is no other notion of the word “charity” than that of supposing every soul will go to heaven at last.

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<sup>701</sup> Language borrowed from Acts 20. 20. What follows, placed in inverted commas by Harris, seems to be an extract from a sermon prepared by himself.

<sup>702</sup> Language borrowed from 1 Corinthians 6. 19.

<sup>703</sup> ‘But who am I, and what is my people, that we should be able to offer so willingly after this sort? for all things come of thee, and of thine own have we given thee.’

<sup>704</sup> See note 700.

<sup>705</sup> Romans 15. 3.

<sup>706</sup> Harris is approaching the foot of the third page of his letter.

<sup>707</sup> The contemporary American habit of tobacco chewing and spitting, even on a carpeted floor, was one of the first ‘horrors’ of American life to be criticized by Frances Trollope. Riding a steam-boat

Robert Owen is perhaps in England now. He threw out a challenge to the Christian ministers in New Orleans to refute his statement that all the religious and political systems in the world are absurd and injurious. They did not notice it, but Alex[ander] Campbell has taken it up and they have agreed to face each other in Cincinnati next April. I hope to be present. The discussion, which will be public, will probably remove the mist from some few deluded ones and perhaps concentrate all that the infidels have insinuated at different times against Christianity. Campbell is considered competent.<sup>708</sup>

I have lamented that Aurora has not been visited by any Public Friend<sup>709</sup> since I have been there, now seven years. When in Cincinnati Jeremiah Hubbard or Hubbell of Carolina<sup>710</sup> was there some days and held meetings in the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist meeting-houses with some acceptance. Perhaps you have heard that an open rupture, even to acts of violence, has taken place among the Friends in this country, perhaps of the same kind which occur[re]d in England some years ago. It will tend, I hope, to the purifying of that highly respectable body from the charge (I have always thought it an unjust one) of Deism, or infidelity.

I have not yet met with any person from White County, Illinois, but shall be glad of an opportunity to learn about Peter Kershaw.<sup>711</sup> Probably you have heard of

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from New Orleans to Memphis in January 1828, she wrote, 'I hardly know any annoyance so deeply repugnant to English feelings, as the incessant, remorseless spitting of Americans,' having just witnessed its effects on the steam-boat's carpet: 'oh! that carpet! I will not, I may not describe its condition; indeed it requires the pen of a Swift to do it justice... I declare, that I would infinitely prefer sharing the apartment of a party of well conditioned pigs...' (*DMA*, p. 35).

<sup>708</sup> This lengthy debate, consisting of 25 addresses by each of the two participants, was published in two volumes under the title *Debate on the evidences of Christianity, containing an examination of "The social system" and of all the systems of scepticism of ancient and modern times, between Robert Owen & Alexander Campbell, reported by Charles H. Simms* (Bethany, Va., printed & published by A. Campbell, 1829); a second edition was published by Robinson & Fairbank at Cincinnati in 1829, while the first British edition was published at London in 1839. For a discussion of the arguments set forth, see E.H. & D.W. Madden, 'The great debate: Alexander Campbell vs. Robert Owen', *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society*, vol. XVIII, no. 3 (Summer, 1982) pp. 207-226. Campbell returned to Cincinnati in 1837, on that occasion to debate with the Irish-born Roman Catholic Bishop John Baptist Purcell. See Fortin, *FA*, pp. 103-106.

<sup>709</sup> By this time in the history of the Society of Friends, the term 'public friend' was used to designate a recognized minister who travelled about, holding meetings in public places in order to instruct the public in Quaker teaching.

<sup>710</sup> Jeremiah Hubbard (1777-1849) was a prominent Orthodox Quaker minister active in North Carolina and Indiana. He was a central evangelical figure in opposing the Hicksite movement (dubbed after the pietistic and anti-slavery Quaker Elias Hicks [1748-1830]) and later separation in 1827-1828, particularly in Ohio Yearly Meeting. Hubbard, who incidentally claimed to be one quarter Cherokee by descent, while generally supporting the anti-slavery movement in America, nevertheless could not foresee the integration of the freed negro slave within American society. See the obituary of Jeremiah Hubbard in *Memorials of deceased friends who were members of Indiana Yearly Meeting* (Cincinnati, 1857) pp. 147-154. In confirmation of Harris's remark here, there is no mention in this volume of any Quaker visiting preacher in Aurora before 1840, when Aurora, along with Lawrenceburg and Cincinnati, were visited by James White (p. 105).

<sup>711</sup> Possibly a mutual acquaintance of Harris and Brown prior to the former's emigration to America. There is record of a John Peter Kershaw (b. 1755), who was married in Manchester Cathedral to Margaret Osswell (or Oswald) and sailed from Liverpool on the *Andrew* (or perhaps *The Andrew's*), arriving in Philadelphia on the 2nd or 3rd July 1818. He is said to have been buried in St. Charles Cemetery, Calvin, White County, Illinois. See <http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/k/a/m/Peter-Kamp/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-0194.html>.

the progress of the Choctaws in civilization, effected by *first* Christianizing them, as well as of the Pawtowattomics.<sup>712</sup> I had acquaintance with one of the former tribe, a fine youth and apparently pious. The Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists are all engaged in seeking the amelioration of these injured people in these western states, while the Friends have a very prominent part in the work chiefly on the eastern side of the mountains.

The plans for retrieving the poor negroes from their degraded state go on, but very slowly in the western slave states. Most of our Baptist churches have a portion of them, as brethren and sisters, and there appears some concern about their eternal state, but I fear that concern does not lead into the most correct road. It is not a *church* concern that all its members be possessed of the word of God, so that the chief means of being acquainted with the divine will is not within the reach of every one. This point I urge upon them most pointedly and many of our Baptist brethren do not like me on account of it. I am as a speckled bird among them.<sup>713</sup> However, I do not, and hope I never shall, flinch.

Pray tell Mr. Alston that I should be ashamed of my long silence towards him, had he not once or twice set me the example. To him, y[ou]r family, and all friends our (son's & mine) best and friendly regards. Brother, my years and decaying strength remind me that our correspondence must be a little closer together. My intent is not to allow one month to pass between receipt of your next and its acknowledgement. May true peace prevail among and in you all.

Yours in all Christian affection, Sam[ue]l Harris

Octr. 1st, 1828

Is James Latham still among you?

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Further information relates that Peter and Margaret Kershaw settled on French Creek Prairie near what is now Grayville, Illinois and that land was purchased in Edwards County as early as April of 1819. Peter is thought to have died before 1821 (<http://genforum.genealogy.com/il/edwards/messages/73.html>). The Peter Kershaw, who worked as an attorney and is recorded as having acted as administrator of the wills of three people in White County, Illinois in the years 1846 and 1847 (see <http://white.illinoisgenweb.org/probates4347.html>), was probably the son of John Peter Kershaw. A copy of the passenger manifest listing the members of the Kershaw family who travelled (steerage) from Liverpool in 1818 has been posted at <http://boards.ancestry.co.uk/thread.aspx?mv=flat&m=4464&p=localities.northam.usa.states.illinois.counties.white> and they comprise the following, with their ages: Peter Kershaw (63), Margaret Kershaw (61), Margaret Kershaw jun. (26), Peter Kershaw jun. (21), May Kershaw (20), Charles Kershaw (19), and Edward Kershaw (17). The same website gives additional information, provided by a descendant, who states that Margaret Kershaw was buried in Calvin, Illinois, but 'Peter's final resting place is unknown. Family lore has claimed that he drowned in the Big Wabash River within a year or two of emigrating from England,' in which case news of his demise would have been long overdue for Harris.

<sup>712</sup> Today commonly referred to as the Potawatomi, originally dwellers in the Great Lakes region, who migrated into what was to become Indiana in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries. The Ojibwe, Ottawa, and Potawatomi tribes belong to a traditional alliance known as the Council of Three Fires, who clashed frequently with the Iroquois Confederacy. During the War of 1812-15, the Potawatomi tribe supported the Shawnee leaders Tecumseh and his brother Tenskwatawa 'the Prophet', who were fighting on the British side. The defeat of this pan-Indian alliance entailed the relocation of the Potawatomi tribe to Iowa, Kansas, and Oklahoma, some peaceably by treaty, others on forced marches at gunpoint, though some groups of Potawatomi Indians managed to remain in the Great Lakes region by fleeing into Canada, finding refuge with their Ojibwe allies, or negotiating with their white neighbours. See <http://www.native-languages.org/potawatomi.htm>.

<sup>713</sup> Jeremiah 12. 9.

## Letter 9: 6th-22nd February 1829

Petersburgh, Boone County, Kentucky  
6 Feb. 1829

[Addressed to 'Mr. John Brown, Bookseller, Wigan, Lancashire, Old Engl[an]d'; inscribed 'Petersburgh Ky Feb 26th', 'single sheet only, Post paid to New York, 25', 'P[er] first Packet to Liverpool'; with postal marking '1/2'; stamped 'LIVERPOOL SHIP LETTER'; and with black wax seal of 'S.H.']

My dear sir & brother,

My memorandum book reminds me that presently after I had deposited mine to you last October 2nd, my nephew brought to me from Aurora your rich treat bearing date from Aug. 8 1827 to July 30 '28. Nephew on his return from my cottage (about a mile behind Petersburgh) through the town called at the p[ost] office and acknowledged its arrival on the back of my letter.

It was my intention to write a second time immediately on receipt of yours, after communicating the information it contained to my son & daughter,<sup>714</sup> and had put it carefully (by for that purpose) to bring it over to my hermitage, but had been so over-careful, that I could not find it till about a week ago, though had often rummaged my desk and drawers for it.

Mrs. Wadsworth has furnished us, in a box to her daughter, with several Manchester & Liverpool papers, not exactly in series. However, they give us some local news, which is interesting to us. They reach down to last July, of course not so late as your epistle. My last acknowledged receipt of the parcel you indulged me with. Though I could not then (till receipt of yours) ascertain exactly what were your presents and what from Mr. Hughes, they were all very acceptable. Those for the child are still in very good order and clean, though she frequently uses them while her parents or I are by. I am much pleased with the Grammar. I mentioned to you my want of a quarto Latin Dictionary, though at that time I was not aware that it is in my power at any time to direct the payment of any sum which may require at *any time* through my friend Sharp of Philadelphia to your house in *London*. His Liverpool correspondent is "Rathbone, Brothers & Co." or "Rathbone & Brothers", I forget which. Mr. Sharp tells me that any parcel deposited with them for me, under cover to him, will come on regularly. I have not anything to add to my last about books. My Wicliff's Testament is gone, though [I] was lothe [*sic*] to part with it.

My employment each morning now has been to copy upon a bordered card a section of the 119th Psalm for a young serious girl of my acquaintance. I require her to commit it to memory and repeat to me, together with her thoughts upon a verse or two at a time. It has occur[re]d to me that it might be a safe speculation to print that Psalm in this way upon embossed or otherwise ornamented cards, heading each with the Hebrew character (as well as its sound, as in our Bibles). Each verse consists, with very few exceptions, of two distinct sentences. Each sentence I make a separate line, two lines to each verse. A fine type, and the cards tastefully ornated [*sic*], might

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<sup>714</sup> That is, his daughter-in-law Catalina Harris. His daughter Susanna was in England at this time.

form such a present as many a grandfather like myself would gladly purchase for his young favourites. As our young ladies carry their pockets dangling on the wrist or elbow, we cannot now give them *pocket Bibles*,<sup>715</sup> but one of these cards will easily lie for a week in their souvenirs, when, having memorized it, they can replace it with another. It may be considered an improvement upon the plan adopted forty years ago by Houlston & Son.<sup>716</sup> Perhaps, if I saw the *gold printing*,<sup>717</sup> I might recommend some to be worked off in that manner.

Mrs. Wadsworth intimates the probability of James Latham's return to this country in the ensuing spring with a wife. We all shall be very glad to see him and, notwithstanding Mr. Parkinson's and others' conjectures to the contrary, *we all* think he will act *very wisely* in coming. I look with great regret towards Old England, to think of the multitudes there who have had no hand in bringing upon it its present and increasing miseries and yet willfully remain to partake of those miseries. While enjoying my snug log hut with a comfortable fire before me and a comfortable bed at my back, my books on each side, the sheep bleating, hogs grunting, geese cackling, fowls crowing, cattle lowing, children in the court playing, and all things comfortable about me, just money enough to pay postages and ferriage, and not wanting more, why should I not be pleased with my own personal condition? With what money I have to spare, my children's comforts are increased, and I have the satisfaction of seeing them industrious and struggling to get forward with the certainty (as far as that word may be used in this uncertain world) of success. We have not any pressure upon us from without, either church, king, parish rates, or contributions to relieve a perishing population, to cramp or keep us down.<sup>718</sup>

William and Catalina<sup>719</sup> now look back upon the first half year they spent in their new habitation, when they were inexperienced and suffering the consequences of not asking advice. They can easily suppose the heavy pressures which would have trodden them down under similar circumstances in the "sea-girt isle"<sup>720</sup>, in any part of it, and they bless God for having fixed their lot where they are. I have never heard either of them give the least hint of regret at having left England, or the *Atlantic States*.

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<sup>715</sup> The old style of pockets, worn underneath ladies' petticoats, began to be replaced by 'proto-handbag- (Amer. purse-)style' pockets in the 1790s. See the Victoria and Albert Museum's useful history of pockets at <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/a/history-of-pockets>. Harris's reasoning seems to be that a Bible would be too heavy an item to place in a pocket that is dangled from the wrist rather than in one that is an integral part of a lady's attire.

<sup>716</sup> Frances Houlston and Son was a British printing and publishing firm located in Wellington, Shropshire. Frances was the widow of Edward Houlston, who became Wellington's first bookseller, in 1779, laying the foundations for a business that became one of England's largest provincial printing houses. After his death, the firm continued trading under the name of his widow Frances and son Edward, and began publishing from its Market Square premises in 1804, specializing in religious and educational material. As the company grew, Edward Houlston opened a London branch of the business, transferring much of its trade to the capital. The firm ceased publishing in Wellington after his death in 1840 and its local premises were eventually given up around ten years later.

<sup>717</sup> Harris had previously queried this printing technique. See the reference to the printers Wightman and Cramp in Letter 8.

<sup>718</sup> These were some of the impositions felt by the British population to be irksome at the time and it may seem surprising to find a Christian minister feeling relief for the poor to be a cramping affair, but perhaps the governing phrase here is 'pressure upon us from without', to attend to these matters.

<sup>719</sup> That is, Harris's son and daughter-in-law.

<sup>720</sup> The phrase, from P.B. Shelley's 'On death', came to be used as a metaphor of Britain.

Yet we meet with some inconveniencies. Our mail arrives and departs only once a week. Malt liquor is not easily obtained, and William often wishes for a draught after he has been plowing, digging, or cutting wood. As for myself, I miss my skillful bookbinder. But these are our greatest troubles (I mean such as are peculiar to our present situation) and these are so abundantly counterbalanced by such heaps of counter-advantages, that I am persuaded that neither of us would willingly return, even though we could live as well among you as we do here. The surrounding distress, which we could not relieve and which the natives here *cannot* realize any idea of, would embitter every moment of our existence.

We have now in Aurora a comfortable meeting-house. For this we are indebted under the Head of the church to our worthy brother Hughes<sup>721</sup> and those kind friends to whom he made known my statement of our circumstances. I find much greater encouragement in addressing the people there now, than I used to do a few years ago.

The Methodists have been endeavouring this winter to produce an excitement (which is commonly termed a *revival* in this country) in Aurora, but, *I hope*, without much effect. Do not stare at me, my brother, on account of this expression. Most *good things* have their counterfeits and it grieves me to be obliged to state that every account which our religious papers blazon forth of revivals, and which is copied into yours and noticed at your public meetings, is not [to] be fully relied on as genuine and as a really religious work. This is a very delicate matter even to speak of, much more to write about. Perhaps it may be safe for me to let it alone. However, as *I think it very probable* that you and many others will ere long think it advisable to domesticate yourselves in this part of the world, it is proper that you be cautioned against expecting to find the great majority of the inhabitants saints. My persuasion is that the proportion of *good* members of society is much greater here than with you, but those are called Christians here which most of your churches would reject. I am frequently told that my method of questioning candidates for admission, if generally adopted, would keep out a large majority of those who have been received during the last five or six years in this western country. A few days ago, I copied out the eight particulars of Doddridge's first sermon on regeneration<sup>722</sup> and handed it to an old member of one of our churches, who is well acquainted with the societies in this state. He considered the paper very attentively and said that were all the churches to be tried by that list, he did not believe that more than one in ten would prove *sound*, and in this estimate he would not include the shoals which had been brought in during the last year, as then the average might possibly be still smaller. "But (says he) I hope we are not all rubbish." We have some pious folks with whom it is pleasant to associate,

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<sup>721</sup> Later in his life Joseph Hughes made a solemn decision, privately inscribed and signed in his own hand, to donate all his salary paid by the British and Foreign Bible Society 'to the relief of such private cases and the support of such public institutions as shall appear most deserving of my attention and encouragement.' Many were the recipients of his benefactions, but, as his biographer commented, 'The extent of his bounty, as his ability increased through the kindness of his friends and his own savings, will never be known', unless of course some old letter such as this written by Harris reveals the old secret, since Hughes took seriously the command of Jesus never to publicize his well-doing, indeed not to let the left hand know what the right hand was doing when giving aid. See Leifchild, *MJH*, pp. 276-280.

<sup>722</sup> Harris's reference is probably to Philip Doddridge's *Practical discourses on regeneration, in ten sermons* (1741), the second and third of which were entitled 'The nature of regeneration'.



and on the score of religious society I have no cause to wish myself elsewhere. I trust you will carefully notice my remark that censure is only intended for the manifestly *counterfeits*. There have been without doubt some remarkable and genuine operations of divine grace in some parts of this Union, which I trust will continue.

I have lately had the loan of the three first volumes of Horne's Introduction, 4 vols., 8vo. The work seems to be compiled with considerable judgement and is probably esteemed as very useful. How far he is correct in general I am not capable of deciding, but must confess that in one or two instances he seems to be a rather loose theologian. I am much pleased with the first volume. Another edition in two volumes, double columns is advertised here, with improvements.<sup>723</sup> A Manchester paper tells me of Henry's Exposition in 3 vols., 8[vo].<sup>724</sup> This might easily be done, provided the text [of the Bible] be omitted; but if not, I should fear the type is too fine for those eyes that are most engaged over that work. I have lately borrowed Macknight's Epistles, 6 vols., 8vo, Boston,<sup>725</sup> but do not think my patience, tough as it is, will hold out with him. What wretched theology! My acquaintance with the Greek is too superficial to enable me to criticize his criticisms, but I strongly suspect he has taken some unwarrantable liberties with Paul's words, to wrest them into his own system. In one or two instances, he and my lexicons are strangely at variance. I have never repented my purchase of Owen on the Hebrews,<sup>726</sup> though I fear to rely on his criticisms implicitly. His theology suits me better than that of any other author I have met with.

Feb. 12th. Probably the frost has injured my ink.<sup>727</sup> We have had rather mild frosts till within these two days. The thermometer outside of my window facing due north last month averaged 26° at 7 a.m., once it was 8°, once 10°, once 15°, once 17° – again 44°, 46°, 50°, 51° the other morning ranging from 26° to 36°. This month on the 9th it was 7° and this morning at 1°.<sup>728</sup> But though it be this outside, I manage to cover myself up warm at night and keep up a good fire all day, so that I feel the effects of the weather very little. While I was putting a thick quilt additional on my bed last night and covering up my fire with ashes, Dr. Watts's song "Whene'er I take

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<sup>723</sup> Joanna Hawke has written of this monumental work by Thomas Hartwell Horne (1780–1862) as follows: 'In 1818 Horne published the first edition of *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures* (3 vols., 1818; 4 vols., 1821). The research for this substantial work, which provided a mine of bibliographical information, had taken him from 1801 to 1812, and the writing took a further five years. It rapidly became the standard textbook for the study of the scriptures in all English-speaking Anglican colleges and universities and underwent several editions in the 1820s, and further editions later. It was a popular work also in the United States of America. While it was clearly the work of an orthodox scholar, he recognized the difficulties presented by a plain reading of the text. Although Horne sought to deal with these by correcting the traditional text in order to restore unity, for example by rearranging the order, his study acknowledged issues of a critical nature and the focuses of source criticism.' (ODNB.)

<sup>724</sup> See note 455.

<sup>725</sup> *A new literal translation from the original Greek of all the Apostolic Epistles, with a commentary and notes, philological, critical, explanatory, and practical* by the Church of Scotland minister James Macknight (1721-1800) was first published, in 4 volumes, in 1794. An edition in 6 volumes was published in Boston in 1810.

<sup>726</sup> See note 448.

<sup>727</sup> The writing is a little fainter at this point in Harris's letter.

<sup>728</sup> The Fahrenheit temperature readings cited by Harris may be rendered as the following approximate equivalents on the Celsius scale: 26=-3.3, 8=-13.3, 10=-12.2, 15=-9.4, 17=-8.3, 44=6.6, 46=7.7, 50=10, 51=10.6, 26=-3.3, 36=2.2, 7=-13.9, 1=-17.2.

my walks abroad”<sup>729</sup> came to my mind and I felt thankful to Him “who has dandled me” (to use a favourite expression of one of our pious homespun backwoods preachers)<sup>730</sup> thus in the lap of His Providence from my infancy, and has carried me even [to] hoary age through all the vicissitudes of life without ever suffering me to want any good thing. My teeth are going very fast and my diet is chiefly soft food, not requiring mastication. This I am sure to find at every table and if not, ’tis easily and cheerfully provided for me. Very seldom have I any bodily pain, but my animal frame is very perceptibly growing feeble and my eyes will not hold out all the day without resting at intervals from reading or writing. In all other respects I might forget my near approach to the termination of my sixty-second year.<sup>731</sup> The days glide on very rapidly and I find it very advantageous to “keep their end in sight”.<sup>732</sup>

About sixty or seventy yards in front of my window is deposited under an apple tree the corpse of a very interesting young gentleman, of a family once of note in Staffordshire, who came into these parts about three years ago, with very little notion of religion, it not having formed the least part of his education. When I first saw him about eight or nine miles from where I now am, he was just relinquishing a school, to engage in a planter’s family as private tutor. We were introduced to each other, but did not form any acquaintance, not finding that our respective circle of society *touched*. Eight or nine months afterwards, he accosted me as I left the pulpit in a distant neighbourhood, telling me that hearing I was to be there, he had come on purpose to have my opinion on some points. Shortly after we first met, he joined the Methodists, but as he proceeded in the study of the Bible, he became dissatisfied with their doctrines. I took him to the gentleman’s house where I was quartered<sup>733</sup> and we spent the remainder of the day in close intercourse, he proposing questions and writing in shorthand my answers. A few weeks afterwards, I was informed that Dr. Peake (he had been brought up as surgeon and apothecary in Westminster) had left the Methodists and that they accused me, as drawing him off from them. This accusation was however soon dropped. H. Peake<sup>734</sup> now generally accompanied me over to Aurora and at last proposed to join our little church, and did so in August last, when he left Washington, where he was employed as stenographer by a very respectable printing house, in Congress. He laboured under dyspepsia, which continued with more or less violence till at length, with other additional complaints, he sunk last December, to my great loss, as a companion and brother.<sup>735</sup> One of his brothers, Richard B. Peake, writes melodramas for one of the London theatres.<sup>736</sup> I

<sup>729</sup> The opening line of a hymn from Isaac Watts’s *Divine and moral songs*, in which the singer rejoices in God’s gifts to him of food, clothing, shelter, and moral instruction.

<sup>730</sup> Borrowed from Isaiah 66. 11.

<sup>731</sup> The 17th April 1829 would mark the anniversary of which Harris writes. See note 12.

<sup>732</sup> Yet again Harris quotes from a hymn of Isaac Watts, the hymn commencing ‘Lord, what a feeble piece / Is this our mortal frame’.

<sup>733</sup> I.e. the home of Reuben Graves, Harris’s host on the Kentucky side of the Ohio River. See note 593.

<sup>734</sup> Harry Peake (born 7th January 1799) is listed among the children of Richard Peake (1757-1829) and Anne [*sic*, cf. note following] Downs (1771-1818), the other children being Richard Brinsley (referred to below), Charles, Anna, John Hosendon, William (see also note 739), and Julia. See [http://www.natgould.org/richard\\_peake\\_1757-1829](http://www.natgould.org/richard_peake_1757-1829).

<sup>735</sup> Harry Peake died on the homestead of Reuben Graves on Saturday the 13th December 1828, whereupon Graves wrote to Harris in Aurora requesting him to come over and deliver a funeral discourse for Peake. See Letter Add.2 in Appendix I.

<sup>736</sup> Richard Brinsley Peake (1792-1847) was the eldest son of Richard Peake, a native of Staffordshire, and his wife, Ann. His father was under-treasurer and (from 1811 to 1815) treasurer of Drury Lane

understand that the father was what is called a country squire somewhere near Wolverhampton many years ago and was instrumental in bringing R.B. Sheridan into the House,<sup>737</sup> either for the county or, what is more probable, for some open borough in it. He spent all his money<sup>738</sup> and was afterwards introduced into some office under the Whig government. My friend and brother, when at his apprenticeship, went as surgeon on board a Greenland ship and was near Spitzbergen several days. [He] afterwards spent a year in Trinidad, then in Washington, and now in his thirtyeth [*sic*] year, rests from his labours in this distant and obscure nook of the world.<sup>739</sup>

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Theatre when under the management of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, who became the elder Peake's confidential friend and boon companion, acting as godfather to the younger Peake and bestowing on him his middle name. Richard Brinsley Peake was thus steeped in the theatre from his infancy and is said to have acted as the proprietor of the Lyceum Theatre (also known as the English Opera House) almost in the same capacity as his father had done at Drury Lane Theatre under Sheridan, but to his managerial talents R.B. Peake added those of 'a most witty and agreeable writer', providing abundant dramatic material for the celebrated comic actor Charles Mathews, who referred to him as 'my oracle, Peake'. In his lifetime he published many farces and melodramas, as well as *Memoirs of the Colman family* (1841), containing memoirs of the English dramatist George Colman the elder (1732-1804) and his son, George Colman the younger (1762-1836). The destruction by fire in 1830 of the English Opera House left R.B. Peake bereft of his savings and thereafter he lived solely from the products of his pen. His unexpected death, aged 55, on the 4th October 1847 left his widow and four dependent children bereft of support and in embarrassed circumstances, which were relieved by the launch of a public subscription, supported by Charles Dickens among others, and a benefit performance intended to alleviate the immediate financial difficulties met with by Peake's family. (*ODNB*; obituary in *The Caledonian mercury, Edinburgh*, 11th October 1847; *Memoirs of Charles Mathews, comedian*, vol. IV [London, 1839] pp. 117, 176, 460-466, 475, 477, 516 f., 539, 573, 588, 602.)

<sup>737</sup> That is, assisting Sheridan in his election as a Member of Parliament, probably as member for Stafford in 1780.

<sup>738</sup> It seems that R.B. Sheridan's election success depended on his purchasing the votes of the burgesses at a personal outlay in excess of £1000, a fund which he probably raised mainly by borrowing against his share in Drury Lane Theatre. (*ODNB*.)

<sup>739</sup> At some later date the mortal remains of Harry Peake must have been removed for reburial in the Grant-Willis Cemetery located at McVile, near to Bellevue, a few miles south of Petersburg in Boone County, Kentucky. Jessica Vaughan of Boone County Public Library has kindly supplied a transcript of his will. It was in nuncupative form (i.e. given orally, not written), expressed before a solitary witness on the 12th December 1828, the day before Peake's death, and was proven in Boone County Court in April 1829. Its contents are worth including in this place, as it testifies to the cultured habits of Harry Peake and of the use to which his legacy might have been put. 'This is to certify that on the 13th of the present month, viz. on Saturday last, Harry Peake a native of Great Britain but for the past two years & a half a resident of Boone County, Ky. departed this life at our house. Previously on the evening of the 12th being perfectly in his senses which was the case, during the whole of his illness, he made the following disclosure of his wishes to me. There being no other person present. That is to say, It is my wish that William Peake my youngest brother should have the money which I expect to be sent on from England and likewise all the monies and property that I may or shall be entitled to in England. To him and his heirs forever. He further stated as being his wish that Benjamin G. Willis, Jun., son of Benjamin G. Willis of Boone County, Ky., should have his watch & seal, likewise his Music Books his musical instruments also his Books of every description. These were his wishes as well as I can recall. [Signed:] Agness [*sic*] Flournoy.' (Boone County, Will Book B, p. 396, 17th December 1828.) The legatee mentioned in this will, Benjamin Grant Willis (b. 1823) is said to have 'entered Indiana University, at Bloomington, at the age of ten, and with wonderful success pursued a thorough classical and scientific course of study, for three years. He then returned to his home, in Boone County, and, after spending two or three years in rest, and work on the farm, in 1839, he entered Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio. In 1840, he... began the study of the law under James M. Preston, of Burlington. In 1842, he was examined by Judge Henry O. Brown, and John J. Marshall, and admitted to the bar,' after which he pursued a successful career in the legal profession. (*Kentucky biographical encyclopedia*, pp. 417 f., cited in <http://www.heyucz.net/TNG/famtree/getperson.php?personID=I67304&tree=HEYCUZ>.) It thus seems likely that Harry Peake had recognized the precocious intellectual abilities of Benjamin G. Willis in

A map of the world hangs over my fireplace and furnishes me with many a moralizing fit. What a minute portion of the universe is it! Yet how vast and important the affairs that have been transacted on it! But it won't do to make you (and myself too) pay for what you have repeated in the tenants of your shelves, a hundredfold better and a hundred times over.

Mr. Skirrow sent me in parcel from you five or six years ago Peter Watson's Report of proceedings against him for Easter offerings.<sup>740</sup> How did that matter end? Did the cob defeat the priest?<sup>741</sup>

I notice your remark upon the feverish state in which this whole Union was held by our late Presidential question.<sup>742</sup> What was your particular feeling when you described these States as "*That Land of Perfection!*" I know not. However, much as we all lament and have lamented the scurrility and personal abuse which our ephemeral newspapers abounded with, yet I must say that the whole of real violence

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infancy and that the latter no doubt profited much from the library bequeathed to him by the deceased immigrant. Interesting also is the name of the witness to Peake's will, since Benjamin G. Willis's elder sister (27th November 1814-27th April 1830) was named Agnes Flournoy Willis (see <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=mwballard&id=I375>). In view of all this it becomes evident why Peake's mortal remains were duly reburied in the Grant-Willis Cemetery.

<sup>740</sup> Harris seems to refer to the *Report of trial in the Consistory Court at Durham, in a cause of substraction of Easter offerings: plaintiff, W. Nesfield, clerk; defendant, Peter Watson, cordwainer* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1822). 'Peter Watson lived in Chester-le-Street, County Durham... and was a shoemaker by trade... For centuries, the Government Clergy (i.e. Rector, vicar, or perpetual curate etc.) had the right to collect from each household in a Parish, "Easter Dues"... Peter Watson objected to this compulsory payment reasoning that "the claims were founded neither in the law or in the gospels", and was duly summons[ed] (and jailed for a short time for non-payment) before the court judged that the collection of these [dues] under the Acts of William III [was] illegal, ruling that "This act, or anything herein contained, shall not extend to any tythes, offerings, payments or oblations... within any city or town where the same are settled by Act of Parliament". It is therefore the British public who are indebted to him for the removal of this "odious, unjust and oppressive clerical tax".' The principled heroism of Peter Watson was commemorated in Northumbrian folksong, being 'mentioned on page 133 by W & T Fordyce (publishers) in *The Tyne Songster* published in 1840, in the song "To Mr. Peter Watson-(Who lays powerful bats on the knaves with fire-shovel hats on)", written by Henry Robson in Watson's honour.' (*Wikipedia*.) The text of the song and a note on Watson's deed may be found at: [http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=-MIUAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA132&source=gbs\\_toc\\_r&cad=4#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=-MIUAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA132&source=gbs_toc_r&cad=4#v=onepage&q&f=false).

<sup>741</sup> In note 381 we have previously remarked on the publication referred to by Harris under the title 'The Cob of all Cobs' and linked by him with James Skirrow. Here too 'Skirrow' and 'cob' are linked in Harris's thoughts. It is an intriguing fact that on the same pages of *The Liverpool mercury* on which 'The Cob of all Cobs' articles were published, reports were also printed of funds raised to assist Peter Watson in fighting his case against the imposition of 'Easter Dues' in the Durham court. It seems possible that over time this might have led Harris to some forgetfulness and failure to distinguish between the two old causes of contention.

<sup>742</sup> The US presidential election of 1828, fought between the incumbent John Quincy Adams and his challenger Andrew Jackson (who both incidentally were born in the same year as Samuel Harris – 1767), has gone down in history as one of the dirtiest contests ever, one in which wild, scurrilous accusations were flung by one party against the other. Ultimately, Jackson won through the strength of the popular vote, but it proved to be a Pyrrhic victory as his wife Rachel was struck down by a heart attack on the eve of his inauguration, for which Jackson would always lay the blame at the door of his political enemies. Voyaging up the Ohio River in January 1829 Jackson sailed by Aurora and Petersburg, calling in at Cincinnati, before proceeding on his way from his home near Nashville, Tennessee to take up office as President in Washington City. Either Harris was unaware of the passing of the President's flotilla of three steamboats, or he chose not to mention it in his correspondence with John Brown.

which was acted from first to last over our millions of square miles during this important contest, was scarcely equal to what took place in your little town in one day at the election in 1816.<sup>743</sup> John Bull,<sup>744</sup> after a few months' or years' residence here, becomes harmless at home, though as capable of defending himself as ever, perhaps more so, *as was tried some years ago*.<sup>745</sup> In fact, the population here, with a very trifling exception, is more real John Bull than you can be aware of. Here he holds up his head without fear. If it suits him to make his tallow into candles, he has no dread of an Exchequer writ.<sup>746</sup> Though he may not have a dollar in his pocket, he cares not. His pork, hams, bacon in plenty is in his house and he has not the least suspicion of going without a meal, unless he lose himself in the woods during a ramble, as I have sometimes done. He does not look about him with terror, lest he be seen catching a rabbit or partridge, or shooting a deer or turkey. Should [he] be inclined to hold a religious meeting anywhere, in the woods or in a dwelling house, he is not obliged first to license either the place or himself, to protect himself either from the law or from a lawless mob. The one always protects him here and, as for the other, I have neither witnessed nor heard of anything bordering upon insult towards either company or individual on account of religion in this country. We have a much smaller proportion of the real blackguard than you have, and the majority of those few are

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<sup>743</sup> Harris's allusion remains obscure, as there were no parliamentary elections in Wigan in 1816. Early nineteenth-century parliamentary elections in Wigan took place in 1802, 1820, and 1825. However, the year 1816 (and 1817) witnessed a campaign which was particularly vigorous in Manchester and other industrial towns of Lancashire, organized by unenfranchised working men in agitation for constitutional reform including a widened suffrage. The public gatherings and demonstrations that were held, with occasional civil disturbances, would issue ultimately in the reform movement's historic landmark event of 1819, the so-called Peterloo Massacre in Manchester. The agitation for reform in Wigan is reflected in one of John Brown's own publications in 1816: *Remarks on the "Address to the spirited promoters of parliamentary reform in Wigan"*, written by 'an Englishman in answer to a friend to the cause' who had published the address referred to in Liverpool in the same year. See Weeton, *JG*, vol. II, pp. 149 f, where scornful comment and the names of the pamphlet writers appear to have been under discussion in a contemporary letter; and see further H.W.C. Davis, 'Lancashire reformers, 1816-17', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. X (1926) pp. 47-79. It remains possible, however, that Harris simply wrote '1816' in error for '1820'. Wigan was such a rotten borough that times of parliamentary elections easily became occasions for angry outbursts from the unenfranchised populace. Thomas Whitehouse, an eye-witness of the disturbances at election time in 1820, penned the following remarks on that occasion: 'The Town of Wigan has during the last week, exhibited a scene of the greatest confusion, the late Member, Sir Robt. Holt Leigh Bart. and John Hodson Esqr. having expressed their determination to resign their seats in parliament, in consequence of which there are three candidates for the Representation of the Borough: Lord Lindsay, Lord Newportn and James Alexander Hodson Esqr., who have each in conjunction with their friends, instituted an active canvas, since which the Town has been completely in an uproar, insomuch that for two days, business was almost at a stand, and nearly all the shops closed. On Monday upwards of 500 men in the employ of the Earl of Balcarres drew Lord Lindsay in his carriage through the principal streets, every man with a ribbon in his hat, and nearly about the same time Lord Newport was drawn into the Town in a similar manner. The crowds of people were immense, whose shouts together with the ringing of Bells and firing of cannon, made the very heavens resound. Every coloured ribbon in the town has been bought up and they have been obliged to send to Warrington for supplies. The next day Tuesday was one continued scene of tumult; after having heartily helped themselves to Free Drinks, the mob began to pelt each other with mud and dirt. Those who sported colours were sure to catch a shower from the opposite party, and when any of the Friends of the different Candidates made their appearance, they rent the air with cheers, hisses, and groans.' (*HTBW*.)

<sup>744</sup> That is, the archetypal Englishman. 'John Bull' was of course also the name of Samuel Harris's grandfather.

<sup>745</sup> Another reference to the Anglo-American War of 1812-15.

<sup>746</sup> In Britain in 1709 a tax was imposed on candles and the populace were only allowed to make their own under license and tax duly paid. This tax remained in force until 1831.

English and low Irish.<sup>747</sup> Now this is not owing to the superior education or more refined notions of morality of these people, for in both these we are certainly much inferior to the southern part of England and do not come up to even some parts of Lancashire (I speak now of these parts which I am acquainted with), but I account for it almost entirely on account of the entire absence of anything like oppression either of taxes, or of assumed authority. The unrestrained intercourse among all sorts annihilates all idea of distinction. The poorest man in Dearborn County would not have the least suspicion that he was taking an improper liberty in going into my brother's (Honble. J.L. Holman's) house at dinner-time, with his hat on and sit down by the fire, till Mrs. H. said, "Come to the table," *which would follow of course*, when without apologizing for appearance, he would help himself as he chose to what was on table. Yet not the least boorishness or awkwardness would appear. Yet this same Holman is the highest law authority in Indiana.<sup>748</sup> Very few natives of this western country can realize Thomson's meaning in the last paragraph of his *Winter*.<sup>749</sup> What oppression is known is in consequence of intemperance. The notice taken of this view among us in our papers might lead you to suppose us what some of our orators have called us, a nation of drunkards, but I am persuaded that there was more intoxication in Wigan in one week on the average during my abode there, than there is in all Indiana in a month. I mentioned taxes. I should also say, the ease with which the poorest man, if he will work, can possess himself of land and a habitation, makes

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<sup>747</sup> Harris's use of the phrase 'low Irish' should not be misunderstood to mean that he held a generally low opinion of all Irish people. We gain light on the expression from his son's earlier comment that among profligate and abandoned persons whom he met during his travels in the USA there were the 'low Irish... [who] are here so termed in distinction from their enlightened countrymen, who, by their talents and industry, acquire considerable property, and are often found in important official situations' (*RTUSA*, 54). Morris Birkbeck had also employed the term in a similar manner since, after describing the success in the New World of a hard-working, prudent, Irish shoemaker, he immediately turned to 'the low Irish, characterized by indolence and whiskey-drinking, rude and abandoned people,' whose manner, however, was mitigated by the fact that, 'like the negro, depressed by early experience of hopelessness, [they] seemed to have given up hope for betterment and settled for virtually the same low position on the moral scale.' (*NJA*, pp. 40 f.) One example of an industrious and prospering Irish immigrant was Mathew Carey, whom Harris had met in Philadelphia (see Letter 1).

<sup>748</sup> On Jesse Lynch Holman, see the Introduction.

<sup>749</sup> In the last paragraph of 'Winter', the fourth and last section of his long poem *The seasons*, James Thomson (1700-1748) had written:

Ye vainly wise! ye blind presumptuous! now,  
 Confounded in the dust, adore that Power  
 And Wisdom oft arraign'd: see now the cause,  
 Why unassuming worth in secret lived,  
 And died neglected: why the good man's share  
 In life was gall and bitterness of soul:  
 Why the lone widow and her orphans pined  
 In starving solitude; while luxury,  
 In palaces, lay straining her low thought,  
 To form unreal wants: why heaven-born truth,  
 And moderation fair, wore the red marks  
 Of superstition's scourge: why licensed pain,  
 That cruel spoiler, that embosom'd foe,  
 Embitter'd all our bliss. Ye good distress'd!  
 Ye noble few, who here unbending stand  
 Beneath life's pressure, yet bear up awhile,  
 And what your bounded view, which only saw  
 A little part, deem'd evil is no more!  
 The storms of wintry time will quickly pass,  
 And one unbounded spring encircle all.

him feel independent; hence their minds are not kept in that state of feverish irritation as with you. We have very little cash stirring, and very little is wanted. Now fancy yourself here upon your land, say 160 acres,<sup>750</sup> for which you gave from three hundred dollars to a thousand, according to the tenement and improvements upon it, with two yoke of oxen, a wagon &c., three or four cows, two or three sows, all which with necessary farming implements might cost you perhaps within four hundred dollars, household furniture two hundred more, here you would be fitted, free from rent, at the very outside, including the first year's maintenance for your whole family, for less than five hundred pounds, while you have leisure to turn around and look about you, without the least fear of any demand for money for tax in any shape worth mentioning. You will observe that our calculations of expense vary exceedingly according to the person *for* whom we make the estimate. I suppose that you, like myself, would *take things easy and quiet* and, if we could, would lie warm in bed the *first* night, as well as succeeding ones. Your animal frame, according to my recollection of it, does best with *moderate work*. This is the case also with your progeny. You would enjoy to see the fat Catalina Wadsworth<sup>751</sup> going over the fence with the bucket in the snow, rain, and mud, to milk her cows, bustling at the washing tub, cooking her three or four, or six different dishes, ironing, cleaning up the house, while William is plowing with his yoke of sturdy oxen, the stoutest and most unmanageable in the neighbourhood, or cleaving wood for fuel, sometimes building a stone wall, a work he is too fond of.

Now such work as this, and all other belonging to a country life, you with your young folks would be strong to do, with the comfortable reflection that the product would not be even tithed, but all at your own disposal. Here we have no C[al]esar to render his own things to,<sup>752</sup> but here we can tell what Paul said, "working with our own hands, that we may have to" ---- pay taxes with? No, but, "give freely to him that needeth."<sup>753</sup> Perhaps I have written all this before. You must bear with me. Your kind and very interesting epistle leads me to it. The hints of a gloomy kind with which it abounds and which my recollection after eight years' absence enables me to realize, forces upon [me] the wish that you were handling the axe and killing your fat hogs instead of sighing over your unsold books and unpaid accounts. Here you may realize the promise "In the sweat of thy *face* thou *shalt eat*"<sup>754</sup> and you will find it abundantly more comfortable for the sweat to be on the face in the day, than for sleep to be kept off by the fever on the brain, or in other words, by perplexities of thought and anxious cares. I certainly do advise that whatever capital an emigrant may have, he will do well to *fund* some of it that the annual interest may supply with little

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<sup>750</sup> See notes 329, 613, & 1057.

<sup>751</sup> This is the way in which Harris refers to his daughter-in-law Catalina Harris, perhaps because he knew that it was under this name that his friend in Wigan would best remember her. The word 'fat' at this time did not necessarily convey the sense 'obese', but rather could be used to describe someone 'in good health', e.g.: 'Charlotte [Bronte] returned to Haworth in mid-October [1839] invigorated by her holiday and "very fat", her usual description for being in good health' (Juliet Barker, *The Brontës* [London, 1994] p. 316). When however the sense of obesity was intended in the use of the adjective, Harris would take care to underline that meaning by enlarging the phrase, e.g. 'fat and plump', applied to his daughter Susanna in Letter 7.

<sup>752</sup> Matthew 22. 17-21.

<sup>753</sup> Ephesians 4. 28; Harris inserts the word 'freely' into the original text, as if to underline the fact of such giving being without legal compulsion.

<sup>754</sup> Genesis 3. 19.



indulgencies, so as to render it unnecessary for him to sell, except when near the large towns, as Cincinnati, Louisville, &c.

I have lately resumed the task of copying out a little old book which you bound for me. I had not touched it since 1811 till last week. I have no idea that it will be printed here, but it would be a very valuable addition to the catalogue of works published by the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge,<sup>755</sup> in which I was very glad to see Practical Contemplat[i]ons.<sup>756</sup> However, I find it very profitable to copy it and it may be of some use when I am gone, to the person into whose hands it may fall. I am not certain whether you perused it. If you did not, pray borrow it of Mr. Steill (you told me that he had a copy); it might be re-written so as to apply to the present day and though the majority (I fear) of professors<sup>757</sup> would *hate* it (they cannot *contemn* it), yet it might be the means of enlightening some. I suspect that it was never intended for the *true* follower of Jesus to be even comfortable (entirely so) here below. This world will be always, as it has ever been, his enemy. If he fancies, or rather experiences it to be otherwise, it betokens something like a conformity to it in him.<sup>758</sup> So far as my observation and experience have been, this has been the case.

The Methodist Episcopal Church is assuming very high (worldly) ground in this country, no less than withdrawing from the American Bible Society altogether and establishing a Bible society of their own.<sup>759</sup> In order to do this, they are printing upon inferior paper and with very indifferent binding, so as to sell on lower terms, though in fact the articles are dearer. They have also seceded from the Sabbath School Union and are indefatigable in endeavouring to get into their own hands the schools which are already formed.<sup>760</sup> They have their own Tract Society<sup>761</sup> and some of the tracts are written in the same calumnious, railing style that much of their preaching (in these parts at least) is formed upon. I observe that this curious church has been quarrelling in your neighbourhood about an organ. Here a formidable division is rising about church government. The laity do not like the tyranny of their circuit preachers.<sup>762</sup>

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<sup>755</sup> On the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor, active from 1750 until the 1920s, see the article by Isabel Rivers in *ODNB*.

<sup>756</sup> Harris possibly refers to the seventeenth-century work by Thomas Sherman: *Divine breathings; or a manual of practical contemplations, in one century, tending to promote gospel-principles, and a good conversation in Christ, comprizing in brief many of those great truths that are to be known and practised by a Christian*.

<sup>757</sup> See note 700.

<sup>758</sup> Alluding to Romans 12. 2: 'Be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind...'

<sup>759</sup> Since 1819, the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC) had its own Missionary and Bible Society, which, to a degree, overlapped with the work of the American Bible Society. It was not until 1839 that the MEC decided to credit the American Bible Society with competence in the Bible distribution aspect of this work and they formally struck the phrase 'and Bible' from the name of their own institution, which would henceforth concentrate on missionary work alone.

<sup>760</sup> Alarm was felt by members of the MEC at the formation of the American Home Mission Society in 1826 (incorporating Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed, Associate Reformed, and Congregationalist interests) and the Society's apparently assuming the status of a semi-national church in America, in this way paralleling the growth of American nationalism in the years immediately following the War of 1812-15. The authority that began to be exerted by the Home Mission Society over the content of books published by the American Sabbath School Union led Methodists to take alarm and seek secession from the Union.

<sup>761</sup> Established in 1817.

<sup>762</sup> Harris is probably reflecting on the rise in 1828 of the Methodist reform movement, which would

The regular Episcopalian Church has also been ill-at-ease for some years, being divided, as with you, into High and Low church, but here it is more formidable, as the High church is not supported by the State. It would not be very surprising if the Methodists and the Presbyterians were to be seen struggling, each against the other, for *union with the civil power* during Jackson's presidency. He is a weak man and easily made a fool of with a little flattery. Nothing but the scarcity of cash among us hinders the virulence of religious contention between these two parties from rising to an alarming height. As it is, their newspapers, especially on the Methodist side, are wretchedly calumniating. I wish our Baptist brethren were more free from this spirit. There is considerable amendment among us and very much remains for amendment. However, you need not fear to come among us on that account. Our little society in Aurora, poor and small as it is, is certainly abundantly more respectable than that in Lord street was when I removed to Wigan in 1805, though much inferior to what it is now.



**Gurney's new steam carriage, from a lithograph published in 1827**

A representation of Gurney's steam coach<sup>763</sup> is in one of the Manchester papers, sent by Mrs. W[adsworth], of December 22, 1827. Perhaps by this time you

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eventually give rise to the organization of the Methodist Protestant Church in 1830. The movement stemmed from dissatisfaction felt by members of the MEC with regard to the increasingly exclusive power of clergy, particularly bishops, and the exclusion of laymen from the councils of the Church, including the Annual (regional) and General (national) Conferences.

<sup>763</sup> In the period 1825–9, Goldsworthy Gurney (1793–1875) designed and built a number of steam-powered road vehicles, among the first produced with the specific intention of establishing a commercially viable steam road transport business: the Gurney Steam Carriage Company. Others too were active in the field but, as time moved on and the railways began to be built, Gurney's efforts to establish a regular road service did not meet with lasting success.

have these pretty things racing up and down Wallgate & Standishgate.<sup>764</sup> Some years must elapse ere we can have them in this western country, as our roads are only cut out, not made, so that they are damaged by every heavy rain. However, our Ohio is beautifully ornamented with steamboats of all sizes, so that up and down the river our accommodations for travelling are fully equal to yours.

Has anyone undertaken to complete or rather to continue Kerr's *Voyages & Travels*?<sup>765</sup> It was the high price of that work, I suppose, which knocked it up. In the style in which printing is done now, I suppose it might be done at half the price, or say seven shillings<sup>766</sup> the volume, in which case it would command a sale. Kerr was certainly not a wise editor. He was fanciful, not judicious, in his emendations. Still 'tis a good work for young people.

The unusual state of things between Russia and Turkey will, when concluded, form as interesting a subject for the historian as any that has occurred since the Crusades.<sup>767</sup> The effects which it and *all connected with it* [will have] on this planet will be astonishing, but chiefly on trade [?] and commerce. Everything not immediately connected with the body and its necessities (I mean these earthly tabernacles) will be entirely upset, and confounded together. Then those will be best off who grow their own provisions [?], clothing, &c. on their own land, who can spin and weave their own cloth, tan their hides, and make their own cloth[ing] [?]<sup>768</sup> Such may look on as unconcerned, though not unfeeling spectators, while the potsher[ds] of the earth are dashed to pieces one against another.<sup>769</sup> Our newspapers tell us a lit[tle] of the distress and forebodings, "hearts failing many for fear",<sup>770</sup> which are among you [?]. We bless our God for His mercy in leading us out of them when He did.

We have not indeed so much polish and varnish as you have, or rather, as those who are in the south of England have (for we are not many years behind Oldham and Saddleworth<sup>771</sup>), but we have a *rough plenty*, and no one can snatch it from us under colour of tithes, church, or poor levys [?]. Here is no one for you to crouch to and no one who will crouch, or take off his hat, to you. We are all upon a good-tempered, easy level. A man will work for you and you may either give him

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<sup>764</sup> Two of the main streets of Wigan. Harris's 'up and down' neatly refers to the two opposing gradients of these two streets, Wallgate rising from Wigan Pier on the River Douglas Navigation section of the Leeds-Liverpool Canal and reaching its highest point at Market Place in Wigan town centre, before the route proceeds downwards again via Standishgate.

<sup>765</sup> Robert Kerr's *General history and collection of voyages and travels... illustrated by maps and charts* was published in 18 volumes between 1811 and 1824. Kerr (1757-1813) only lived long enough to see the first 10 volumes in print and the work was not extended beyond the 18 volumes published down to 1824.

<sup>766</sup> £0.35 in modern British currency, with an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £17/\$26 in 2016.

<sup>767</sup> The Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829 began with the Ottoman Sultan's closing the Dardanelles to Russian shipping, but ended in Russian victory and the passing of some territories in eastern Europe from Ottoman to Russian hands. Caught up in the excitement of the reported conflict, Harris may have overestimated the ultimate consequences of this particular confrontation, though if his phrase 'when concluded' be allowed to extend a further three decades, beyond the Crimean War, there was seemingly a little more substance to his remarks made in this place.

<sup>768</sup> Slight loss to text at this point and in succeeding lines, where the seal has been removed.

<sup>769</sup> Language borrowed from Psalm 2. 9.

<sup>770</sup> Luke 21. 26.

<sup>771</sup> Towns situated to the north-east of Manchester, England, characterized by early industrialism and thus with a more working-class population.

cash or work for him again.<sup>772</sup> William Tell generally does the latter. When I went over<sup>773</sup> one time in January, I found Catalina at a house, helping to make sausages for two days.<sup>774</sup> Her pay was in sausages enough for our eating for four or five days. 'Tis in this very homely [?]<sup>775</sup> way things are managed. Very little money is required. Our tax-gatherer advertised during the last two or three years that he would take hogs (carcasses) at the market price, in lieu of specie for the taxes. He was then connected with a pork merchant. This is a great trade here, for N[ew] Orleans.<sup>776</sup>

I had been confined to this (Kentucky) side of the river since the 4th inst. by frost and snow. We have had more of the latter this season than has been for several years past. This is the 22nd; for three or four mornings past at 6, the thermometer has been below zero, once 8 degr., while at noon it rises to 28° to 33°. The weather is very fine and pleasant, but I do not like to trust myself to cross,<sup>777</sup> as the ice has been floating down in large sheets, and there is no deficiency of good folks near Aurora to speak to the people. Here I am visited sometimes by neighbours, whom I try to communicate some ideas to.

Should you see Mr. Parkinson, tell him he ought to have known me better than to suspect me capable of persisting in a conduct when I know it to be wrong. If I were not *well satisfied* of the wisdom of migrating hitherto, I certainly would not advise you to do it. 'Tis possible I may have opportunity to learn concerning James Hayworth, as an acquaintance goes sometimes to Zanesville.<sup>778</sup> Should James Latham not be gone from Wigan before this reaches you, perhaps he may bring some papers &c., but *not letters*, for me. Should he, on landing, conclude to remain in any of the great cities, where he might get work and do well, pray tell him to hand what he may have for me to Mr. John Sharp Jun., Merchant, Philadelphia; unless he should meet with a safe hand, coming on to Cincinnati, who would take charge of it, to

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<sup>772</sup> Once again Harris seems to overlook the situation of the slave population, but he probably has in mind his immediate locality in south-eastern Indiana, even though he presently resides across the Ohio in (slave-holding) Kentucky.

<sup>773</sup> That is, over the Ohio River, from Petersburg to Aurora.

<sup>774</sup> As Madison observes (*IW*, p. 69), 'Hog butchering usually occurred just before Christmas, with the first cold weather, and was often a cooperative task shared by neighbors.'

<sup>775</sup> If 'homely' is indeed the word written by Harris here, it must bear the common English sense (domestic, familiar, neighbourly), rather than the common American sense (plain, not beautiful, ugly).

<sup>776</sup> The barter system among Indiana pioneers is commented on by Madison (*IW*, p. 87), who notes that the first merchants exchanged store goods for agricultural products 'and thereby became responsible for the transport and sale of Indiana pork, corn, wheat, and a variety of other items to distant markets.'

<sup>777</sup> That is, to cross the Ohio River.

<sup>778</sup> A person by the name of James Hayworth, residing in 2nd ward, Zanesville, Muskingum County, Ohio, then aged 71, is listed in the US Census of 1860. The 1830 Census has him in the age range 40-50, then residing nearby in Salem township, Muskingum. No other family members are listed with him, suggesting that he remained a bachelor. John Brown's apparent query concerning this man may suggest that his origins were in the neighbourhood of Wigan, Lancashire and indeed the 1860 Census does state that his place of birth was England. The reference in the following quotation to his wearing wooden shoes may well indicate that he persisted in wearing the customary Wigan clogs throughout his life in the New World. 'The first school house in this township [i.e. Adams township, Muskingum county, Ohio] stood on land belonging to a man named Minnick, near the site occupied by the town house of to-day... James Hayworth taught the first few terms in this house. He was a friendly old miser, and had considerable property which, when he died, went to the state. Many a nocturnal search, after his death, was made on his farm for his hidden wealth. He wore wooden shoes and lived alone in a rude hill, his habits of life being very simple... He was a curious, clever fellow, a fine scholar and good teacher.' (*Biographical and historical memoirs of Muskingum County, Ohio* [Chicago, 1892] p. 309.)

Muggridge or Deacon Johnson at Andrews and Shays,<sup>779</sup> Trout Street. He knows these persons.

My niece, who visited you, now resides at *Llaugharne*, [sic]<sup>780</sup> Carmarthenshire. But I must shut up. Your letters are always welcome. My very affectionate regards to Mrs. Brown, with proper remembrances to Mr. Alston, Wm. Ellison, &c. &c.

Yours in all esteem

Sam[ue]l Harris

Petersburgh, Boone County, Indiana,<sup>781</sup> 22nd Feby. 1829

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<sup>779</sup> The business of Dudley A. Andrews and John S. Shays, pork merchants and grocers, on Front Street, is listed in *The Cincinnati directory for the year 1829*, p. 12. This was clearly one of the businesses which in the nineteenth century earned for Cincinnati the nickname Porkopolis.

<sup>780</sup> The correct spelling is with one *l*, thus: Laugharne. The writing is uncertain and Harris might, in fact, have written 'Llangharne' (which did not exist), perhaps misreading an address supplied to him, under attraction of the common Welsh place name prefix Llan- (= 'Saint'). The most likely explanation for Sarah Ann's visiting this village on the coast of Carmarthenshire, Wales is that she was staying with her sister Martha (1792-1861), who, on the 27th May 1816, had married Samuel Walcott (1793-1846), who in the 1830s had a tea-dealing and grocery business in Merthyr Tydfil (in 1839 he advertised for a Welsh-speaking grocery assistant). The first child of the couple was William Ray Walcott (1820-1894), who was born in Llansteffan, a village situated slightly over three miles to the east of Laugharne, taking the ferry across the River Towi (Afon Tywi). Samuel Walcott, who was oddly named Jallel Walcott (perhaps a transcriptional error from an older document) in Tuckett, *Mem.*, p. 13, was born at Greenwich, the son of Dorothy Mary (*née* Lyons) and John Walcott (1754/5-1831) of Highnam Court, Gloucester, whose family came from Ireland and were probably very wealthy. In 1788 John Walcott had published *Flora britannica indigena: or plates of the indigenous plants of Great Britain*. Samuel and Martha's son William Ray Walcott joined the Royal Marines at Woolwich in 1841, but was discharged, invalided, in the same year (<http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/SearchUI/browse/C10047988?v=h>). On the family of Martha Harris and Samuel Walcott, see <http://lyons.familytreeguide.com/getperson.php?personID=IND01505&tree=T1&PHPSESSID=83d5b33ef52428c03572c61f720911d2>, where the birthplace of William Ray Walcott is entered as Limerick, Ireland. We do not know why Martha and Samuel were living in Laugharne at this time, but they later removed to Plymouth. Sarah Ann's niece Sarah Ellen Tuckett related the following concerning the Walcotts' later fortunes: 'While in Plymouth my Uncle Walcott, who had never done anything, had long talks with my father [Philip Debell Tuckett], and the chief part of his money being in Chancery, he resolved to go into business, and opened a shop in Merthyr Tydvil [sic], in South Wales, removing his family (consisting of one son and four daughters) from a fashionable naval seaport – their cousin, Sir Colin Campbell, afterwards Lord Lyons, and others visiting them - to live amongst people who were rougher and more uncivilised than any people you have ever known. It was a grievous mistake. He stayed there a few years, and then wearied and having sunk money, he left it, and removed to the neighbourhood of Bristol, where he lived until his death; my Uncle, Aunt; Cousins Mary and Susie dying within a few years. He was, I think, a good man, but naturally *very* proud, and the anxieties he went thro' greatly tried him.' (Tuckett, *Mem.*, p. 22. The above reminiscence possibly confuses two eminent military figures of the nineteenth century: [1] Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde [1792-1863] and [2] Vice-Admiral Edmund Lyons [1790-1858].) Sarah Ann's visit to the Walcott family was quite possibly part of an expedition further into Wales to visit the maternal grandparents of her mother Elinor and aunt Martha. Their mother, Isabella Coldstream, was a native of Dale, near Milford Haven, Pembrokeshire (see note 141) and possibly had other family links in this area. Sarah Ellen Tuckett further recollected that when her brother Coldstream (b. 2nd February 1929) was a baby and she herself was suffering from a trying cough, 'my dear mother [Elinor] accepted an invitation for me to visit my dear old Uncle, Captain [Charles] Coldstream, of Dale, Nr. Milford, S. Wales. Aunt Sarah took me. We went in a sailing vessel... leaving Bristol at an early hour one day, and arriving at an early hour the next.' (Tuckett, *Mem.*, p. 20.) Isabella and Charles Coldstream were children of Capt. William and Martha (*née* Lewis) Coldstream, both of Dale. William Coldstream died in Savannah, Georgia in 1781. (Thanks are due to Roger Harris Lloyd and Erynne Baynes for some of the above information.)

<sup>781</sup> An evident mistake for Kentucky.

## Letter 10: 14th-26th September 1829

French Grant, Scioto County, Ohio  
14 Sept. 1829

[Addressed to ‘Mr. John Brown, Bookseller, Wigan, Old England’; inscribed ‘single’, ‘*paid 25*’, and ‘P[er] first *Liverpool* Packet ship’; with postal marking ‘1/2’; stamp marks ‘CINCINATTI, Oct. 6’ and ‘SHIP LETTER, LIVERPOOL’; and with red wax seal of ‘S.H.’]

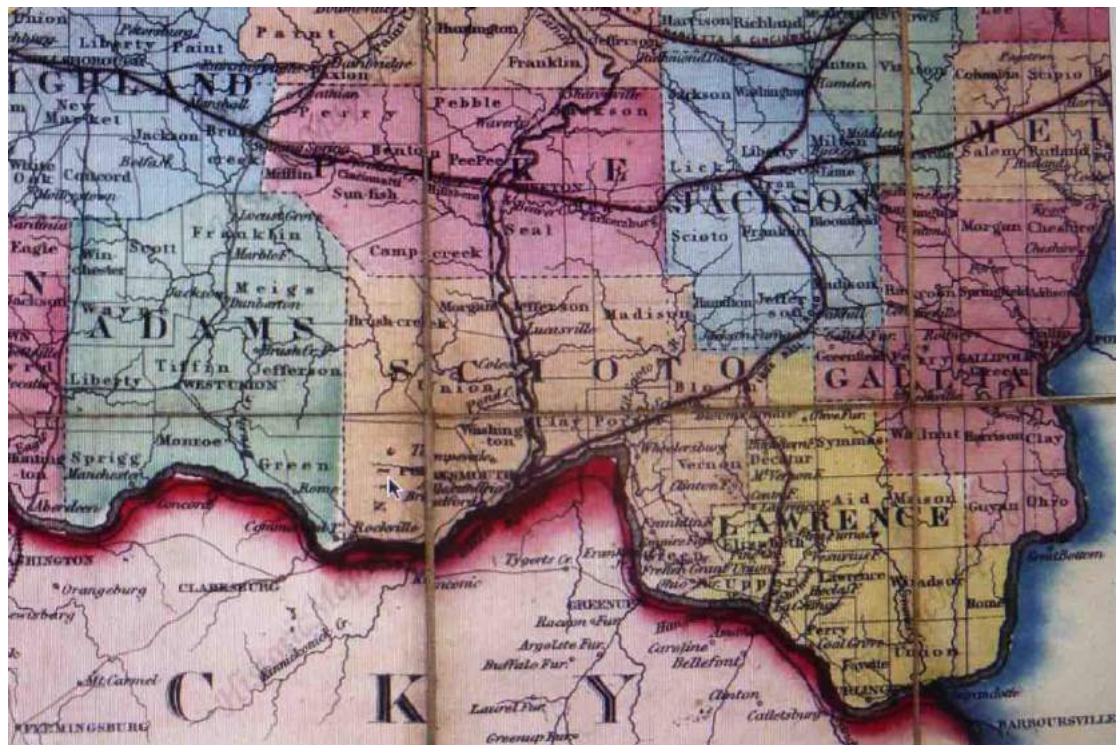
My dear friend,

In vain will you search the map of the United States for the above name of my present residence, but if the river Scioto be laid down upon it, then trace up the Ohio about twenty miles and you may fancy me in a small apartment like a long box, boarded with pine plank (you call it deal boards) on all sides and ceiling, with a sycamore floor, 15 feet by 7½, one window looking across the river to the mouth of Little Sandy Creek, and two windows looking up the river south-east.<sup>782</sup> This room is divided off from a warehouse, built upon piles on the bank, so that in the spring at high water, the river rushes under the whole building. The dwelling house is about thirty yards on the other side of a tolerably frequented road, up which is our post office, about a quarter of mile distant. Here I am, now in my seventh week, endeavoring [*sic*] to earn my living by teaching three or four little *half* spoiled children to read and *philosophize*, as a domestic tutor, while an old school house is crowded by about seventy persons on the Lord’s day, whom I endeavour to engage in a concern for their immortal souls, though this latter employment I entered upon only yesterday.

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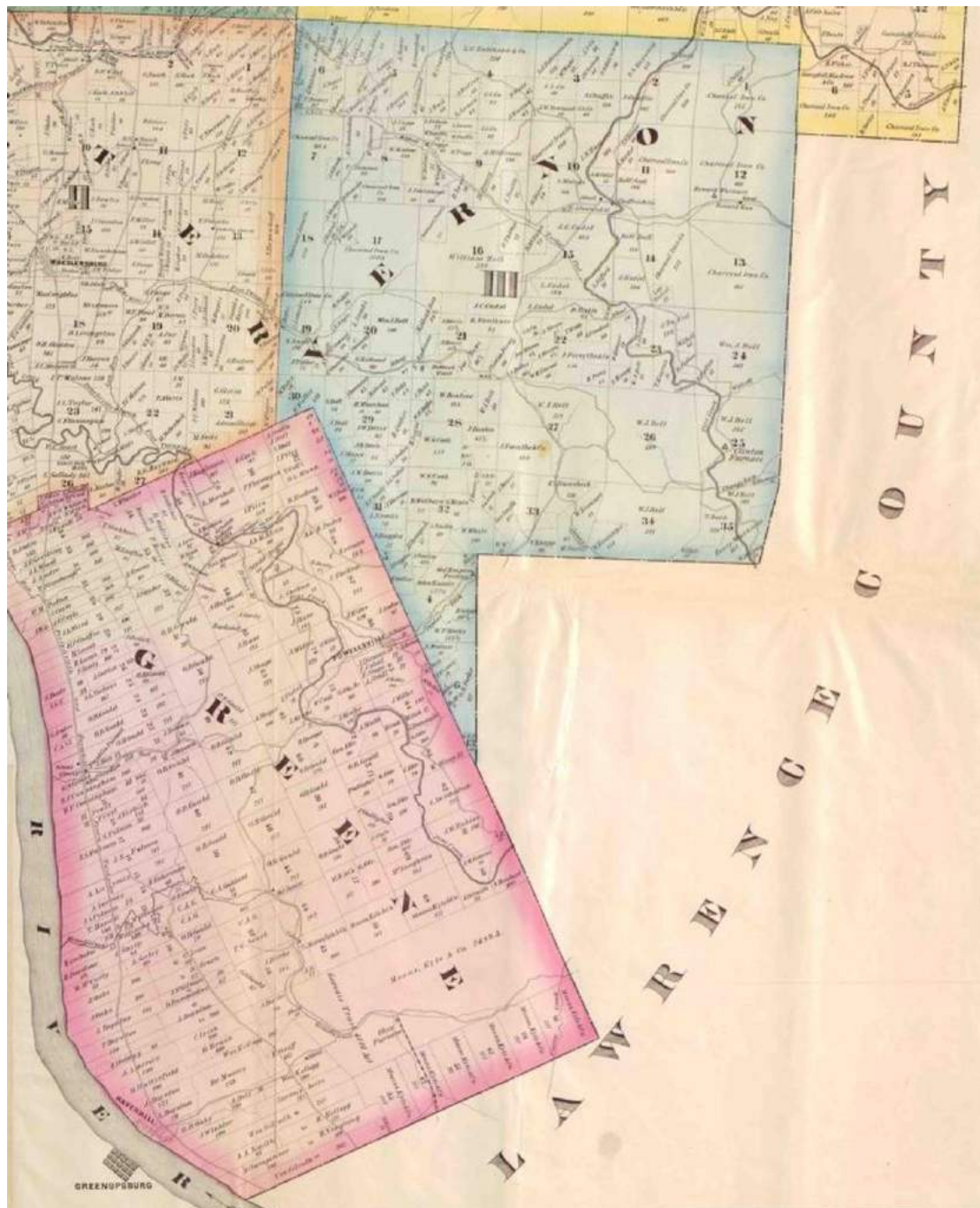
<sup>782</sup> Harris describes a location in the region of Haverhill, Green township, Scioto County, Ohio, situated approximately 120 miles in a direct line to the south-east of Aurora, though possibly much more than that distance (Harris states ‘about 160 miles’) following upstream the meanderings of the Ohio River.





Section from Ohio State map, 1854, showing position of French Grant, Scioto County, facing Greenup on the Ohio River





**Section from Map of Scioto County by Barton & Gibbs, 1875, showing at bottom left Haverhill in French Grant**

“But how came you up the river so far (about 160 miles) from your own place at Aurora?” methinks I hear you inquire. You shall hear. My last (sent off in February) probably told you of the death of a young Englishman named Peake, and also of the gentleman with whom he had resided. I had concluded myself to be of no use to the children of my friend Graves,<sup>783</sup> as they would not even endeavour to learn without compulsion, and physical force is no part of my plan, and [I] therefore told

<sup>783</sup> On whom, see note 593.

Mr. Graves, I did not care to eat his bread for naught, as his business would not permit him to spend much time with me. He appeared not pleased with my reasoning and earnestly opposed my leaving him. However, on the death of his brother-in-law, Mrs. Graves's aged parents, each near ninety, concluded to reside with them, and of course my apartment would be wanted, though he assured me that he would much rather build another for them.

I went to the debate between R. Owen and my friend Alex. Campbell in April [and], on my return, found a letter from my Philadelphia correspondent informing me that my last draft on London had returned dishonoured, with no other reason than "the death of one of the executors" of the estate whence my income was derived. I now resolved to take my library to Cincinnati and there turn bookseller upon the stock.<sup>784</sup> On board the steamboat, when going up for the purpose of previous inquiry, I met with my friend with whom I now reside, who, upon my stating to him my errand and its cause, immediately proposed to me the situation I now occupy, upon such terms as would set me above want. I considered it as providential, especially as one of my brethren (of the Aurora church), who had been ordained to the ministry, had removed into the immediate neighbourhood of Aurora, and of course would keep the meeting-house<sup>785</sup> door open there. I left my son's house early in July with a box or two of books, mattress, bedding, clothing, and all my little conveniences for my abode, so that I might not put my friend to more expense than needs be in providing for my comfort, but with a heavy heart in consequence of what I had witnessed of his deluded wife's conduct. I had long lamented her wastefulness in housekeeping, while it appeared excusable considering the profession she had been accustomed to at Parbold.<sup>786</sup> I had, however, succeeded in prevailing upon them both to use the Indian corn bread (to me the pleasantest as well as wholesomest) as most economical, though I often purchased wheat flour for them. The corn they had as rent. As soon as my resource was stopped, I made it known to them that they could not have any more flour, as what little money they and I had would not be sufficient in future for clothing and articles of first necessity. About this time, the remainder of payment for some land I had sold came in, and this was to be reserved to provide for winter stock. They had his cousin, my nephew,<sup>787</sup> then with them, as he was out of employ, and he encouraged her to insist on wheat bread and variety of meats, though there was large plenty of the finest pork of their own raising and curing. Frank and she conducted

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<sup>784</sup> Cincinnati was at this time a thriving centre for book auctions. Daniel Aaron wrote that 'By 1838... Cincinnati had become the western book mart. Booksellers and traders from surrounding towns in Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana came to Cincinnati to attend the book auction. One successful dealer, Josiah T. Drake, is reported to have netted at least \$80,000 annually and sometimes more.' (*CQC*, p. 233 & note 14 describing the book trade auctions system.)

<sup>785</sup> Aurora Baptist Church meeting-house was situated close to Harris's Mount Tabor property, proceeding down Literary Street (later Fifth Street) toward the Ohio River, on lot 209. (*HDO*, p. 306.)

<sup>786</sup> A village located some 6 miles to the north-west of Wigan, Lancashire. We have previously noted (see note 90 and in addition Appendix IV) that Catalina's father, an Anglican clergyman, had held the office of Master of Parbold Hall Academy, a school designed for the education, both academic and social, of 'young gentlemen'. Parbold Hall, built c. 1730-50, for Thomas Crisp, was one of the finest historical houses of Lancashire. Harris's remark in this place suggests the possibility that John Wadsworth's daughter Catalina might perhaps have had responsibility for catering in the Academy or that, more generally, the Wadsworth family, including daughter Catalina, had there become accustomed to a more luxurious manner of living, which must have contrasted severely with the life that Catalina found herself engaged in as a pioneer settler wife in Indiana.

<sup>787</sup> That is, Francis (born 1795), the son of his brother of the same name. Harris refers to his nephew later as 'Frank' and 'F.H.' (see Letter 11 below). See further on Francis Harris jnr. in the Introduction.

themselves in such a way as not even to preserve appearances before me and, at last, with my opinion approving, William told him he could not and would not any longer entertain him. Frank had a few days before engaged to teach school for the ensuing quarter and was therefore able immediately to provide for himself. Mrs. W. [Catalina Harris] said that if he went, she would go too. His trunks were conveyed away by the same cart which took my packages to the riverside. She had not eaten any meal in the house for a day or two before, and in a night or two after I left the town she left the house entirely, going to another house in the town. I had sometime before expressed my wish that the child was a few months older, as I wished to take her for a year or two under my care. Her poor father concluded to bring her to Cincinnati, to me. I had her there nearly three weeks, while I waited for my friend from New Orleans. 'T would be useless to detail all the circumstances attending this affair. I am at a loss to decide whether Frank has seduced her, or she him, or whether the word "seduce" is proper here in its common or gross signification. I *hope* not. This is certain, that my Kentucky friend, Major Graves, with [whom] I spent the best part of the last years, has received her into his house, to instruct his children, *after* he had an interview *with my son* on the subject. I am more disposed, in consequence of what I have lately heard, to lay unmixed censure at the door of her parent for *forcing* her to marry William, and for urging him to marry her when he discovered that her professed aversion to him was real and not, as is often the case, pretended. It seems she (the mother) wrongly [imposed]<sup>788</sup> upon his sense of honour, by accusing him of wanting to leave her because her beauty was gone.<sup>789</sup> I can witness that he has not only borne with her behaviour beyond (almost all) human sufferance, but has chosen rather to behave ill to his own parents than allow any blame to fall upon her. He has endured severe censure and reproach from me and from the whole population here in order to screen her. However, the tide is turning fast in the public opinion towards him. The behaviour of my infatuated nephew has lost him all favour.

You, my dear Friend, can easily judge what an addition to my own personal or individual affliction this family trouble has been. Just after ~~this~~ the child was brought to me, a family with which I had just commenced an acquaintance in Cincinnati—Mr. Tallant from Newark and Mrs. Tallant from Lincoln (acquaintance of Edmund Grundy) with four or five afflicted children—was plunged into the depth of tribulation by his sudden disappearance, leaving her with a few dollars and an intimation that ere the scrawl left on the table met her eye, the Ohio would be his grave! You cannot easily imagine the nature of the anguish this caused to a young wife of very strong passions, always from her infancy indulged and furnished with every article of expensive shew in dress, furniture, &c. by a husband who taught her to suppose him in very easy, if not not [*sic*] affluent circumstances. It appears that he was deeply involved. The creditors generally sympathized with the (supposed) widow, but one went unknown to the rest and seized every article of furniture, not leaving her a single bed.<sup>790</sup> My feelings were much more intensely engaged and affected in this case than

<sup>788</sup> Word apparently missing from the sentence and this word proposed by the editor.

<sup>789</sup> Harris's reference to Catalina's departed beauty might, at first reading, be thought to refer to the gradual departure of a young woman's natural attractiveness with advancing years, but this cannot be the meaning here, as Catalina was approximately 18 years old when she married W.T. Harris in 1821, since her gravestone records that she was only 28 years old at the time of her death in 1831 (see note 96). We should therefore think rather that some possible accidental disfigurement to Catalina, possibly the result of disease, e.g. smallpox scarring, underlies these words of Harris sen.

<sup>790</sup> An account of the failed business enterprise of James Tallant and his subsequent 'disappearance' (probable suicide) is to be found in Gigante, *KB*, pp. 174 ff., 255-257. On the 23rd August 1818, in the

they were even by the distresses of Mrs Bent, when I incurred so much obloquy.<sup>791</sup> However, in Cincinnati I had neither ability nor opportunity to subject myself to reproach in that way. In my passage up the river to this place, two men plunged into the river, dismayed by the displacing [?] of the steam pipe and were drowned. You may judge what was my state of mind, already depressed by the situation of my poor son and the heavy charge I had taken upon myself in my granddaughter. The doleful condition of the poor widow and her family in Cincinnati, the unsettled state of the Baptist churches in Cincinnati,<sup>792</sup> and the almost certainty that the parents of the children whom I [had] undertaken to teach would not *relish* my method of instruction, though they had testified their approbation of it, needed not this awful event to sink me very low indeed. When I landed, the parents were absent. A man who, I found afterwards, had been a schoolmaster here, gave me every discouragement he could respecting the whole settlement. I was weary and felt “heavy laden”<sup>793</sup> indeed! However, the family soon came in, and *I was at home*. Webster’s Spelling book<sup>794</sup> and Murray’s Grammar<sup>795</sup> are chiefly used in these country places, though I

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village of Sculcoates, on the north side of Hull, England, James Tallant had married Mary Drury, the youngest daughter of John Drury (1757-1815), a printer and bookseller, and later postmaster of the city of Lincoln. In 1811, James’s older brother had married Mary’s sister Jane and, by 1820, they were all living together in Cincinnati, where James borrowed heavily to purchase a steamboat, the *Walter Scott*, to carry cargo downriver to New Orleans. Unable to repay the loan he had taken out, Tallant’s steamboat was seized and he lost heavily in its forced sale. His subsequent disappearance remained somewhat mysterious as, sometime after the event, James’s niece Alice would report that her uncle had engaged ‘in an attempt to perfect a high-pressure steam-boat engine, during the trial of which both he and his boat disappeared and neither was ever heard from.’ In fact, as the report of the ensuing court case revealed (see ‘Ohio Insurance Co. vs. Edmonson et als.’, in B.W. Miller, *Reports of cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of the State of Louisiana*, vol. 5 [New Orleans, 1834] pp. 295-310), the steamboat did not disappear in any hypothetical explosion and the account seems dressed to cover over the shameful stigma of suicide. Harris’s notes in this place are therefore interesting, in that they shed some clearer light on the circumstances of James Tallant’s ‘disappearance’. Tallant’s widow Mary worked for a time at a boarding school for girls in Cincinnati before returning to England with her three youngest children and opening a boarding school for girls in West Haddon, Northamptonshire. Mary Tallant’s second marriage in England was reported sometime later in the *Stamford mercury* of the 1st October 1841: ‘On Thursday the 23rd ult., at Guilsborough (near Northampton,) Mr. John Edmonds, master of a seminary at that place, to Mrs. Tallant, widow of Mr. James Tallant, formerly of Rauceby, near Sleaford, (and afterwards of Cincinnati, in the United States of America,) the youngest daughter of the late Mr. John Drury, printer, of this city.’ On the Drury family tree, see also <http://www.drewry.net/TreeMill/indil541.html>.

<sup>791</sup> It has proved impossible to discover the incident or event underlying this remark by Harris, though we may perhaps imagine some unfortunate consequence resulting from his practice as a druggist during his time in Wigan. Nevertheless, there seems to have been no lasting ill will felt towards him on the part of Edward Bent, since in this and his next letter Harris remarks on having written (more than once) to Bent to request a service on his own behalf (albeit he complains of having received no reply to his letter).

<sup>792</sup> Possibly an allusion to the disturbance caused by the teaching of Alexander Campbell, that led to many secessions.

<sup>793</sup> Matthew 11. 28.

<sup>794</sup> Noah Webster (1758-1843) ‘was a lexicographer, textbook pioneer, English spelling reformer, political writer, editor, and prolific author. He has been called the “Father of American Scholarship and Education”... [His] speller was originally titled *The First Part of the Grammatical Institute of the English Language*. Over the course of 385 editions in his lifetime, the title was changed in 1786 to *The American Spelling Book*, and again in 1829 to *The Elementary Spelling Book*. Most people called it the “Blue-Backed Speller” because of its blue cover, and for the next one hundred years, Webster’s book taught children how to read, spell, and pronounce words. It was the most popular American book of its time; by 1837 it had sold 15 million copies.’ (*Wikipedia*.)

<sup>795</sup> The *English grammar* by Lindley Murray (1745-1826) was first published in 1795 and gained great success as a schoolbook in the USA.

understand that the former is generally discarded from the larger towns. I object to both. A man named Picket, in Cincinnati,<sup>796</sup> has started an improvement on each, though his spelling and grammar need mending. Still, the latter is better than Murray's.

I had intended to give you some description of the debate, but supposing you will have it among you soon, I leave it with observing that the abusive, insulting language held by Robt. Owen would have disgraced even W. Cobbett himself. The assembly during the eight days averaged, it was supposed, about seven hundred. These, as you may suppose, were chiefly persons independent of labour and not debased by gross sensuality. Such characters neither could nor would attend particularly to a protracted metaphysical disquisition. The company may be fairly characterized as consisting of (a large majority of it) sober, well-informed inquirers. To such a congregation did Mr. R. Owen repeatedly assert that he could not discern one sensible, honest countenance among them all; that they all, merchant, lawyer, physician, mechanic, clergyman, lived by defrauding one another; that every married person there was perjured. He had indeed a very high respect for the clergy, as he was certain that none of them believed one word of what he taught. This language he repeated several times. To the *young* ladies he addressed the most gross ideas couched under language too plain to be not understood, and yet not enough so to warrant the fathers, husbands, suitors, and brothers in the congregation to rise as with one consent and kick him out of the place, through the streets, into the Ohio.<sup>797</sup> If the stenographer has done justice to the parties and the publisher be faithful, the forbearance of the inhabitants of Cincinnati towards him and the courtesy paid to him afterwards during his stay will excite some astonishment, I trow, among their cousins in "the old country". He sold his share of the copyright of the publication to Mr.

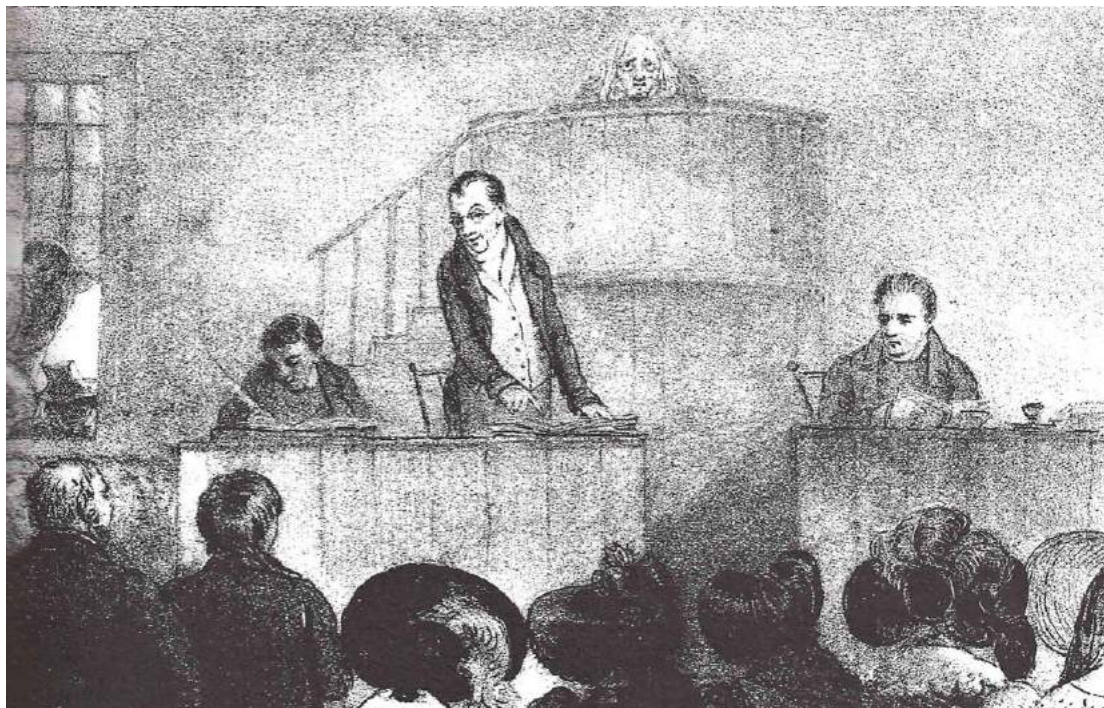
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<sup>796</sup> Probably either Albert Pickett or his son Dr. John W. Pickett, who founded the Cincinnati Female Institution in 1826. They also published a series of schoolbooks, which were 'very extensively introduced into the Seminaries in the Western and Southern States.' (Caleb Atwater, *A history of the State of Ohio, natural and civil*, 2nd ed. [Cincinnati, 1838] p. 406.) 'Albert Pickett, reportedly once a student of Noah Webster's, conducted a girls' school in 1810s Manhattan and was an early member of the New York Historical Society. In 1811 he was an incorporator of The Society of Teachers of the City of New York. With his son John W. Pickett he published an educational journal, *The Academician*, and a number of school-books, including *The Juvenile Expositor* in 1816. After relocating to Cincinnati he was a founder of the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers, was a contemporary of William McGuffey (educator & author, McGuffey Readers) and Calvin and Harriet Beecher Stowe... and played a role in establishing the public school system in the Mississippi and Ohio River valleys. In his later years he retired to Delaware, Ohio and died there in 1850.' See further on Albert Pickett, Ford, *HCO*, pp. 201 f. Among his descendants were the stage and film director Vincente Minnelli and his actress daughter Liza Minnelli. (*Wikipedia*, s.n. 'Vincente Minnelli'.)

<sup>797</sup> Another attendant at the Owen-Campbell debate, who recorded her impressions of the proceedings, was Frances Trollope, who was also astounded at the unexpected tolerance of the Cincinnati audience toward the daring utterances of Robert Owen, a tolerance which she could only understand as deriving from the extreme charm of manner in which Owen uttered his denunciations of the Christian faith: 'When I recollect... the uncompromising manner in which the orator stated his mature conviction that the whole history of the Christian mission was a fraud, and its sacred origin a fable, I cannot but wonder that it was so listened to; yet at the time I felt no such wonder. Never did any one practise the *suaviter in modo* with more powerful effect than Mr Owen. The gentle tone of his voice; his mild, sometimes playful, but never ironical manner; the absence of every vehement or harsh expression; the affectionate interest expressed for "the whole human family"; the air of candour with which he expressed his wish to be convinced he was wrong, if he indeed were so—his kind smile—the mild expression of his eyes—in short, his whole manner, disarmed zeal, and produced a degree of tolerance that those who did not hear him would hardly believe possible.' (*DMA*, pp. 116-8.)



Campbell for a *valuable* consideration and afterward published the essence of *his side* of the debate (if that can be said to have any essence in it, which was so flimsy and inane, that his own party disdained to attend the debate, saying that he did not understand the subject) on his own account.<sup>798</sup> He appeared to me the most perfect exemplification of an ignorant, cunning, conceited fanatic I ever heard or read of.



**The debate between Robert Owen (standing) and Alexander Campbell (seated to his left) in Cincinnati, 1829, as depicted by Auguste Hervieu, the traveling companion of Frances Trollope. Alexander's father, Thomas Campbell (1763-1854) is represented at centre top, on the high pulpit of the Methodist church in which the debate took place.**

Since writing the former part of this, a letter from my son informs me that he has had one or two interviews with his poor erring wife, at her seeking, and from what he wrote I gather the probability that she sees much of her folly, and hope that she will see it more completely.

In hinting at the demur in my supply from London, I omitted to mention that I immediately stated the history of that supply to Mr. J. Hughes and requested his friendship in making the necessary inquiries, and a little afterwards, wrote to Colchester, to the surviving party, soliciting immediate information. I expect to hear from both shortly. My present situation here prevents me from feeling immediate personal distress on the account of it, but I cannot consider my station by any means as permanent. I might immediately step into a maintenance “in a good cure”,<sup>799</sup> if I could do, as Ahab’s messenger advised Micaiah to do,<sup>800</sup> but I dare not, and will not.

<sup>798</sup> The rather long and wordy publication alluded to by Harris was published by Robert Owen in Cincinnati in 1829 under the (here somewhat curtailed) title: *Robert Owen's opening speech, and his reply to the Rev. Alex. Campbell, in the recent public discussion in Cincinnati, to prove that the principles of all religions are erroneous, and that their practice is injurious to the human race, etc.*

<sup>799</sup> That is, receive hire as a clergyman.

<sup>800</sup> Harris alludes to the narrative of 1 Kings 22.

Were I to please men, I should not be a servant of Christ.<sup>801</sup> The experienced believers among you, I apprehend, have not been unreserved in their rejoicing over the flaming accounts of glorious revivals reported from this part of the world. I witnessed some of it in Cincinnati; and five Baptist churches instead of two, a new Presbyterian, new Episcopalian, and new Methodist churches formed or forming there now would have to a passer-by a very flourishing appearance, but my heart was saddened in looking into, and hearing about, these apparently crowded societies. According to all accounts, the Baptist churches in some parts of Kentucky are all-but at open war with and anathematizing each other, especially in those parts where there have been “the greatest revivals”. I write unreservedly to you, because you will be careful. If you should have occasion to express your doubts as to the solidity and durability of *the work*, you will not mention the source of your intelligence. At one of the “revival” meetings, the main exciter *commenced* by a most fearful denunciation against all who should dare to insinuate that what they might witness that night was not the pure operation of the Holy Spirit!!! A violent effort was made last winter in Aurora by the Methodists and (by what I hear) will probably be repeated soon there. What the effect will be I know not.<sup>802</sup>

I have to thank you for a Bolton<sup>803</sup> and a Manchester paper, addressed to me at Petersburg, received a few weeks since; they were forwarded to me here. Son writes me that some English papers were for me in the Aurora office, but the p[ost]master requires my written warrant for delivery. I expect them shortly. Perhaps they may be also from your kindness. These papers are very interesting. I notice the venerable Redmayne’s deliverance from this imperfect state.<sup>804</sup>

My friend “*Mr. Daniel Orange, Cincinnati, Ohio*”<sup>805</sup> (to whom I request that letters and papers may be addressed, *for me*, in future) has lent to me the Eclectic

<sup>801</sup> Harris assumes the language of Paul in Galatians 1. 10.

<sup>802</sup> A general overview and flavour of Methodist revivalism in early nineteenth-century Indiana may be gained from a reading of R.B. Case’s article “‘An aggressive warfare’: Eli Farmer and Methodist revivalism in early Indiana”, *IMH*, vol. CIV, no. 1 (March, 2008) pp. 65-93.

<sup>803</sup> Bolton, or more fully Bolton-le-Moors, is a Lancashire town situated to the north-west of Manchester and to the east of Wigan.

<sup>804</sup> Most probably a reference to the death of Leonard Redmayne, who was one of the first ministers to serve Lee Independent (or Congregational) Chapel at Horwich, near Wigan. He ministered there from 1777 to 1822 and died aged 82 on the 26th May 1829 at 6 King Street, Bolton, Lancashire (hence Harris’s epithet ‘the venerable’). See <http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/LAN/Horwich/LeeChapel.shtml> and <http://www.tribalpages.com/tribe/familytree?uid=southcave&surname=Redmayne>; and for his marriage details and listing of his twelve children (perhaps another occasion for the epithet ‘venerable’), see <http://www.mytrees.com/ancestry/Other/Died-1829/Re/Redmayne-family/Leonard-Redmayne-re000073-20.html>.

<sup>805</sup> Daniel Orange (1793-1862), a son of Huguenot settlers in London, must have migrated to the USA a little time before Harris, as he is listed in American Censuses from 1820 to 1860. He is variously entered in the registers as a Baptist clergyman, a grocer, and a farmer, residing either in Albion, Edwards County, Illinois; or in Cincinnati. See <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=:3308088&id=I654147197#s1>, where the following information is attached: ‘(Daniel) immigrated earlier than the (brothers Benjamin and William), and settled in Edwards County, Illinois. He was involved in the founding of St. John’s, a Protestant Episcopal Church there. In 1820 he had living with him at least one of his younger brothers, and in 1830 they and their families had moved to Cincinnati, Ohio. Daniel was a grocer in Cincinnati in 1831, but at some point he moved back to Edwards County, Illinois where he farmed and later became a baptist clergyman.’ As we shall have occasion to note later, it was at the house of William Frederick Orange, the brother of Daniel, that Samuel Harris died on the 19th October 1832. Shortly after this time, James Hoby, commissioned



Review for 1823 (wanting October). They have been very interesting but rather dangerous,<sup>806</sup> so far as they revive my desire to see and read some of the new articles, though my hours are too much occupied to allow much indulgence in that way, had I the means. My present situation is probably more out of the religious world than I should be in New Zealand. I see all the political news, though it comes rather stale.

A letter from Mr. Alston has been before me nearly two years and half unanswered. Pray see him [?] with my affectionate regards, communicate to him what you think proper of my changes and circumstances. I have been less anxious to keep up that correspondence, because he did not encourage it, but I hope whenever you write (which I trust will be rather more frequent) you will not fail to mention his name with whatever may be interesting concerning the Hope Chapel, all that concerns Lord str[ee]t, the new church<sup>807</sup> (D. Brown's), that family. In some former letter you mentioned the baptistry in Lord's [sic] Street. It pleased me, though you never told me *how it came there*.<sup>808</sup> Our folks here talk about the Jordan Ohio<sup>809</sup> and are almost angry with me for hinting at a baptistry.

I should tell you that a few of my books have moved off, to the amount of nearly six pounds,<sup>810</sup> for this [sic] are gone: Cicero's & Pliny's Letters, 3 vols., miniat[ur]e; Cundee's Fox's Life;<sup>811</sup> Rousseau's Confessions, 2 vols.; Janeway's Life;<sup>812</sup> Palmer's Mem[orials] of Godliness;<sup>813</sup> Quarles's Boanerges, & Feast for worms;<sup>814</sup> Rutherford's Letters;<sup>815</sup> Shepard's Convert & Believer, 2 vols.;<sup>816</sup> Secker's

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along with Francis A. Cox as deputies of the Baptist Union in England to visit Baptist churches in America, paid calls on both 'Mr. and Mrs. [probably Daniel] Orange' (the lady was the sister of Hoby's brother-in-law) in English Prairie, Illinois and also on 'Mr. and Mrs. W. Orange' in Cincinnati. (F.A. Cox & J. Hoby, *The Baptists in America; a narrative of the deputation from the Baptist Union in England to the United States and Canada* [London, 1836] pp. 311, 322.) On William F. and Benjamin Orange, see further in note 939.

<sup>806</sup> *The Eclectic review* was described as 'that Journal, which for several years was the only one in this country that combined the advocacy of "spiritual Christianity" with liberal views on social and political questions.' (J.E. Ryland [ed.], *The life and correspondence of John Foster* [London, 1855], vol. I, p. 311.)

<sup>807</sup> Harris here refers to the second Baptist Church in King Street, Wigan, on which see Appendix V. Among the 15 persons who withdrew from Lord Street church to establish a second Baptist church in Wigan were David Brown, William Brown, and Margaret Brown (*BCBLSW*, p. 2), on each of whom see Appendix II.

<sup>808</sup> In fact, the baptistry at Lord Street Baptist Church had been installed in 1820 (before Harris emigrated to the USA) in front of the pulpit at a cost of £6.4.6 (= approx. £261/\$397 in 2016) and a full account of the enabling subscriptions and expenses is affixed at the front of *BCBLSW*. Prior to its installation baptisms had been performed either at Lime Street Chapel in Liverpool or in the River Douglas at Wigan. (Sellers, *PF*, p. 9.)

<sup>809</sup> The practice of performing baptisms in the Ohio River continued well into the twentieth century. See pictures of such events in Striker, *LRT*, p. 115.

<sup>810</sup> £6 has an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £297/\$466 in 2016.

<sup>811</sup> That is, *The life of the Right Honourable C.J. Fox*, published by J. Cundee in 1807.

<sup>812</sup> Probably *The Life of that excellent... Minister of Christ, Mr. John Janeway*. Abridged by R. Piercy, etc. [from the "Life" by James Janeway entitled, "Invisibles, Realities," etc.] (Glocester, 1772).

<sup>813</sup> That is, *Memorials of godliness and Christianity*, by Herbert Palmer (1601-1647).

<sup>814</sup> *Boanerges and Barnabas: judgment and mercy; or, wine and oyle for... afflicted soules*, a collection of miscellaneous reflections published between 1644 and 1646, and *A feast for worms, set forth in a poeme of the history of Jonah* (1620) were two of the publications of Francis Quarles (1592-1644).

<sup>815</sup> Probably an edition of the letters of the Scottish Presbyterian Samuel Rutherford (1600?-1661), whose letters were described by C.H. Spurgeon as the nearest thing to inspiration which can be found in all the writings of mere men.

Nons. professor;<sup>817</sup> Lives of Savage & Newell [?];<sup>818</sup> Wright on Sin;<sup>819</sup> Fleming's Earthquakes;<sup>820</sup> Sibbs's Yea & Amen;<sup>821</sup> Steele's Upright Man;<sup>822</sup> D<sup>o</sup>. on Old Age;<sup>823</sup> Shaw's Meditations<sup>824</sup> and Godwin's Political Justice, 2 vols., 8vo.;<sup>825</sup> also Robinson's Works, 6 vols. in 3<sup>826</sup> – 2£ 1/-.<sup>827</sup> You see, some of my jewels are gone, but I hope they will do good by being diffused. Rousseau and Godwin are not regretted. I have some hope of parting with some of my precious old books this winter, as I fear my son will not set much value on them.<sup>828</sup> Flavel, Owen, Doddridge, Watts, and a few more of like order, besides the historical works of Neal, Jones, Palmer, &c. will form a respectable collection for him, including Rollin, Henry, Russel, and some smaller ones.

I want to give you as clear a view of myself and condition as I can. It is abundantly more comfortably [*sic*] than it could have been had I remained in England, and been without the regular pittances from Colchester. Not that my old acquaintance would suffer me to sink there, but I should have been or I should have fancied myself an increasing weight, independent of *feeling* for the distress all around, as you must do. Tell me all about old acquaintance. Affections to Mrs. B. & family, and to all friends. I have written twice to Mr. Bent, besides a message by Mrs. Wadsworth, and not having heard from him since, suppose that all is well and successful there.

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<sup>816</sup> That is, the two works *The sincere convert* and *The sound beleever*, by Thomas Shepard the elder (1605-1649).

<sup>817</sup> That is, William Secker's *The nonsuch professor in his meridian splendour, or, the singular actions of sanctified Christians*.

<sup>818</sup> Possibly editions of popular works of morality describing the fallen lives and ultimate punishment of offenders, possible candidates being *Justice against murther, or the bloody apprentice executed, being an exact... relation of a bloody murther committed by one Thomas Savage... in Ratliffe upon the maid of the house his fellow servant, being deluded thereunto by the instigations of a whore, etc.* (1668) and *The apostacy of Newell, containing the life and confessions of that celebrated informer* (1798).

<sup>819</sup> Probably Samuel Wright's *Treatise on the deceitfulness of sin*.

<sup>820</sup> *A discourse of earthquakes; as they are supernatural and premonitory signs to a nation*, by Robert Fleming the elder (1693).

<sup>821</sup> That is, *Yea and amen: or, pretious promises, and priviledges spiritually unfolded*, by Richard Sibbes (1638).

<sup>822</sup> That is, *The character of an upright man*, by Richard Steele (1629-1692).

<sup>823</sup> Richard Steele's *Discourse concerning old age* was first published in 1688.

<sup>824</sup> Possibly a work by the Nonconformist minister John Shawe (1608-1672).

<sup>825</sup> *The Enquiry concerning political justice*, by William Godwin (1756-1836).

<sup>826</sup> Possibly the *Miscellaneous works of Robert Robinson*, Baptist minister (1735-1790). Robert Robinson of Cambridge was, like Harris, an upholder of the open principle of communion and, as early as 1788, he had helped in petitioning against the slave trade, which was also a concern of Harris. The name of Samuel Harris (with his address in Fenchurch Street, London) was entered among the List of Subscribers in Robinson's posthumously published *Ecclesiastical researches* (Cambridge, 1792), alongside those of his family members and spiritual associates who are mentioned elsewhere in these letters: John Harris (probably Samuel's father rather than his brother), Francis Harris, Thomas Pasco and James Hinton, both of Oxford, Daniel Turner of Abingdon, Joseph Hughes, and Joseph Mason Cox, the business associate of Harris's father.

<sup>827</sup> £2.05 in modern British currency, with an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £101/\$154 in 2016.

<sup>828</sup> This comment seems surprising in view of W.T. Harris's repute for learning and a sizeable private library (see the Introduction), but perhaps Samuel Harris had particularly in mind the theological section of his own library, as seems to be confirmed by the report of the donation made by William Tell of his deceased father's books to Hamilton Theological Seminary (see note 77).

Yours sincerely, Saml. Harris – *to care of Mr. Daniel Orange, Walnut Street, Cincinnati.* 26 Sept. 1829.

Do you ever see or hear of my daughter Lawford? She writes very scantily about once a year. She says that Mr. Sam[ue]l Brown calls upon her sometimes. I suppose they are doing very well. Your country must be, generally speaking, in a very awkward predicament and if half of what our papers copy from yours be true, you are not to be soon out of it. We want you here: muscle, mind, and money.

## Letter 11: 27th-30th April 1830

Aurora, Dearborn County, Indiana, U.S.  
27 April 1830

[Addressed to 'Mr. John Brown, Bookseller, Wigan, England'; inscribed 'Aurora, Ind. May 2d', 'Paid 25', 'P[er] first Liverpool Packetship'; with postal marking '1/2'; stamped 'SHIP LETTER LIVERPOOL'; and with red wax seal of 'S.H.']

My dear friend and brother,

My last to you was from French Grant, Ohio in October, which place I left towards the end of that month with my little granddaughter for this village again. If my memory serves aright, I then told you of the uneasiness between my son and his wife, which was ripened through the base interference of my nephew, so that she left him a day or two after my departure for Ohio and remained absent till the beginning of October, when at her earnest solicitation, she was received again. On my return, I was agreeably surprised by the sight of James Latham with a parcel from you and Mr. Hughes. The child set to presently<sup>829</sup> and was soon able to repeat Watts's Catechism,<sup>830</sup> delighted to find that it was the same which her companion, Joseph Green (whose memoirs<sup>831</sup> had been presented to her in the summer by Dr. Aydelot, an Episcopal clergyman in Cincinnati<sup>832</sup>), had learned. She also often amuses herself with Cock Robin, Whittington, &c. &c., though I have taken the liberty of putting out of her reach the horrible account of Little red Ridinghood. She can read tolerably well in her Testament and I have promised to her one of Longman & Co. pocket Bibles<sup>833</sup> in red Morocco (tuck<sup>834</sup>), which I gave Watson's Body of Divinity<sup>835</sup> for, in Cincinnati in the summer. I give this as an intimation that in this distant part of the globe we meet with old acquaintances unexpectedly.

A day or two after my return, William accidentally (I should say *providentially*) discovered a letter, and shortly after several others, from my wretched nephew to his wife, which unfolded such proofs that an adulterous intercourse had existed, and was at that time maintained between them, as could not be controverted. Her behaviour on the discovery being made known to her was extraordinary.

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<sup>829</sup> When Harris wrote, the word 'presently' still conveyed its literal meaning describing action in the present time, not 'later'.

<sup>830</sup> Isaac Watts, *Plain and easy catechisms for children: The shorter catechism of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster with explanatory notes; and A preservative from the sins and follies of childhood and youth* (Cambridge, 1825). On Harris's concern for the catechizing of the young, see note 371.

<sup>831</sup> Possibly an allusion to *The history of J[oseph] G[reen]*, published by the American Sunday School Union in Philadelphia in 1827.

<sup>832</sup> Benjamin Parham Aydelott, MD, DD was born on the 7th July 1795 in Philadelphia and died in Cincinnati on the 10th September 1883. He was rector of Christ Church, Cincinnati, president of Woodward College (later Woodward High School), and first president of the Ohio College of Dental Surgery in Cincinnati. See <http://www.capmarine.com/genealogy/ShortStories/BPAydelott.pdf>, where fuller details may be found; also Fortin, *FA*, p. 110. The name Aydelott, like that of Harris's friends Daniel and William Frederick Orange, is of Huguenot origin. See also notes 182, 476, 805, & 1069 for other persons of Huguenot origin whose lives were entwined with that of Samuel Harris.

<sup>833</sup> An unexplained '181.4' [?] is inserted above the line at this point.

<sup>834</sup> In the craft of bookbinding a tuck is 'a flap on one cover of a book, which folds over and is tucked in a band or the like on the other cover, serving to keep the book closed' (*OED*).

<sup>835</sup> Thomas Watson's *Body of practical divinity* was published in many editions.

However, my son did not turn her out of doors, compassionating her delusion and wishing to give her opportunity to recover. However, she could not be confined from continuing the intercourse and on her receiving a letter from her mother, she on the 31st December last took her final departure. I was absent on a visit to Kentucky then and returned on January 2nd early in the morning. Shortly after, she was seen coming over the fence, when my son called out that she need not come any farther, as she would not be admitted. She sent for her clothes, blankets, in short all that her mother had given or sent to her, even the child's clothes which had been sent from Manchester she took with her. She had before taken many things which she ought not.

A suit for divorce was instituted in our Circuit Court<sup>836</sup> in March last and the case came before the judges on the 20th April. After proceeding on in the evidence for some time, in course of which *her* counsel read a letter which her husband sent to her mother last summer (and which she, from some motive which I cannot even guess at, enclosed to her daughter, addressed to another post office, kept by a man who had assisted in their clandestine correspondence), the contents of this letter were so fully verified by the previous evidence, that the Court stopped the proceedings, so as not to go into the direct proof of adultery, and awarded the full divorce.<sup>837</sup> At the same time, as *she pleaded in her appeal ag[ain]st the suit her desire to return to England* and her want of means, one hundred dollars were awarded to her, which I freely consented to pay, *upon that ground*, as soon as possible, at the same time stating that it would not be in my power in less that [*sic*] twelve or thirteen months, which time the Court fixed. Thus terminated a state of as wretched thralldom to my son as ever any of my acquain[tance] to my knowledge has been in for nine long years.<sup>838</sup>

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<sup>836</sup> That is, Dearborn County Circuit Court.


<sup>837</sup> In the report entered in Dearborn Circuit Court Complete Records 3, p. 540, William Tell Harris complained that Catalina had abandoned him, but there is no mention of adultery, which the Court seems to have deliberately wished to draw a veil over (see Harris's remark at the close of the following paragraph). Catalina, for her part, countered that she had been forced to leave on account of ill treatment by her husband. She also complained that he had their daughter and would not return her to her mother. The fact related here by Samuel Harris, that she had taken the child's clothes, appears to testify to her wish to gain custody of her daughter. The Court granted a mutual divorce, but did not mention the child. (Information kindly supplied by Chris McHenry.)

<sup>838</sup> That is, almost exactly to the day, the period that the marriage endured. Following the legal granting of divorce, W.T. Harris took the step of placing an advertisement in a newspaper, calling on local businesses not to accept his wife's credit purchases, since she had deserted her husband: 'CAUTION!! Whereas my wife Catalina, has, without any just cause or provocation, left my bed and board, I do hereby forewarn any person from harboring or trusting her on my account. Wm. TELL HARRIS. Aurora, July 16, 1829'. But Catalina made a spirited response by placing the following notice in the *Indiana palladium* of the 8th August 1829: 'This is to assure the Public, that the old hacknied phrase in the foregoing advertisement is *false*; as I have borne with the un-just provocations of W.T. Harris until I could do so no longer. The very kind caution, from "trusting or harboring" me on *his* credit, he well knew to have been needless, as I *never* had credit with *any* merchant on his account, without being first provided with a *written* order, *signed by himself*, to that effect; and W.T. Harris is *too well* known, for me to expect any "harboring" upon the strength of his *liberality*; therefore the only motive which lead [*sic*] him to insert the above, is plainly no other than a desire to wound, *more* deeply, my already much injured feelings. CATALINA HARRIS. N.B. I hope the public will believe me, when I say, that nothing would have induced me to have intruded upon them this *first* and *last* time, but a thorough conviction that it was a duty I owed to my own character, as well as that of the family from which I derived my birth. Aurora, 7th August, 1829.'

**CAUTION!!**

**W**HEREAS my wife Catalina, has, without any just cause or provocation, left my bed and board, I do hereby forewarn any person from harboring or trusting her on my account.

Wm. TELL HARRIS.  
Aurora, July 16, 1829. 31\*

 **T**HIS is to assure the Public, that the old hacknied phrase in the foregoing advertisement is *false*; as I have borne with the un-just provocations of W. T. Harris until I could do so no longer. The very kind caution, from "trusting or harboring" me on *his* credit, he well knew to have been needless, as I never had credit with any merchant on his account, without being first provided with a written order, signed by *himself*, to that effect; and W. T. Harris is *too well* known, for me to expect any "harboring" upon the strength of his *liberality*; therefore the only motive which lead him to insert the above, is plainly no other than a desire to wound, *more* deeply, my already much injured feelings.

CATALINA HARRIS.

N. B. I hope the public will believe me, when I say, that nothing would have induced me to have intruded upon them this *first* and *last* time, but a thorough conviction that it was a duty I owed to my own character, as well as that of the family from which I derived my birth.

Aurora, 7th August, 1829.

Announcement published in the *Indiana palladium*, 8th August 1829, publicizing the acrimonious separation between William Tell and Catalina Harris

The part my nephew has acted in the whole has been villainous to each party, as well as to me, and I expect that the deluded woman will ere long testify to her mother his abominable baseness. From the representations which (it is reported, for we have no communications with either the adulterer or adulteress) are made concerning the purport of Mrs. Wadsworth's last letter to her, I am deterred from addressing her directly. Otherwise I cannot see any possible way of rescuing the wretched victim from perishing in infamy, but by her contriving her return to England, which might be done by her furnishing what might be sufficient, together with the hundred dollars, for that purpose. I have not the least doubt but that her villainous paramour will strip her of all he can and then forsake her. Possibly Mrs. W[adsworth]'s eyes are already opened, as a copy of the letters which were discovered was sent to her in December. I write the above to you under the idea that you may think proper to convey to Mrs. W[adsworth], through Mrs. Newsham,<sup>839</sup>

<sup>839</sup> For possible identification of Mrs. Newsham, see note 651.

*merely the fact* that the divorce was granted on the husband's application, without hesitation. My wish is that the charge of adultery may be not made known by you, unless you should see it to be absolutely necessary. She began very early after our arrival to spread the most calumnious reports of his using her cruelly (I call it calumnious, because *totally false*) and upon the strength of the public indignation which she had thus excited against him and which he chose to silently submit to rather than expose her as a base falsifier, she has ruled him with a rod of iron. She has, with a few intervals of good behaviour, acted upon one regular system of endeavouring to wear him out by a contrived series of provocation and irritating behaviour. After I took up my abode [with them on ?]<sup>840</sup> my niece's return to England, she behaved very well towards me generally during the intervals of my peregrinations, till my nephew was received into the house, on his apparent reformation, which was last spring. From that time our troubles began and continued till they ripened into a complete avowal on her part that if her cousin was not allowed to remain in the house, she would leave it too. I was glad to go into Ohio away from the scene, though I was under continual apprehension of hearing of my poor son's *death*, for the seducer made no secret of his expecting to be soon the possessor of Mount Tabor. However, it cannot be long before he will make her *feel* the misery of the state into which he has brought her and if she should be induced to return to England, *our wish is* that her infamous behaviour *may not be known*. It is very unpleasant to suppose that we are not esteemed even when distance may preclude the probability of being injured by calumnious reports, yet if she should return, our hope is that she may not repeat her follies, in which case all that is passed should not be remembered against her. But should she give way to her old practices of calumny, it may be necessary to state *all the facts* of the case, even those which the Court considered unnecessary.

I hope, my dear friend, you now perceive clearly my views. I am sorry that Mrs. W[adsworth] has rendered it necessary for me not to open a correspondence direct with her, as I should be glad to co-operate with her as far as in my power to rescue the unhappy woman from her present dangerous situation. Her husband and I did all in our power to induce her to cast him off, but she was violently obstinate.

Shortly after James Latham brought the parcel, I wrote to Mr. Hughes and requested him to advise you of its arrival, as I had written to you from French Grant a short time before. The books you favoured me with are valuable. Pascal's Thoughts I had long wanted. Had they been purged of the errors of his particular sect,<sup>841</sup> they would be more useful. The Romanists will not read them because they are too evangelical. However, to *me*, they are best as they are, as I am delighted to see that the absurdities of the Roman system do not shut the Lord Jesus out of the heart. "Daily Food"<sup>842</sup> is always in my waistcoat pocket. "Gems of Sacred Poetry" [is] a beautifully executed little work. "Evans's Pocket Companion"<sup>843</sup> proves the writer

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<sup>840</sup> In addition to a tiny piece missing at this top corner of a new page, the handwriting here is also soiled and almost completely obliterated, so that the exact words remain uncertain.

<sup>841</sup> Harris must have had in mind the particular doctrines of the Jansenist movement, among which it was possibly the extreme (Calvinistic) view of selective predestination that he objected to most strongly, since this was a doctrine which, as he expressed his opinion elsewhere in these letters, could lead ultimately to deism and antinomianism.

<sup>842</sup> Possibly the Religious Tract Society publication *Daily food for Christians, being a promise, and another Scriptural portion, for every day in the year*.

<sup>843</sup> *The Believer's pocket companion, containing a number of passages, selected from the sacred writings, with observations in prose and verse*, by J. Evans, was published in 1823.



more devout than discriminating; it is with me sometimes when abroad. “Pike’s early Piety”<sup>844</sup> is not kept to myself; some young people who are thoughtful have it in reading circulation under the care of one who is acquainted with my preciseness with regard to books. “Buckingham’s Lectures”<sup>845</sup> I particularly thank you for; it is a valuable document. The “Young Servant’s friendly Instructor”<sup>846</sup> is of more service than you intended. Ever since Mrs. W[illiam] T[ell] H[arris]’s departure, I have been the domestic factotum with regard to the kitchen, as well as have full charge of my own chamber. You may suppose that I do not take unnecessary pains in the cooking department, but that pretty manual has directed me in several instances as to the care of utensils. When I wrote to Mr. Hughes, I attributed to him the Bibles & Missionary Reports, but which the list tells me I’m indebted to you for. Accept my sincere thanks for the whole.

Probably I intimated to you the necessity I was under of endeavouring to raise a little money by selling my books, in consequence of the failure of my usual remittances from England. Three or four weeks after my last to you, a letter from Colchester<sup>847</sup> stated the whole matter. Without entering into particulars, which might not interest you, any farther than that your friendly disposition towards me will sympathize in my sorrows, perplexities, and deliverances, the estate was very near being thrown into Chancery, when of course it would have been lost *to me*. Some expense attended the *successful* efforts to rescue it from the danger, our share of which, together with the legacy duty and interest upon it, absorb nearly a tenth part of the principal money. All the arrears of interest are also lost to me. I have drawn, according to instructions from the executor, for the balance and when advised that my bill of exchange is honoured, shall invest it here secured by good mortgage upon such interest as will render my income somewhat more than before, though the principal is less, as the regular legal interest here is 6 p[er] cent, and more may be had upon very good security. The law does not operate *against* any agreement for higher interest by any penalty,<sup>848</sup> but *guarantees* 6 p[er] cent only. Had I known what I do now, I would have vested only a small part of my small property in purchase, say from forty to 80

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<sup>844</sup> *Persuasive to early piety, interspersed with suitable prayers* was published in 1821 by the minister of the New Connexion of General Baptists, John Deodatus Gregory Pike (1784-1854).

<sup>845</sup> Possibly the *Sketch of Mr. [James Silk] Buckingham’s life, travels, and political and literary labours*, which bore the running title: ‘Mr. Buckingham’s lectures on the eastern world’ (London, 1829).

<sup>846</sup> *The Young servant’s friendly instructor; or a summary of the duties of domestic servants*, by Esther Hewlett, was published in 1827. The author, who lived 1786-1851, was born Esther Beuzeville (1786-1851), the daughter of Huguenot parents profitably engaged in silk manufacture in London’s Spitalfields. In 1809 she married James Philip Hewlett (1779/80-1820), curate of the evangelical parish of St Aldates, Oxford, and also chaplain at Magdalen and New College. After Hewlett’s early death she married in 1827 William Copley (d. 1857), the Baptist minister who succeeded Samuel Harris’s friend James Hinton at the New Road Dissenting Church, Oxford (see the Introduction). Esther had, in fact, become a member at New Road before she remarried and may well have participated in the growth of missionary activities, including Sunday and day schools and preaching in outlying Oxford villages, which the energetic Hinton had pioneered. She published several books of a practical kind like the one referred to by Harris and, in 1832, clearly relevant but too late for Harris’s use, *Hints on the cholera morbus*. (ODNB.)

<sup>847</sup> On the possible origins of the estate from which funds were drawn by Harris and the connection with Colchester, see note 47.

<sup>848</sup> Great Britain had longstanding anti-usury laws, restricting the amount of interest chargeable on loans. In 1714, for example, the maximum permissible interest rate was reduced from 6% to 5%, and further restrictions on interest were enacted under the Rate of Interest Act of 1821.

acres. The remainder should have been at interest. Some make from 10 to 25 p[er] cent, so valuable is money in Cincinnati now.

But to myself, it will be at least twelve months from this moment before I can be fully afloat again, as I have some arrears to wipe off, besides the hundred dollars to my *late* daughter-in-law. However, comfortable circumstances are in prospect for me in my declining days. I have advanced already twelve days (29th April) in my sixty-fourth year. The last twelve months have been attended with more affliction in circumstances—family, mind, & body—than I have known before since I was left a widower in 1830.<sup>849</sup> My health is now somewhat established, though in consequence of decay of grinders, my food is chiefly by the spoon. My equanimity is recovering fast. Domestic quiet, as you may suppose, my son, granddaughter and self constituting the whole circle, and of course no direct visitors, though frequent friendly calls. Pecuniary matters in prospect of coming round again *with amendments*.

James Latham went down to Louisville in December and came up last Saturday. Intends to return again in two or three days, to tarry there till the summer sets fairly in, when the place may be too warm for him. He seems greatly improved and is highly esteemed by all who know him.

I omitted to state I met with little success in my book trade. A few of my gems went off, as Shaw's Meditations, Steele on Old Age, & his Upright Man; two or three of the smaller: Sibbes's pieces, Fleming's Christology, Robinson's Miscellaneous Works<sup>850</sup> ("why did you part with them?" you say) and two or three more. I tried to sell the Biographical Dictionary, but in vain. Yet my books are as valuable to me as ever, and should Will[ia]m meet with a proper helpmeet and I find or make a comfortable apartment near, so as to be within reach of society & help when needed and yet [have] the command of my own time, 'tis probable I may *write* and read more than ever. My little girl occupies much of the morning, after I have washed up and put away the breakfast things. This is generally over by eight o'clock.

My last told you something about the debate between Owen and Campbell. I have just finished reading the full account, which I suppose is by this time either imported among you or reprinted by you. I hope the latter,<sup>851</sup> as it has too many typographical errors for the credit of the printer, who is A. Campbell himself. However, with all its faults, 'tis a valuable work. R. Owen is certainly a wretched fanatic. If half of the stories I have heard respecting him from New Harmony be true, he is the opposite of a philanthropist.

We are in daily expectation of another nephew on my wife's side from Liverpool,<sup>852</sup> who may bring me some news from your part of the globe. A letter from my niece at Bristol tells me he sailed from that port early in March. 'Tis possible he may not be bearing towards this quarter, as I had not heard of his intention before.

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<sup>849</sup> Through momentary lapse of concentration, Harris wrote the year in which he was writing in error for the year of his wife's death, 1823.

<sup>850</sup> See notes 820-824, & 826.

<sup>851</sup> A London edition of the debate was not published until 1839.

<sup>852</sup> Possibly Henry Fox, the son of Harris's brother-in-law Jonathan Fox, on whom see note 631.

A letter from my daughter Lawford dated Feb. 1st says she saw the name of Neville, Wigan among the bankrupts.<sup>853</sup> Is it our respected friend? If it be so, while I sympathize, my respect for him suffers not the least abatement.

You may remember a little old work, rebound and lettered “Christianity unfolded”,<sup>854</sup> which I had copied nearly half through before I left England, with the hope of its being reprinted. I wrote out two or three sheets more last year, but am somewhat hesitating about continuing it, as I cannot entirely consent to all he says. Should I venture to make him orthodox, my intention is to send the MS to Mr. Hughes, to submit to the Book Society for promoting Religious Knowledge,<sup>855</sup> as I think some parts of it may merit its notice. I notice the “Practical Contemplations”<sup>856</sup> in their list, with satisfaction. Is it another edition, or did you dispose to them the copies you took of me? Be it as it will, it will be very gratifying to me to learn that the work has been blessed to the benefit of any one.

My niece writes that Mr. Hall is increasingly faithful as a minister, which of course will and must affect his popularity.<sup>857</sup> I do not know that the present generation differs much from the former ones, but somehow the standard of religion is reduced considerably below the Bible measure, or in the old-fashioned style, “the rule of the sanctuary”.<sup>858</sup> Let the most able man insist upon it, that none are Christians but those who follow Christ, and let him describe what it is to follow Christ, as Mr. Hall did in his discourse before the Baptist Missionary Society (as reported by “the Record”) and he would not please the congregation. I copied that discourse out from the Record and read it to a family in Cincinnati last year. “Brother Harris,” said my friend, “such a discourse would scarcely go down here – the reason

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<sup>853</sup> A bankruptcy notice against James and William Nevill [sic] of Wigan, dated the 14th November 1829, appeared in *The London gazette*, issue no. 18660 (2nd March 1830) p. 451, but possibly Harris’s daughter read the news in a more local publication, perhaps *The Chester chronicle*, which published the following statement on Friday the 13th (!) November 1829: ‘We are sorry to have to announce the failure of the old and respectable linen house of James Neville and Son, of Wigan. Their engagements are said to be heavy, and several houses in Leeds are severe sufferers.’ James Neville (& Son) is listed as a merchant with business premises in Wallgate (and Millgate), Wigan in Pigot, *CD* 1818 and Baines, *CPL*, vol. II, p. 621, while William Nevill [sic] was among the signatories to the printed leaflet containing an appeal for help in founding a Sunday School in Scholes, Wigan in 1826 (see note 385). James Neville may have died in 1833 (see will of James Neville of Upholland, tailor and draper, 27th February 1833, Lancashire Archives, WCW964/06).

<sup>854</sup> The work cannot be identified with any certainty, but the anonymous work published in 1655 with the title *The state of Christianity examined, unfolded, and character’d: or, the seed of God, sorted and singled out from among the several sorts of professors, that call themselves the people of God* may be a possible candidate. It might have been written by the Welsh Independent minister and mystic Morgan Llwyd (1619-1559); see M. Caricchio, ‘News from Jerusalem: Giles Calvert and the radical experience’, in A. Hessayon & D. Finnegan (eds.), *Varieties of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English radicalism in context* (Farnham, 2011) p. 79, n. 41 (N.B. Giles Calvert was the publisher of the work referred to).

<sup>855</sup> See note 755.

<sup>856</sup> See note 756.

<sup>857</sup> Robert Hall (1764-1831) had opposed Samuel Harris’s father and his business associates in Bristol during the debate over slavery in Bristol in 1787-8 (see note 19), but Samuel’s comments regarding slavery in the present series of letters would suggest that he personally was closer to Hall in his views regarding this institution. Hall returned to minister at Broadmead Baptist Church in Bristol in 1826. His preaching drew large crowds, but his health quickly deteriorated and he died on the 6th February 1831, less than a year after Harris penned these words. (See further on Robert Hall in *ODNB*.)

<sup>858</sup> A motto derived from the Pentateuchal phrase ‘after the shekel of the sanctuary’ (see e.g. Exodus 30. 24).

why you are not popular among us is because your doctrine is so like that discourse.” This I was aware of. Much of the “glorious revival” work, so much noised abroad by our religious papers, has been produced by a very different style of address to that discourse. Were I to detail to you what I witnessed last month in Ohio at a revival meeting, you would shudder, as I did in hearing and seeing. This was at a Presbyterian church and exactly upon the same plan, though not so violent as what I had before witnessed at a Baptist meeting. The result of the excitement among the Baptists in Cincinnati two or three years ago is distressing. One who was a great encourager of them is now almost heartbroken in seeing and feeling the awful results. I was there two Lord’s days. The second was a day of confinement to the house and a slight indisposition was the pretext, yet I felt myself unwilling to go out, lest I should be entangled in the uneasiness between two congregations and being [*sic*] involved in their disputes.

Our western churches (Baptist) are in a very queer state at present. Hitherto, our little Aurora church has not been engaged in or affected by the disputes about creeds &c., which have disturbed many. I have my own views on the different subjects of debate, but do not think it my duty to occupy the time and attention of the congregation with such minor topics. Should I be quietly settled in my own comfortable apartment (when ’tis built), I may fill one of my large sheets to you with some account of my general course, especially as I now consider myself stationary in Aurora and am likely to fall without any positive arrangement into something like a regular course of subjects for my public exercises. We have another ordained brother in our church, but he will not exercise when I am at home. He visits the neighbouring settlements at times and is very industrious in disseminating the Bible and promoting Sunday schools all round our village.

30th. James Latham is preparing to return to Louisville. He desires me to say, for his parents’ information, that he heard from Zanesville in March, all then well.<sup>859</sup> He expects to visit them in August, but hopes to write to Wigan shortly. He is doing very well, as anyone may do here, *if he will*.

In addition to what I have said concerning Mrs. Wadsworth’s daughter, common report says that the man who keeps the ferry,<sup>860</sup> at whose house she is at

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<sup>859</sup> James Latham’s sister Elizabeth had recently emigrated to the USA, having disembarked at Philadelphia with her husband and four children in May, 1828. Another child, Susan, was born in February 1830. (See ‘A history of William and Elizabeth (Latham) Mears of Wigan, Lancashire, England’, posted at <https://familysearch.org/photos/stories/1927593>, for information to the effect that James Latham was the brother of Elizabeth Mears [*née* Latham], who settled in Zanesville, Ohio with her husband William Mears.) These events in the life of James Latham’s sister no doubt explain the wish expressed here, to convey reassuring information to the parents of Elizabeth and James Latham in Wigan.

<sup>860</sup> The proprietor of the Ohio River ferry was Charles Vattier, originally a resident of Cincinnati, from whom in 1819 the land on which Aurora was built had been bought by the Aurora Association for Internal Improvements. (See Shaw, *HDC*, p. 265.) Managing the ferry (and possibly sometimes mismanaging it – see e.g. Dearborn County Commissioners’ Records, Book 1, p. 171, May 1831) was Elijah Horsley of Burlington, Boone County, Kentucky (his place of residence as stated in the 1820 Census), who, with Jesse L. Holman and others, had been one of the original members of the Aurora Association. He should not be confused with the Elijah Horsley (1819-1848) who is buried in Holman Hill Cemetery, Aurora (see <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=35708665>), who was possibly a grandson, one of the children of the Thomas Horsley who is listed as a resident of

present, is putting up a log cottage for her, near to his own, but whether for *her and F[rancis H[arris]]* or for *her and himself*, report is divided, though the preponderance is towards the latter. In either case, she is a *lost* woman. 'Tis great pity that her mother has given herself up to be deceived by such a villain as her paramour has proved himself. She certainly never saw anything in William that should warrant her crediting what has been written concerning him, *dictated by her paramour, which he obliged her to sign*. This she confessed. However, it has answered his purpose. He makes his boast that he has debauched her, in addition to his former feats of the like kind in Bristol, according to his own account.

I have before me the Br[itish] & For[eign] Bible Soc[iety] Report for 1829. Two copies were enclosed in our last box from the American Bible Society. Our Aurora Society has adopted the resolution and is industriously carrying into effect the plan of furnishing every destitute family with the Bible. My inability to unite with the rest in an *extra* contribution for this purpose is to me a cause of mourning, though I hope the means will not come too late for me to assist before the good work is finished.

My correspondence with Mr. Sharp is now ended, on money matters, though 'tis possible it may not be quite closed. However, I shall endeavour to point out a channel by which I may receive parcels similar to that you favoured me with by James Latham, should you have aught which you would like to convey. I shall not *ask* because there is no necessity, but it is really gratifying to me to receive specimens of what is doing.

The Cabinet of Useful Knowledge <sup>861</sup> is obtainable in Cincinnati, by subscribing at an advanced price, but then the subscriber must take the whole. Now it appears that with you, the different treatises are to be had separately. If so, could not I have a selection? And in order to take that, a list of the treatises, with the price of each? I make these inquiries not for myself, but for two others who are writing for some of them, but not for all. For instance, "Architecture" could not be of the least possible use in this region, while Algebra & Arithmetic united, Botany, Chemistry &c. are very desirable. I hope to be able to remit to Bristol after next year, in which case, should these treatises selected be attainable, I could remit the money easily, or 'tis possible, had [?] I a list with the prices, my friends might obtain them through a Philadelphia bookseller who may correspond with London.

I omitted to state that the whole amount of law expenses attending this suit for divorce will be about 50 dollars (£11..5/.).<sup>862</sup> Probably the expenses in England would not have been less. William employed two counsellors. One of them was also a witness. You will also observe that even after the proofs of adultery were

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Aurora in the 1820 and 1830 Censuses. It should be noted, however, that there were other ferries plying between Aurora and Petersburg; see the (not exhaustive) list in *ENK*, p. 327.

<sup>861</sup> Harris seems to be referring to the publication series 'The library of useful knowledge', which commenced publication in London in 1829, selling at sixpence per issue and appearing on a biweekly basis. It was the principal product of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK), founded in 1826 (mainly at the instigation of Lord Brougham) and wound up in 1848, a Whiggish organization that published inexpensive texts intended to adapt scientific and similarly high-minded material for the rapidly expanding reading public. (*Wikipedia*.)

<sup>862</sup> £11.25 in modern British currency, with an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £557/\$847 in 2016.

discovered, the woman was not turned out of the house; she forsook it (leaving clothes in the wash, which I had to iron out), without giving any notice, and lodged during the two first nights at the cottage which was latterly the rendezvous of her paramour. The report of this morning is very strong, that the parties (adult[ere]r & adult[re]ss[!]) will marry forthwith in Kentucky.<sup>863</sup> So be it! If so, they will immediately inform Mrs. W[adsworth] of it.

Last December, I met with a Mr. John James in Cincinnati, formerly of Chester, well acquainted with Mr. Clubbe,<sup>864</sup> Mrs. Parkin<sup>865</sup> &c. He informed me that Mr. Thomas Bradshaw, solicitor, Lord Street, Liverpool was, or expected to be soon, engaged in paying off Sir Richard Clayton's<sup>866</sup> debts. If so, I may hope for my claim through your good offices. It is, as near as I can recollect, about 5 or 6 £<sup>867</sup> more or less. My account of the few remaining accounts unsettled is mislaid, though I had it last year. I left my books with Mr. Sowerby<sup>868</sup> and possibly they may still be in the shop with Mr. Dutton.<sup>869</sup> It is also possible that Sir Richard left my account among the rest. I made it out for him three or four times. Will you oblige me by inquiring about it and receiving it on my account, if payable according to Mr. James's information. That gentleman is now residing in Cincinnati, having established his son or sons in a leather concern there.<sup>870</sup> He is much respected as a religious character. I wrote to Mr. Edw[ar]d Bent about two years ago twice, with instructions to receive another debt on my account, but I have not heard from him or aught about him since. I still owe him a small balance, the remnant of Mr. Clarke's money, which I suppose Sir Richard's payment will be near balancing. If he is dead, I hope it will be forthcoming from his widow or children, but if they be all gone to Van Dieman's

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<sup>863</sup> Catalina did indeed marry Francis Harris, but in Dearborn County, Indiana, on the 10th August 1830, as is confirmed by a record in the Indiana State Library database of Indiana Marriages through 1850 (information kindly supplied by Chris McHenry).

<sup>864</sup> On Thomas Clubbe, see note 517.

<sup>865</sup> 'Mrs. Parkin' (*née* Wightman) must be the widow of Joseph Parkin and the sister-in-law of John Brown, the recipient of these letters. On the Parkin family, see note 916.

<sup>866</sup> Richard Clayton, 1st baronet of Adlington (1745-1828), created baronet on the 3rd May 1774, became a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. He served as Recorder of Wigan (1815-28), Constable of Lancaster Castle, and British Consul at Nantes from 1825 until his death there on the 29th April 1828. (*ODNB*.) Clayton of Adlington is honoured by having his coat of arms placed upon the ceiling of the Council Chamber in Wigan Town Hall. By the time that Harris wrote to Brown about Clayton's outstanding debt to the former Wigan druggist, it was probably already too late to make a claim against Clayton's estate, since with regard to another claimant on the estate, an announcement in the *London gazette* (issue no. 18617 [6th October 1829] p. 1832) required that person to make personal representation to the Court of Chancery in Preston, Lancashire on or before the 17th November 1829, 'or in default thereof they will be excluded the benefit of the said Decree.'

<sup>867</sup> These amounts would have purchasing power respectively of approx. £247/\$388 and £297/\$466 in 2016.

<sup>868</sup> On whom see note 309.

<sup>869</sup> The druggist business of Francis Dutton, Market Place, Wigan is listed in Baines, *DW*. Harris's comment suggests that this was the business which he had relinquished, first to John Sowerby, before his leaving Wigan for America in 1821. Francis Dutton must have been recognized as a citizen of consequence, as his name appears among the very restricted list of electors of Wigan in the 1832 Poll Books. He also served as alderman of Wigan for Swinley ward from the 1st December 1835. (*WTCMB*.)

<sup>870</sup> Since there are three persons with the name John James (a carpenter, a moulder, and a schoolteacher) listed in *The Cincinnati directory for the year 1831*, it is not possible to identify the John James to whom Harris refers with any certainty. However, the same directory (p. 83) lists a Robert James, shoemaker, who was possibly the 'son or sons in a leather concern' mentioned here by Harris.

Land [*sic*],<sup>871</sup> let it rest with you till you hear from me again. You will oblige me by writing as soon as you have particulars. I may hope for a large budget of information in your next.

Should this marriage take place, I shall be glad on one account. It does not appear probable that she will ever see the folly and depravity of her conduct till she partakes of its bitter fruits, which she assuredly will do in marrying that horrid wretch, the most consummate *hypocrite* I ever read or heard of. Probably it may be as well for you *not* to mention this affair to anyone, but if they have sent over accounts injurious to my son's or my character, it will be sufficient for me to think that you are acquainted in some degree, though but a small one, with the true state of the case, and I am satisfied they will not remain long together before she will of her own accord tell a very correct story, *should she live*. He will punish her, or she will him. Two tyrants seldom harmonize long.

I have not said a word yet upon the subject of your coming over. Have you ever seen Susan yet? Their home is Mill Bridge, near Leeds.<sup>872</sup> A letter from them about five weeks ago says that his father died last August.<sup>873</sup> They remain as long as their trade is good, but I suppose they have not relinquished the thought of returning. Susan has now three: two boys [Frederick and James] born since their return and the girl [Sarah Fox] who began to talk before they left Indiana. She still groans under the headache, but her husband describes her as being very fat or plump. Perhaps Mrs. Sam[ue]l Brown sees her sometimes.

You will not fail to give me all intelligence about all my old acquaintance. My correspondence with Mr. Alston is dropped, as it appeared irksome to him. His last letter, three years ago, was nearly half of it a printed advertisement about a school in Scholes<sup>874</sup> or some such matter, interesting in itself, but it discouraged me from writing again. Pray remember us to him. He will feel interested in our trials and congratulate William on so easy a deliverance from one *who never loved him, but always tried to make him miserable from the beginning*.

Your last letter is dated July 13, 1828, so that you will take your largest elephant and write in diamond type,<sup>875</sup> very close and clear. Farewell, my dear friends or friend, for you & Mrs. B[rown] are one. I wish you were all here, in a good house of your own building on about one or two hundred acres of land, and three or

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<sup>871</sup> Van Diemen's Land (later Tasmania) was from 1803 to 1853 the main British penal colony in Australia. It is uncertain whether Harris's comment here is serious or jocular; at all events, it seems to reflect his low opinion of those who owed him money. Whether serious or jocular, his comment is not fanciful, as he would have seen very real examples of the transportation system, since his father's work in the courts of Bristol involved him directly in sentences of transportation, as for instance in the case of Daniel Waters, committed to seven years' transportation for grand larceny in 1794, when John Harris was a member of the court giving sentence. See G. Lamone (ed.), *Bristol gaol delivery fiats 1741-1799* (Bristol Record Society, 1989) pp. 85 f. The case of Daniel Waters was particularly noted by John Harris in his pocket ledger (Harris, 1794PL, 13th January.) N.B. also references in J.F. Mackeson, *Bristol transported* (Bristol, 1987) pp. 158, 160 f.

<sup>872</sup> On Mill Bridge see notes 119 & 597.

<sup>873</sup> See note 597.

<sup>874</sup> Probably that referred to in note 385, to which Edmund Alston was one of the signatories.

<sup>875</sup> Elephant folio describes a large sheet of paper, up to 23 inches in height, and diamond type is a very small type face, being 4.5 point. The terms would be familiar to a printer of John Brown's standing, though perhaps Harris's usage is metaphorical.



four thousand pounds on good mortgage security in Cincinnati at from 6 to 10 p[er] cent interest, or rather *rent*. Money is like landed property in that city and is properly *rented out* upon security equal to your funds or stocks, in my opinion more than equal. Our laws upon this head are more equitable than yours.<sup>876</sup> Again, adieu! Yours in all love and esteem, Sam[ue]l Harris.

Friday evening, April 30th 1830

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<sup>876</sup> See note 848.

## Letter 12: 19th June-20th December 1832

Aurora  
19 June 1832

[Addressed<sup>877</sup> to ‘Mr. John Brown, Post-Master & Stationer, Wigan, Lancashire, Old England’; inscribed ‘Aurora, Ind[ian]a, Decemb. 25th’, ‘single sheet only’, ‘Paid 25’, ‘1.4.5’<sup>878</sup>, ‘11’, and ‘P[er] first Liverpool Packet from New York’; with postal marking ‘1/2’; and with remains of black wax seal of ‘W.T.H.’ (?)]

My dear friend,

Your very interesting letter dated March 20th to May 1st reached me on the 12nd [*sic*] inst. and proved indeed consolatory as relieving me from very uncomfortable apprehensions. Our public prints copied from yours general intimations of political riots in England and, among other places enumerated, I had noticed “Wigan”. Knowing you to be a burgess,<sup>879</sup> I apprehend that you might consider your family as demanding your conforming with your patrons, and so have been with them obnoxious to the radicals, or on the other hand had consulted your own political conscience and so lost the main support of your worldly emolument or income. I most sincerely congratulate you on the course you have taken, though it may partially and temporarily affect your progress towards “a plum”.

Bristol and Bath papers have been sent to us, containing all particulars of the riots in the former city, compared with the mob of which, your Scholes national guards with Col[one]l Coyle at their head, are highly civilized and genteel, Mr. Kearsley’s wine cellar and library notwithstanding.<sup>880</sup> I should have been sorry had

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<sup>877</sup> The address is written in the handwriting of William Tell Harris.

<sup>878</sup> Possibly a sum in £.s.d. Cf. note 586.

<sup>879</sup> The borough of Wigan contained both burgesses and freemen, the franchise being in the former, the status of freeman granting only economic rights. Furthermore, a number of the burgesses were non-resident, honorary burgesses, grandees living away from Wigan, rendering the Wigan popular representation even more slender. As a resident burgess, Brown was among the very few privileged citizens of Wigan entitled to vote in elections, since from a population of 20,774 in 1831, only 122 gentlemen, professionals, and well-to-do merchants and manufacturers were qualified to vote. Having been nominated by William Rogerson, a farmer of Wigan, John Brown had been elected to the status of burgess by the Jurors of the Court Leet on the 30th September 1820 (*PEMP*, MS addition to p. 10; his burgess certificate is dated the 2nd October 1820 [*BC*]). It would appear from Harris’s comments here that Brown had taken a conscientious stand against continuing privilege and in favour of reform of the parliamentary system, to his own hurt in terms of personal advancement. But see further in following note.

<sup>880</sup> The topic of discussion between Brown and Harris was the riots in England in the autumn of 1831 and the so-called ‘Days of May’ riots of 1832 that ensued from the Tories’ wrecking of the second and third Reform Bills in the House of Lords. Widespread national disappointment provoked riots and insurrection, and a revolution was seriously feared until the government of Earl Grey was reinstated. The 1831 riots were particularly furious in the city of Bristol and the eye-witness account of rioting there, as well as of the outbreak of the Asiatic cholera, written by Sarah Ellen Tuckett, daughter of Samuel Harris’s niece Elinor (who quite possibly sent the newspapers mentioned by Harris), is particularly vivid (Tuckett, *Mem.*, pp. 19-21). In Wigan, in a renewed outbreak of serious rioting on the 23rd May 1831, an enraged mob liberated a man who had been arrested for theft, attacked the post office (where John Brown was the incumbent postmaster), and completed the destruction and pillaging of the house of the parliamentary candidate John Hodson Kearsley (1785-1842), who had previously occupied the office of mayor of Wigan (in 1813-14, 1819-20, and 1825-6). Two Members of Parliament were elected for Wigan: Ralph Thicknesse (Whig) with 41 votes and J.H. Kearsley (Tory) with 24 votes. The losers were Richard Bootle Wilbraham (Tory) with 15 votes and the radical (Whig)

you omitted any single item in the narration, for my powers of reminiscence are aging so fast that I have but a faint impression of the events of the five years immediately preceding my abode in Wigan,<sup>881</sup> yet I feel at home in the affairs of your town.

Had I not been a little conversant with the Romanist part of its population, I should perhaps act as foolishly as some of our Presbyterian brethren are acting here. You are probably aware that the Romish church is rapidly increasing (*apparently*) in this country. I trace some of its increase to our “*astonishing* revivals” and am disposed to think that some of our excitors are disguised Jesuits. This is certain, that there is a very great similarity between the sentiments of the latter order and some of our most successful revivalists among the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists in this western region. The little attention paid to the instruction of the new converts leaves them an easy prey to the cunning priest. You would be surprised at the effrontery with which in the Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph<sup>882883</sup> the old calumnies against the Waldenses,<sup>884</sup> Luther, and the old Reformers are coolly repeated, as though they had not been refuted *ex abundantia*, and the poor silly Presbyterians are

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reformer Richard Potter with 4 votes. (Richard Potter nevertheless contributed to widening the franchise in Wigan and is commemorated in the ‘Richard Potter Salver’ among the regalia of Wigan Corporation; see *WCR*, pp. 15-17. Potter was the grandfather of the famous social reformer Beatrice Webb.) On the 1st March 1831 John Brown had cast his vote for J.H. Kearsley, but on the 4th May 1831 he voted instead for Ralph Thicknesse (*PB*, 1st March 1831 & 4th May 1831), an apparently principled change in political allegiance for which Harris appears to be complementing Brown in this letter. However, it remains possible that Brown changed his vote under duress since, as witnesses at the trials of Wigan rioters at Lancaster summer assizes in 1831 testified, a radical flag-waving mob issuing from Scholes created six hours of hubbub with fifes and drums and warlike cries in the streets of Wigan, terrifying the populace. They were led by the demagogue John Coyle, styled ‘Colonel’ or ‘Major’, who was dressed to suit his claim to be one of ‘King William the IVth’s National Guards’, wearing a blue cap with side tassel, a white sash at his waist, and a silver stick in his hand wielded in the manner of a dragoon sloping his sword, as he paraded about the town at the head of the vast throng, compelling electors to get out and cast their votes on behalf of Ralph Thicknesse. As an example of their tactics, at the shop premises of one of the electors, John Whittle, a saddler of Market Place, Coyle and his men formed a circle round the shop, threatening, ‘If you don’t go and vote for Thicknesse I will saw your head off!’ (*RP*). Coyle received the sentence of death, commuted to transportation for seven years, at the Lancaster assizes in March 1832. A summary of the available documentation on the riots in Wigan and the chief events involved may be found in the article by B. Evans, ‘Elections 1831’, *PF*, issue no. 60 (April-July 2012) pp. 24-26.

<sup>881</sup> That is, the five years that Harris had spent in Hull.

<sup>882</sup> *The Catholic telegraph*, which continues publication to the present day, was a relatively new organ at the time when Harris was writing, being first published on Saturday the 22nd October 1831 at the behest of Edward Dominic Fenwick, bishop of the diocese of Cincinnati, which then extended from Kentucky to northern Michigan. It was the first Catholic newspaper founded west of the Allegheny Mountains and would be the oldest continuously published Catholic newspaper in the USA but for its suspension during the brief period of autumn 1832, when the paper’s first editor, J.E. Mullon, set aside the editorial work in order to minister to people suffering the effects of the cholera epidemic then raging in Cincinnati, which claimed the lives of both Edward Fenwick and, as the present letter reveals, Samuel Harris. Fenwick’s lifespan (1768-1832) was almost the same as Harris’s and, notwithstanding their different ecclesiastical allegiances, their zeal and energetic itinerant preaching in the pioneer west bear careful comparison. See further on Fenwick in Fortin, *FA*, pp. 9-47.

<sup>883</sup> The word ‘prints’ is inserted above the line at this point, but it plainly jars the grammar of the sentence and so has been omitted in this transcription.

<sup>884</sup> In Letter 6 Harris had already referred to ‘Waldenses Jones’ and so it is interesting that M. DePalma (*DF*, p. 58 f.) identifies the publication of William Jones’s *History of the Christian church from the birth of Christ to the eighteenth century including the very interesting account of the Waldenses and Albigenses*, an attempt to reply to the rhetorical question posed to Protestants by Roman Catholics, *Where was your church before Luther?*, as the prime cause of heated debate between the two camps in the frontier states at this time.

endeavouring to overturn the Pope by denying that Peter was ever in Rome!!!<sup>885</sup> I had a learned Presbyterian as an auditor last Sunday (though not known at the time) and you would have been amused to observe with what astonishment he stared at me when I denied most positively that the Apostles were succeeded in their apostolic office by anyone or that the Lord's promise (Matth. xxviii. 20) ever was intended for any other *persons* but for them. Allowing Matthias in loco Judas Iscariot<sup>886</sup> and Saul of Tarsus in loco James, Zebedee's son, who was cut off by Herod<sup>887</sup> before the apostolic work was fulfilled before the destruction of Jerusalem, i.e. the promulgation of the gospel throughout the Roman Empire, called in those days "the whole world" (Luke ii. 1) and "every nation under heaven" (Acts ii. 5), infallibility was secured to the Apostles alone.<sup>888</sup> They in union with the preceding prophets, whose writings their Lord and they under Him fully confirm are, in their writings, our only guide. They in their inspired writings thus sit, abide in, their twelve thrones, judging Israel, Abraham's seed, as Paul asserts that *every believer is*, Galatians iii. 29. I apprehend that any argument against the Romish church, not founded on this position, has and will prove futile, but this position is also entirely subversive of every other visible associated church, or many distinctly located visible societies associated under one sublunary head, whether that head be called Pope, Synod, Presbytery, General Assembly, Conference, Convocation, Association, or Convention.

I give you this that you may have some notion of my course in endeavouring to fortify and prepare my hearers against the Romish missionaries, who may fall in with them. My only method against the Methodists is to urge against all party or sectarian spirit, as being in opposition to the Spirit of Christ, that the work of a minister of Jesus is to draw sinners to attend and to obey Him, to enforce the study of His will, the knowledge of Him, and conformity to Him, that every attempt to increase a party merely as a particular order betrays an antichristian spirit.

August 20th. I began this with the intent to send the sheet off, as soon as the receipt of the parcel you wrote of sending by John Ashley's brother about the end of March last furnished me with the subject of acknowledgement, but it has not yet arrived, and as as [*sic*] the latter part of your letter dated May 1st does not mention its being actually sent, I conclude that you retained it to make one parcel with Mr. Hughes's communications. Be assured, my dear sir, that anything which you may suppose worth sending will be thankfully received, especially local information. Our papers copy every article relating to reform in your state and *church*, and to all the

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<sup>885</sup> In the face of energetic Catholic expansion in Cincinnati and other parts of Ohio, Presbyterians began to challenge Catholic doctrine in their *Cincinnati Christian journal*, which commenced publication on a weekly basis in 1829. The old arguments were rehearsed with some virulence, provoking response on the other side in issues of *The Catholic telegraph*. Some discussion of the Catholic-Presbyterian war of words in Cincinnati is provided by Daniel Aaron, who comments, 'The Presbyterians... published their anti-Catholic tirades and retold hoary atrocity stories about the slaughtering of the Albigenses and Waldenses. More than any other denomination, they won the hatred of the Catholic leaders' (*CQC*, p. 178).

<sup>886</sup> See Acts 1. 15-26.

<sup>887</sup> See Acts 12. 1 f.

<sup>888</sup> Harris's argument, somewhat compressed here, is that infallibility, contained in Christ's promise to be with the twelve apostles unto the end of the world, is restricted to the twelve (*mutatis mutandis* replacements for two deceased from among the original twelve: Matthias for Judas and Paul for James) who preached the gospel throughout the Roman Empire ('the world'), before the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70, and that it cannot therefore be extended to a line of men in supposed succession to Peter.

larger benevolent institutions. We are filled with (what are styled) religious newspapers, in which I do *not* rejoice, regarding the way in which they are conducted. Their tendency is generally to uphold the party spirit, yet most of them, even the Catholic papers, contain something worth reading.

Respecting parcels and newspapers, any of the latter which you may think worth one penny each to me, costs to me *p[er] mail in Aurora, three cents* or half pence for two papers, when enclosed tight in one envelope<sup>889</sup> sufficient to cover, yet open at one or both ends, so that if you can convey *them* or *parcels free* to Liverpool, the former will reach me as soon as a letter will and the latter, sent to the address of “John Sharp Esqr. Jun. Philadelphia” (covering “my address, to the care of Messrs. Crane, Beach, & Co., 35 Main Street, Cincinnati”) and forwarded, with note of contents, to “Messrs. Wm. & Jas. Brown & Co., Liverpool”, will be sent on to Cincinnati by Mr. Sharp and I shall receive it much sooner and more carefully than by any private hand, and probably at less expense.

Mr. Hughes wrote to me by *a private hand!* dated June 21st 1831, which I received on Feby. 28th 1832. This private hand saved to me one penny and cost me six months suspense and doubt whether my valued friend was alive to me or not. A person whose business *necessarily* draws him *straightway* to Cincinnati without much delay on the eastern shore, may be used, should he offer his hand, to convey a small parcel, but no other should be accepted any farther than the port, as N[ew] York, Philadelphia, &c.

The history of your reformed House of Commons will be necessarily very interesting. Of course, it will not long delay to abolish your *hereditary* Senate and establish an elective one.<sup>890</sup> I should not in such case object to an *hereditary* king, or *wise man*, as the word signifies,<sup>891</sup> provided always that you can maintain the right breed, without degeneracy.<sup>892</sup> Your Tories are now resting all their hopes on our re-electing Jackson<sup>893</sup> and I sometimes fear with too much foundation. Cousin Jonathan is a true chip of the old block, as easily gulled as honest John. However, our prospect of “righting the ship” is much brighter lately.<sup>894</sup>

<sup>889</sup> At the date at which Harris was writing, the term ‘envelope’ was employed to describe a wrap or cover, not the ‘little bag’, first sealed by wax or with a wafer and only later with gummed edges, that we are familiar with today. Envelopes of this sort only came into use with the postal reforms of 1840, when charges for conveying letters were no longer according to the number of sheets carried (under which system an envelope would have constituted an extra sheet), but according to the weight of the letter (including its envelope).

<sup>890</sup> The delay has, in fact, endured until the present time (2016)!

<sup>891</sup> The etymological derivation of the word ‘king’ from Germanic words meaning ‘to know’ (*cf.* English ‘cunning’) is uncertain, most etymologists preferring to link it with ‘kin’ (i.e. family, or race), emphasizing the hereditary principle.

<sup>892</sup> Harris no doubt had in mind the insanity (probably occasioned by porphyria) of King George III in his later years.

<sup>893</sup> In the 1832 US presidential election, Andrew Jackson easily won re-election as the candidate of the Democratic Party against Henry Clay, of the National Republican Party, and William Wirt, of the Anti-Masonic Party. Jackson had been a fierce enemy of the Tory-led British in the war of 1812-15.

<sup>894</sup> This personification of the two nations, Great Britain and the USA, under the names John (Bull) and Cousin (or Brother) Jonathan has already appeared in Letter 4 in this series, where Harris mentions ‘John Bull and his nephew Jonathan pulling together in the same cause.’ The *OED* offers no earlier usage of the phrase ‘honest John’ than 1935, though the phrase ‘honest John Bull’ is found much earlier (*c.* 1792-3) in the popular anti-egalitarian song ‘Here’s a health to honest John Bull’. Background to Harris’s remarks is the satirical allegory titled *The diverting history of John Bull and*

I am now preparing to spend the ensuing winter at Albion, Illinois<sup>895</sup>, Mr. Flower's part of Birkbeck & Flower's settlement.<sup>896</sup> I leave Aurora with considerable satisfaction, as my stand in our meeting-house will be ably filled by our brother Honbl. Jesse L. Holman, who has now retired from public life and devotes himself to his farm, his family, Sabbath school, and Bible society.<sup>897</sup> My son remains yet a widower.<sup>898</sup> I have found, or rather divine Providence has opened, for the poor child, the heart and house of a pious young couple in the opposite state, Kentucky, about two miles from us, where I hope she will have *what she never had before*, a mother. She had a dam, and so had the egg of an ostrich!<sup>899</sup>

Our little church diminishes by removals and exclusions, and I apprehend must be yet more reduced, even almost to expiration, ere it can be truly built up. The congregation gradually increases<sup>900</sup> and yields serious attention. I have hopes of

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*Brother Jonathan* (New York & Philadelphia, 1812) published by James Kirke Paulding (1778-1860) under the pseudonym 'Hector BULL-US', a name which epitomized his personal belief that the two nations ought to work together as brothers and quit hostilities, this on the eve of the 'second war of independence'. A London edition was published in 1825. Paulding was a dramatist and novelist and had worked with William and Washington Irving on the *Salmagundi* periodical. In later life, 1838-1841, he was employed as secretary of the navy. It is evident that Harris had read Paulding's work in the Swifitean tradition of satire, as his language here contains a quotation from *The diverting history*: Jonathan 'was John's own boy, and a true chip of the old block' (p. 7). In Paulding's satire, Jonathan, commonly called Brother Jonathan, was the youngest son of John Bull, a personification of King George III, 'a crack-brained old fellow... as mad as a March hare' (pp. 55, 99), whose relations were constantly soured by the intrigues of little Beau Napperty (Napoleon Bonaparte), lord of the manor of Frogmore, hence Harris's mention of their common gullibility. 'Cousin Jonathan' (also 'Brother Jonathan') were names which became used to describe the American patriots (or rebels) by the British and Loyalists during the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812-15. In cartoons and patriotic posters, he was usually depicted as a typical American revolutionary, with tri-cornered hat and long military jacket. Similarly, John Bull was usually depicted as 'a sturdy, corpulent old fellow, with a three cornered hat, red waistcoat, leather breeches, and stout oaken cudgel.' (Washington Irving, 'John Bull', in *The sketch book of Geoffrey Crayon, gent.* [1819-20], an essay in which the expression 'honest John Bull' is also found.) Samuel Harris was perhaps peculiarly drawn to the character John Bull since his maternal grandfather was actually named John Bull.

<sup>895</sup> Albion was the name of the town laid out by George Flower and, after his rift with Morris Birkbeck, it became a distinct entity from Wanborough, the town laid out by Birkbeck a mile or two to the west.

<sup>896</sup> On which, see notes 325 & 326.

<sup>897</sup> The time at which Harris was writing marked a lull in the political career of J.L. Holman after his failure to be elected as governor of the State of Indiana in 1831. His political interests would revive, however, in 1835. See Blake, *HV*, pp. 26 f.

<sup>898</sup> Harris's use of the word 'widower' is unusual since, while his son's former wife Catalina had died in Ohio on the 31st January 1831, after her divorce from W.T. Harris on the 20th April 1830 she had married his cousin Francis Harris on the 10th August 1830, so that it was Francis Harris who was strictly the 'widower'. However, while normally the word 'widower' indicates a man whose wife is dead, it was occasionally used in the extended sense of a man deserted by his wife.

<sup>899</sup> A saying probably derived from Job 39. 13 f.: '...the ostrich, which leaveth her eggs in the earth, and warmeth them in the dust.' We cannot tell at this remove of time how just or otherwise was Harris's seemingly harsh remark. In view of the fact that Samuel Harris undertook to care for his granddaughter after Catalina's departure and later to settle her with a family in Kentucky, we may wonder whether similar remarks ought also to have been levelled at his son, William Tell Harris.

<sup>900</sup> At first sight Harris's remarks 'Our little church diminishes' and 'The congregation gradually increases' might appear contradictory, but a careful reading of his usage in other places in these letters and in Baptist writing in general indicates that he is distinguishing, on the one hand, between actually enrolled church members (who might, at a spiritual level, be merely 'professors'; N.B. Harris's following words) and, on the other hand, between congregation in the sense of attenders or auditors at a

several, who appear to be waiting to witness more of the Spirit of Jesus in the professors.<sup>901</sup> I fear that the “glorious revivals”, which our religious papers have noised abroad, have already proved the source of many evils and will prove more so unless greater pains be taken to instruct and watch over those who are wheedled and terrified into the profession of religion. Bible classes are formed and forming everywhere, yet when I hear and converse with our religious leaders generally, I - - - wish that they had studied the Bible and gathered their religious ideas thence, instead of from “their own experience” and the modern hymn books. These last are multiplied even to nausea.

22nd. Yesterday we were visited by a Mr. Skinner and his wife, from Manchester. On their way to Louisville they had embarked at Liverpool with their family, but had occasion to go to the town while the vessel lay at Black Rock.<sup>902</sup> On their return, they had the mortification to see the vessel far out at sea with a fair wind, and their family and *all* on board. The wife was a Liverpool woman and sufficient was collected for them to embark on board another vessel. Arrived at New York, they heard of their family having proceeded to Cincinnati. His watch &c. helped them on to Wheeling, where they met with a benevolent Englishwoman, who paid their passage p[er] steamer to Cincinnati. Here they learned that their family had proceeded to and were then settled at Louisville. We housed them for the day and forwarded by steamer that night to their family, with whom we expect they breakfasted the next morning.

A letter from my daughter yesterday (Aug. 28th) tells me that cholera was all round them (July 9th).<sup>903</sup> We hear of it here and perhaps have had one or two slight cases of the usual summer complaint in our little village, but most persons take no notice of it.<sup>904</sup> It has certainly affected some parts of our union and 'tis now reported

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religious service (or public meeting, as in his report on the Owen-Campbell debate). Cf. Harris's words in Letter 1: 'your church & individuals of the congregation.'

<sup>901</sup> See note 700.

<sup>902</sup> Later known as Perch Rock battery, the lighthouse built in 1827 on the north-east tip of the Wirral Peninsula to guard the entrance to the River Mersey and the port of Liverpool.

<sup>903</sup> The outbreak of cholera in Britain in 1832, that killed more than 55,000 people, was particularly severe in London, but many other places were also affected and a general uneasiness was felt throughout the British population. It even reached Wigan, killing in July one of the scholars of the 2nd Baptist Church Sunday School (Brown, *FTY*, p. 9).

<sup>904</sup> Harris's reference to 'the usual summer complaint' reflects the current state of ignorance regarding two quite distinct diseases: cholera properly so-called, being caused by a powerful enterotoxin produced by *vibrio cholerae* and manifesting itself initially in severe gastrointestinal and metabolic manifestations; and 'cholera morbus', a once popular name for severe gastroenteritis producing diarrhoea, cramps, and vomiting, tending to manifest itself seasonally between the months of June and September and possibly caused by consumption of overripe fruit and indigestible vegetables. The latter did not normally result in fatal consequences. In 1831 Francis Bisset Hawkins published a *History of the epidemic spasmodic cholera of Russia; including a copious account of the disease which prevailed in India, and which has traveled, under that name, from Asia into Europe* (and which in the following year would travel into North America to meet Samuel Harris in Cincinnati). In the Introduction to that work (p. viii), in an attempt to disabuse the ignorance at large, he wrote, 'Many cases of the *ordinary bilious* cholera will occur, as happens generally in the summer and autumn, but which have no identity with the Epidemic Spasmodic Cholera, and are seldom dangerous ("as certainly [says Sydenham] as swallows in the spring, or cuckoos about the dog-days").' The common cholera is referred to years later by James Thurber in his short story 'Daguerreotype of a lady', describing an old folk healer lady of nineteenth-century Ohio: 'cholera morbus, which sounds Asiatic and deadly, but is really no more serious... than summer complaint accompanied by green-apple belly-ache.'



to be in N[ew] Orleans. The Indian War on our frontiers is sometimes mentioned, but causes no uneasiness.<sup>905</sup> The greatest disturbance is now felt by our old President's veto'ing [*sic*] the renewal of the Bank's Charter.<sup>906</sup> So far as I am individually concerned, it may be to my personal advantage, as it must reduce the prices of most articles of consumption and perhaps of wearing apparel also. A general gloom is over our political horizon. However, the true Christian is satisfied in the persuasion that "his Father is at the helm".

I have met with a pious couple on the other side of the river, who have taken charge of our little girl (eight years old next October 1st) and agreed to call her their eldest daughter, for a season, should she prove to their mind after a few weeks' trial. This has relieved my mind from a great burden, though it has entailed upon me some expense.

You express the improbability of my ever receiving aught from Sir Rich[ar]d Clayton's estate,<sup>907</sup> but do not state upon what grounds, whether it arises from the defect of that side of the question, or of the proof of debt on my part; though, had you not met with my old shop books, so as to discover the amount of my demand, I naturally conclude that you would have said so. I do not wish that any information you can give respecting this matter should occupy the space in your next, which might otherwise be filled with more interesting manner [*sic*]. I should be unable, were I ever so disposed, to take any more or other steps respecting it.

I am now making arrangements to spend the ensuing winter in Illinois, in Flower's settlement. The town Albion is the county seat of Edwards County. I was strongly invited last fall to spend this winter there and my friend writes that he has built an apartment purposely for my reception. The invitation, he tells me, is at the special desire of his wife, who has undertaken the education of the children: two sons and a daughter, and another I think in arms.<sup>908</sup> She wishes for my aid and I am

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<sup>905</sup> The Black Hawk War of 1832 was waged mainly in Illinois, Missouri, and Wisconsin. One ultimate effect of the war was the impetus it lent to the US policy of Indian removal, whereby Native American tribes were pressured to sell their lands and move west of the Mississippi River.

<sup>906</sup> The President, Directors and Company of the Bank of the United States, commonly known as the Second Bank of the United States (BUS), served as the nation's federally authorized central bank during its 20-year charter from February 1817 to January 1836. A private corporation with public duties, the central bank handled all fiscal transactions for the US government, and was accountable to Congress and the US Treasury. The essential function of the bank was to regulate the public credit issued by private banking institutions through the fiscal duties it performed for the US Treasury, and to establish a sound and stable national currency. The federal deposits endowed the BUS with its regulatory capacity. Modeled on Alexander Hamilton's First Bank of the United States, the Second Bank began operations at its main branch in Philadelphia on the 7th January 1817, managing 25 branch offices nationwide by 1832. The efforts to renew the bank's charter put the institution at the centre of the general election of 1832, in which BUS president Nicholas Biddle and pro-Bank National Republicans clashed with the 'hard-money' Andrew Jackson administration and eastern banking interests in the Bank War. Failing to secure recharter, the Second Bank of the United States became a private corporation in 1836, and underwent liquidation in 1841. (*Wikipedia*.)

<sup>907</sup> See note 866.

<sup>908</sup> As is confirmed by the report of J.C. Power, attached at the end of the present correspondence, the friend's family referred to by Harris was that of Daniel Orange, who, as we have stated (in note 805), resided at times in Albion, Edwards County, Illinois, where the Flower settlement was situated. Harris also states in the next paragraph of this letter that his destination in Albion was intended to be 'Orange Grove', a property no doubt deriving its name from that of Daniel Orange. It was, in fact, at the house of Daniel's brother William Frederick Orange in Cincinnati that Harris would die before managing to

willing to give it. I understand that most of the old country folk there are Socinians and Deists. The rest are chiefly Baptists and Methodists, who, by their unskilfulness in handling the Scriptures, confirm the others in their infidelity. There are also a few Romanists, but very ignorant. I expect to meet with some tough work among them, and need great prudence and that wisdom which is from above.<sup>909</sup> The exercises which I have had formerly on these subjects<sup>910</sup> induce me to suppose that I am not so ignorant of the true method to be pursued with such persons, as the generality of our public teachers are. Should anything worth noting down occur before I write to you again, 'tis probable that I may copy it for your amusement and as a specimen of my occasional employment in this vast howling wilderness.

When I began this sheet, it was with the expectation, as already observed, of hearing soon from Mr. Sharp (Philadelphia) of the safe arrival of the parcel, but concluding that it is detained by you for the Bible &c. &c. Annual Reports, I may send it off before I go down the river for Orange Grove, Albion, Illinois. My son will have all necessary instructions how to forward letters &c. to me during my sojourning there, and I shall speedily acknowledge to you thence every receipt. Expense of postage is no more there than here, though it is between two and three hundred miles farther west from you than we are here. The postage between Albion and Aurora for that distance is about 10 d.,<sup>911</sup> but between any two extreme points of the union it is only 1s/1½ (25 cents).<sup>912</sup>

I have lately dipped into Birkbeck's pamphlets again and though this country has proceeded in improvement vastly since their date, yet enough remains of its pristine state to verify his remarks. I intend to take the book with me and as there are several blanks [*sic*] leaves bound up in it, I may note down how far Flower's improvements have confirmed his prognostications and intentions formed thereon. The account which my friend Daniel Orange gives me of the society is favourable as to intelligence and morals.

Our communication with the northern part, bordering on Michigan,<sup>913</sup> is very scant. I don't recollect having ever fallen in with more than one person (Isaac McCoy, Baptist missionary<sup>914</sup>) who has seen that Territory (or State, as it will soon

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set out on his projected journey to the Flower settlement in Edwards County. As Harris also notes a little further down in this letter, it was Daniel Orange who had previously given him some account of the Flower settlement. Furthermore, Harris's description in this passage of the family members accords with what is known of the children of Daniel Orange and his wife Elizabeth James Luntley at this time. The 'two sons' were John Baptiste Orange (30th November 1822-May 1880) and Samuel J. Orange (b. 23rd January 1825), the daughter was probably Rebecca Orange (whose life dates do not appear in the record), and the child 'in arms' would have been Mary Hannah Orange (23rd February 1831-27th April 1903). Another daughter, Elizabeth Sarah Orange, born in 1821, died before 1826; and another child, William Luntley Orange, was not born until later than this letter (in 1836). See <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=DESC&db=:3308088&id=I654147197>.

<sup>909</sup> Cf. James 3. 17.

<sup>910</sup> See Harris's remarks on his personal experience of Socinianism in Letter 4.

<sup>911</sup> Approx. £0.04 in modern British currency, with an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £2.06/\$3.13 in 2016.

<sup>912</sup> Approx. £0.06 in modern British currency, with an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £3.30/\$5 in 2016.

<sup>913</sup> Harris refers to the northern part of Indiana.

<sup>914</sup> Much has been published on the career of this famous Baptist missionary. See e.g. G.A. Shultz, *An Indian Canaan: Isaac McCoy and the vision of an Indian State* (University of Oklahoma Press,

be<sup>915</sup>). I shall endeavour to inquire about George Parkin in my next visit to Cincinnati. Your account of his late sister is very cheering.<sup>916</sup> The notices you make of Tho[ma]s Latimer<sup>917</sup> and a few others lead me to think with gratitude of the tender care of our heavenly Father over me in my old age, in providing for me so comfortably, though not profusely. What would have been my situation in your neighbourhood upon the interest of £900,<sup>918</sup> under the obligation to have it lodged in the public funds? Here, I am able to do with half of it and devote the other half to the assistance of my granddaughter & to her father's aid also occasionally, and with the hope of being able, after a while, of setting apart some of my half to the discharge of an old obligation, for which I have hitherto struggled in vain.<sup>919</sup> But what could I have done, had I been in old England when even this supply, my only dependence, entirely failed me? Here, some of my Kentucky friends afterwards assured me that they had formed a plan for my comfort, which would have rendered my remaining days peaceful, without my fancying myself a pensioner upon anyone. I would not attempt to persuade T. Latimer or anyone at his age to emigrate, unless as part of a family of young, vigorous, and industrious persons, to where [?], as abiding in the house to take care of the little ones, while the adults are working abroad. In this case, I was of great service to my son during the two years succeeding his wife's elopement, in taking care of and teaching his child. We have had a widow and three of her children<sup>920</sup> since last February, who take care of the house for us.

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1972); *The autobiography of Isaac McCoy* (Particular Baptist Press, 2003) [covering the period 1784-1816]; Isaac McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian missions* (Washington & New York, 1840) [covering the period 1817-1840]; G.M. Ella, *Isaac McCoy, apostle of the Western Trail* (Particular Baptist Press, 2003). According to I.G. Blake, Isaac McCoy served for a time as one of the teachers in an educational academy in Dearborn County, Indiana and his missionary activities were firmly championed by Harris's close friend Jesse Lynch Holman (Blake, *JLH*, pp. 42, 45), who, as Secretary for the Aurora Missionary Society, sent donations of money and clothing to the McCoy mission (see e.g. *The latter day luminary*, n.s., vol. IV [1823], p. 287 f.; & Cady, *MBCI*, p. 90, 92, 94 f.).

<sup>915</sup> Michigan was admitted into the Union on the 26th January 1837, as the 26th state.

<sup>916</sup> George Parkin (1805-1891) should almost certainly be identified with 'young Parkin' referred to earlier by Harris in these letters. He was the first child of Joseph (1780-1809) and Elizabeth Parkin (*neé* Wightman), his father having served as minister in St. Paul Independent Church in Wigan (see Appendix V). In 1804 Joseph Parkin married Elizabeth Wightman, the sister of John Brown's wife (see 'Memoir of the late Rev. Joseph Parkin, minister of the gospel at Wigan', *The evangelical magazine*, June 1809, pp. 221-228, esp. p. 223; and Roaf, *EPL*, pp. 22-30). George Parkin had two sisters, both named Elizabeth, the first born on the 7th July 1807 and (presumably after the death of the first), the second born on the 25th May 1809, shortly after her father's death. This latter Elizabeth died on the 20th February 1832, aged almost 23 (St. Paul Independent Church, registers of baptisms and burials) and it seems clear from what he writes here that Harris must have received news of her demise in a foregoing letter from Brown. George Parkin must have emigrated to America and his grave, which records also the death of his wife, Anne Broughall (name given as Ann Brockhall in <http://www.airgale.com.au/booth/d6.htm#i39486>) of Chester, England, is to be found in Atwater Cemetery, Portage County, Ohio (see <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=pv&GRid=98285339&PIpi=68404333>).

<sup>917</sup> Thomas Latimer is listed as a resident in Vauxhall Road S. in Baines, *DW*. He was one of the original members of Hope Chapel, Wigan (*HSCMB*), on whom see further in note 414.

<sup>918</sup> £900 would have an equivalent purchasing power of approx. £44,541/\$67,671 in 2016.

<sup>919</sup> The 'old obligation' might perhaps be Harris's liability arising from his failure about 1801 to administer funds under Bernard Foskett's Gift for Poor Welsh Ministers, as described earlier in note 147.

<sup>920</sup> It seems reasonable to suggest that the widow referred to here was Sarah Webber, who would become married to William Tell Harris in 1834. There is, however, a problem in reconciling the information in the present letter with the record of William Tell Harris's household in the 1830 Census, which was taken on the 1st June, soon after Samuel Harris completed this letter. The Census report states that the household consisted of one male in the age range 30-40, who would have been William

James Latham has been with us during the last four weeks. He talks of visiting his estate near Zanesville<sup>921</sup> towards the end of September and thence writing again to Chapel Lane.<sup>922</sup> He complains heavily of being neglected, not having had one letter from either father or brothers for a long season. He behaves very well as a professing Christian, but is sadly ignorant in the art of wooing, making woeful work of it. Most of his friends think that his disappointment ought not to fret him and that, on the whole, it needs not to be lamented.

*[The remainder of this letter is completed by Samuel Harris's son, William Tell Harris.]*

You may perhaps, my dear sir, enter a little into my state of mind on taking up my dear father's pen but to state the heavy loss I have sustained in his decease. He left me for Cincinnati, Oct. 4th, writing me thence once and twice a week to the 16th, when he stated his business as settled and the probability of being with me on the Thursday 19th.<sup>923</sup> Judge of my feelings when on the Saturday I received by express a letter from one of his numerous friends that his life was despaired of, having been attacked by the prevailing cholera.<sup>924</sup> I immediately mounted the messenger's horse, but arrived too late (by one hour) for the funeral, he having died the evening before.<sup>925</sup>

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Tell Harris, for purposes of registration the head of the family; one male in the age range 60-70, who would have been Samuel Harris; and one female in the age range 60-70, whereas Sarah Webber, born on the 8th June 1791, would have been a few days short of her fortieth birthday. Possibly we have to conclude that Sarah Webber and her children were somehow excluded from the Census registration and that an unnamed older woman was lodging with Samuel and William Tell and possibly assisting them in domestic work on the day of the Census. On Sarah Harris and her children, see in the Introduction under 'William Tell Harris'.

<sup>921</sup> See note 859.

<sup>922</sup> That is, Chapel Lane in Wigan, where his father, Peter Latham, conducted his cabinet-making business. See note 302.

<sup>923</sup> The 19th October, the date on which Samuel Harris actually died, was in fact Friday and not Thursday.

<sup>924</sup> It was ironic that in this last of his letters to John Brown, Harris had so recently dismissed the threat of cholera as virtually unknown in the place to which he had emigrated, being able to think of it only in terms of 'the usual summer complaint' in his little village. In fact, it was in this fatal year 1832 that genuine cholera first appeared in the USA. 'European immigrants apparently brought the disease with them to America... Migrants or businessmen who traveled across Lake Erie probably brought the disease. With poor sanitation systems, cholera tended to be most virulent in cities. By the autumn of 1832, the illness had reached Cincinnati, probably brought by people traveling along the Ohio River.' (Article on Cholera epidemics in Ohio, at <http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/entry.php?rec=487>). See also the comments of Harriet Livermore on the outbreak of cholera in Cincinnati, in note 538.

<sup>925</sup> Dr. Daniel Drake (1785-1852), who was among the first medically qualified people to attempt to deal with the cholera outbreak in Cincinnati in 1832, wrote the following report, which may be of some interest to us here: 'From [September 30] to this day, October 7, 10 o'clock A.M. fifteen persons have died with the characteristic symptoms of epidemic, Malignant, or Asiatic Cholera. I have seen some of these early victims, and have collected circumstantial histories of the whole. Seven of them were white men and eight negroes, of whom three were men & five women... Of these fifteen, eight were in the neighborhood of Deer Creek... and none near the mouth of that stream in the neighborhood of the steam boats. Of the whole, but one had been in connection with the river or those who navigate it...' But fatalities soon escalated, so that by the time the outbreak receded in late November 1832, cholera had killed some 571 people in Cincinnati out of a current population of approximately 30,000. (Ruth C. Carter, 'Cincinnati and cholera: attitudes toward the epidemics of 1832 and 1849', *Queen City heritage*, vol. L [1992] p. 35-38.) In a fairly lengthy report published by Daniel Drake on the cholera epidemic, he noted out of the 571 deaths previously noted, '26 of these... [were] among strangers landing at the quay' in Cincinnati.' ('Epidemic cholera in Cincinnati', *The western journal of the*

6 ignorant in the art of weeping; making woeful work of it. — most of his friends think that his disappointment ought not to fret him, and that on the whole, it were not to be lamented. —

You may perhaps, my dear Sir, enter a little into my state of mind, on taking up my dear Father's pen, but to state the heavy loss I have sustained in his decease. he left me for Cincinnati Oct. 4<sup>th</sup> writing me thence once and twice a week to the 16<sup>th</sup> when he stated his business as settled, and the probability of being with me on the Sunday 19<sup>th</sup>. Judge of my feelings when on the Saturday I received by express a letter from one of his numerous friends that his life was despaired of, having been attacked by the prevailing Cholera. I immediately mounted the impregner's horse but arrived too late (by one hour) for the funeral, he having died the evening before. — You may perhaps fear from the short interval elapsing from death to burial, that too much haste had been made, but it appears the most certain evidences were had that his blessed spirit had for ever lost its clog: — His loss is most keenly felt in Cincinnati, this place, abundantly and wherever he was known, people of all classes and every opinion say "they have lost their guide, their counsellor, their friend." —

Page from Samuel Harris's last letter to John Brown, showing his last written words at the head of the page and the transition below to the writing of his son William Tell Harris

medical and physical sciences, vol. VI, no. 3 [Oct.-Dec. 1832] p. 338.) Samuel Harris would have been one of those who made up this number. Drake's own father died of the cholera on the 14th October. (Horine, *DD*, p. 263.) Sanitary conditions did not improve, however, so that between 1832 and 1835, 732 persons died from cholera in Cincinnati, and the 1832 outbreak spread also to Aurora, Indiana, killing there 20-30 people out of a population of a few hundred. (W.J. Daly, 'The black cholera comes to the central valley of America in the 19th century - 1832, 1849, and later', *Transactions of the American Clinical and Climatological Association*, vol. CXIX [2008] pp. 143-153.)



You may perhaps fear from the short interval elapsing from death to burial that too much haste had been made, but it appears the most certain evidences were had that his blessed spirit had for ever lost its cloy.

His loss is most heartily felt in Cincinnati, this place, Kentucky, and wherever he was known. People of all classes and every opinion say “they have lost this guide, this counsellor, this friend.”<sup>926</sup> Most assuredly ’tis the case with myself in every sense of the word. In memoranda for Cincinnati I find notice of his becoming acquainted with the Revd. John Thomas late of Lothbury (Founder’s Hall), author of “The challenge of a Deist accepted, or an examination of the objections to revelation, contained in ‘The age of reason’<sup>927</sup> and ‘The deist’” (1831, Hurst, Chance & Co.), also of “Christian Experience, a sermon<sup>928</sup> preached on Thursday, May 11th, 1820 at the annual lecture in Darwen Chapel” (Wigan, W. & G. Lyon).<sup>929</sup>

Nov. 3rd. The disease, by accounts from different parts of the country, appears very fluctuating, making awful ravages in places, subsiding apparently, and then reappearing.<sup>930</sup> Our inmate<sup>931</sup> J.L.<sup>932</sup> will probably remain with me for some time, at least till it should seem to be less fatal in its attack.

Dec. 20th. I have detained this sheet longer than intended, in hopes of receiving your *expected* to my dear father. Mr. Latham is still an inmate with me and since the marriage of his *intended* with his medical attendant, a widower with two children, he has risen considerably in public estimation.

Should you favour me with keeping up the communication with Wigan, I should feel obliged by knowing if possible something of my old fellow apprentice James Sharp. I know father has enquired respecting him often and, as I believe, without success.

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<sup>926</sup> From the words of a hymn by the Independent minister Joseph Hart (1711/12-1768). See his *Hymns composed on various subjects*, new ed. (London, 1812) p. 72, Hymn LXXII: ‘Jesus is our God and Saviour,/ Guide, and Counsellor, and Friend...’

<sup>927</sup> Thomas Paine’s *The age of reason* was published in three parts between 1794 and 1807.

<sup>928</sup> The text taken for the sermon was Romans 7. 14: ‘For we know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin.’

<sup>929</sup> John Thomas had served as pastor of the Independent congregation meeting at Founder’s Hall, Lothbury, London, but had later removed to Chorley (a town close to Wigan) in Lancashire. In 1832 he, like Harris, moved from an Independent to a Baptist position and in May of that year emigrated to the USA with his son, another John Thomas (1805-1871). W.T. Harris’s remark in this place suggests that his father Samuel Harris had met the elder Thomas on the latter’s arrival in Cincinnati in October 1832 and, given Thomas’s former geographical nearness to John Brown in Lancashire, we cannot help wondering whether news of Harris might have had some influence in Thomas’s travelling to Cincinnati. It is interesting to note meanwhile that the younger John Thomas became involved in Ohio with the Restoration Movement, later coming to know Alexander Campbell, whose teaching had so much fascinated Samuel Harris during his lifetime. John Thomas jun. would go on to take his own paths in restorationism to form the new Christadelphian movement. For some account of John Thomas sen.’s call to minister to a Baptist church in Cincinnati and of his son’s meeting there with Alexander Campbell’s followers Daniel Gano (see note 1069) and Walter Scott, see R. Roberts, *Dr. Thomas, his life and work: a biography* (London, 1873) chaps. 2-5.

<sup>930</sup> It was reported that the cholera outbreak in Cincinnati ‘raged with unabated fury for nearly two years.’ (Juettner, *DDF*, p. 145.)

<sup>931</sup> That is, lodger, or guest.

<sup>932</sup> That is, James Latham; see following sentence.

I need not request you to give all the publicity possible to his numerous friends of my dear father's death, as I know your attachment to him.<sup>933</sup> His acquaintance, you may recollect, were scattered over the kingdom. A newspaper containing provincial news would at all times be very acceptable remembrance from you. Mr. Latham requests you will present him to his family and urge them to write to him. Be pleased to tender my regards to Mr. Alston & all who may recollect me, and believe me, my dear sir, anxious that you and Mrs. B. will retain in your friendly remembrance, the name of

W.T. Harris

Mr. John Brown, Wigan

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<sup>933</sup> The announcement of the death of Samuel Harris in the *Gentleman's magazine* (vol. CII, pt. 2 [July-Dec. 1832] p. 652) was published too early for it to have been the result of John Brown's acting upon this request, since the present letter was not dispatched until the 25th December 1832 and several weeks would have been required for its conveyance to John Brown in Wigan. News of Harris's death must have been sent to England by some other means soon after his demise in October.



## A contemporary obituary notice of Samuel Harris

[The following obituary notice of Samuel Harris was communicated to the Western statesman (printed in Lawrenceburg, Indiana) and published on the 2nd November 1832. It was possibly written by Harris's friend Jesse L. Holman.]

The Rev. SAMUEL HARRIS, of Aurora, departed this life on the 19th of October, at Cincinnati. He had been on a visit to that city for about two weeks, when he fell a victim to the pestilence that walketh in darkness, the Spasmodic Cholera,<sup>934</sup> in the 65th year of his age. He was a native of England. His father had been for many years Mayor of Bristol in that kingdom.<sup>935</sup> For something more than eleven years he has been in the U.S. a resident of Aurora in this county. He was warmly attached to our republican institutions,<sup>936</sup> and had embraced the earliest opportunity of becoming naturalized.<sup>937</sup> He was a member, and a minister of the Baptist Church. In private life, he lived in an exemplary manner, honoring the religion he professed. As a citizen he was thoroughly devoted to the prosperity of the country. As a minister of the Gospel his learning, zeal, and abilities were of the first order. In his removal, society in general, and the Baptist Church in Aurora in particular, have sustained a loss which He alone can repair who has called him from the church militant to the church triumphant. His death is a solemn warning to all not to depend on any human precautions as a security against the Cholera. If temperance in every sense of the term, attention to clothing, avoiding exposure, uniformity of temper, serenity of mind, and a cheerful preparedness for life or death, could have warded off the fearful disease, his friends and relations would not now have had to lament his sudden and unexpected removal.

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<sup>934</sup> 'Spasmodic cholera of India' was an alternative name for what became commonly called the Asiatic cholera. See further in note 904.

<sup>935</sup> The phrase 'for many years' is, of course, an exaggeration. John Harris had been Mayor of Bristol in 1790, although he held other civic posts in the city during the last three decades of the eighteenth century.

<sup>936</sup> We find hints of this political leaning in the present series of letters, perhaps reflecting the experience of Nonconformists in Britain reacting against years of repression by established church and monarchical state. Thus, Harris wrote: (1) '*The cottage minstrel* is evidently intended for church & king folks *only*, which I am sorry for' (Letter 3); (2) 'we have not any pressure upon us from without, either church, king...' (Letter 9); and (3) (alluding to King George III) 'I should not... object to an *hereditary* king... provided always that you can maintain the right breed, without degeneracy' (Letter 12).

<sup>937</sup> See note 498.

## An epitaph after thirty years

*[Some additional details relating to the death of Samuel Harris are to be found in the publication of W.T. Harris's son-in-law John Carroll Power, The rise and progress of Sunday schools: a biography of Robert Raikes and William Fox (New York, 1863) pp. 226 ff. Since the William Fox named in the title was the father-in-law of Samuel Harris, J.C. Power thought fit to enter in his narrative some details relating to the family of William Fox, among which we find the following eulogy of Samuel Harris, the grandfather of Power's wife.]*

Soon after settling here [in Aurora], Mr. Samuel Harris was ordained to the gospel ministry by the proper tribunal of the Baptist church; he, with a number of others, united in forming the first church of any denomination in Aurora. Mr. Harris was the first pastor of the church,<sup>938</sup> he continued to discharge its duties to the end of his life... Mr. Harris, in addition to his pastoral labors, was accustomed to preach at many other points in the country around Aurora.



**William Frederick Orange**

He is particularly remembered for the catholic spirit he always manifested towards ministers of other denominations. In October 1832 he went to Cincinnati, and stopped at the house of an old friend, William Orange, Esq.<sup>939</sup> That gentleman, in

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<sup>938</sup> It should be remembered, however, that Harris actually rejected the title 'pastor'. See his comments on the subject in Letters 2 & 4.

<sup>939</sup> William Frederick Orange (1797-1862) was, with Daniel and Benjamin Orange (1803-1868) (both previously referred to) as well as seven other children, a son of Jean Baptiste Orange and Martha Orange (*née* Fox). He and his siblings were born in Cheshunt, Hertfordshire. In June 1820 William F.

a letter to a friend of mine, says, “Mr. Harris died at my house; he came there in good health, with trunks all packed for a long journey through Illinois,<sup>940</sup> with the intention of making a long stay at my brother’s, in Alton [*sic*],<sup>941</sup> but finding the cholera raging in our city, he feared he might take it on his way, and he preferred dying at a friend’s house, as he said he always expected he would; he appeared in good spirits up to the time of the attack. I recollect we urged him to play for us on the piano, which he did, and repeated some verses I understood he composed. I have never forgotten the first verse; as near as I can recollect, it is as follows:

“I have no abiding city here,  
To me the world is dark and drear,  
I long to see my father’s face,  
I long to reach my resting place.”<sup>942</sup>

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Orange, then aged 23 and listed as a farmer, with his brother Benjamin Orange, aged 17 also listed as a farmer, disembarked from the ship *Tontine* in the port of Philadelphia. (*Letter from the Secretary of State, with a transcript of the list of passengers who arrived in the United States from the 1st October, 1819, to the 30th September, 1820* [Washington, 1821] p. 60.) It was apparently their intention to join their brother Daniel, who had emigrated at an earlier date to the USA. William married Barbara Tait in 1824. We meet with traces of William and Benjamin again in two advertisements appearing in *The Cincinnati directory, for the year 1831* published by Robinson & Fairbank. The first read: ‘William Orange’s upholstery, feather bed, & mattress manufactory, East Front Street, between Sycamore and Broadway, steam boats furnished with colours, festoons, &c. on the shortest notice...’; the second advertisement stated: ‘General furniture and commission warehouse, corner of Third and Sycamore Streets... a large and general assortment of new and second hand cabinet furniture, beds, mattresses, and bedding, with a splendid assortment of chairs, settees, &c.... Benjamin Orange’. The Orange brothers’ furnishing businesses may possibly explain why Harris made his visit to Cincinnati before setting out for Albion, Illinois: it was perhaps to obtain goods to equip him for his stay in that place; hence William Orange’s remark, reported by J.C. Power, remembering Samuel Harris in 1832 ‘with trunks all packed for a long journey through Illinois’. Of additional interest is the fact that William F. Orange was a Director of Spring Grove Cemetery (see note 943) from 1853 to 1858 (see e.g. the names of Directors in *The Cincinnati cemetery of Spring Grove, report for 1857*). He too was buried in that cemetery in 1862.

<sup>940</sup> The usual course taken in travelling between Cincinnati and Albion, Illinois would have been by sailing down the Ohio River and then, beyond Louisville, up the Wabash River. It is strange then that William F. Orange should remark that Samuel Harris came to his house ‘with trunks all packed for a long journey through Illinois’, suggesting that he did not intend to call again at Aurora before proceeding to Illinois. It also seems to contradict William Tell’s statement in the last of the letters: ‘He left me for Cincinnati, Oct. 4th, writing me thence once and twice a week to the 16th, when he stated his business as settled and the probability of being with me on the Thursday 19th’, which clearly indicates Samuel Harris’s intention of visiting Aurora again before proceeding on the long journey, on which account he would not have needed to take his packed trunks up to Cincinnati. It seems likely therefore that the packed trunks contained items, not brought from Aurora, but procured in Cincinnati, either to take back to Aurora or onwards into Illinois. Alternatively, William Orange might during intervening years have forgotten the exact circumstances of Harris’s short stay in Cincinnati. But see remarks previously made in note 939.

<sup>941</sup> This appears to be a transcriptional error for ‘Albion’. See notes 805 & 895.

<sup>942</sup> This verse, followed by four others, was published in the year that Harris had set out on his pilgrimage to the New World, under the heading ‘The pilgrim’s song’ and signed with the pseudonym ‘Peter’, in *The evangelical magazine and missionary chronicle*, 1821, vol. XXIX, p. 32. It is reproduced here in full:

I’ve no abiding city here,  
To me the world is dark and drear:  
I long to see my Father’s face –  
I long to reach my resting place.

Far off from hence my mansion lies,

“This is all I recollect of several verses he repeated to us; he was full of heavenly joy, little thinking he was within a few hours of that eternal home where he longed to be.”

Mr. Orange then details the circumstances of his sickness and death, being attacked that night, and expiring the next day at noon, with the half-spoken sentence, ‘Oh, my dear sir!’ upon his lips.

His remains were deposited in the Baptist burying ground on Catherine street, Cincinnati.<sup>943</sup> The following is a part of the inscription on his tomb—‘To Samuel Harris, late Pastor of the Baptist church in Aurora, he died of Asiatic cholera Oct. 19, 1832, in the 65th year of his age.’ Mr. Harris was a fine scholar, familiar with a number of languages, easy in his manners, and was much beloved and respected in all relations of life.

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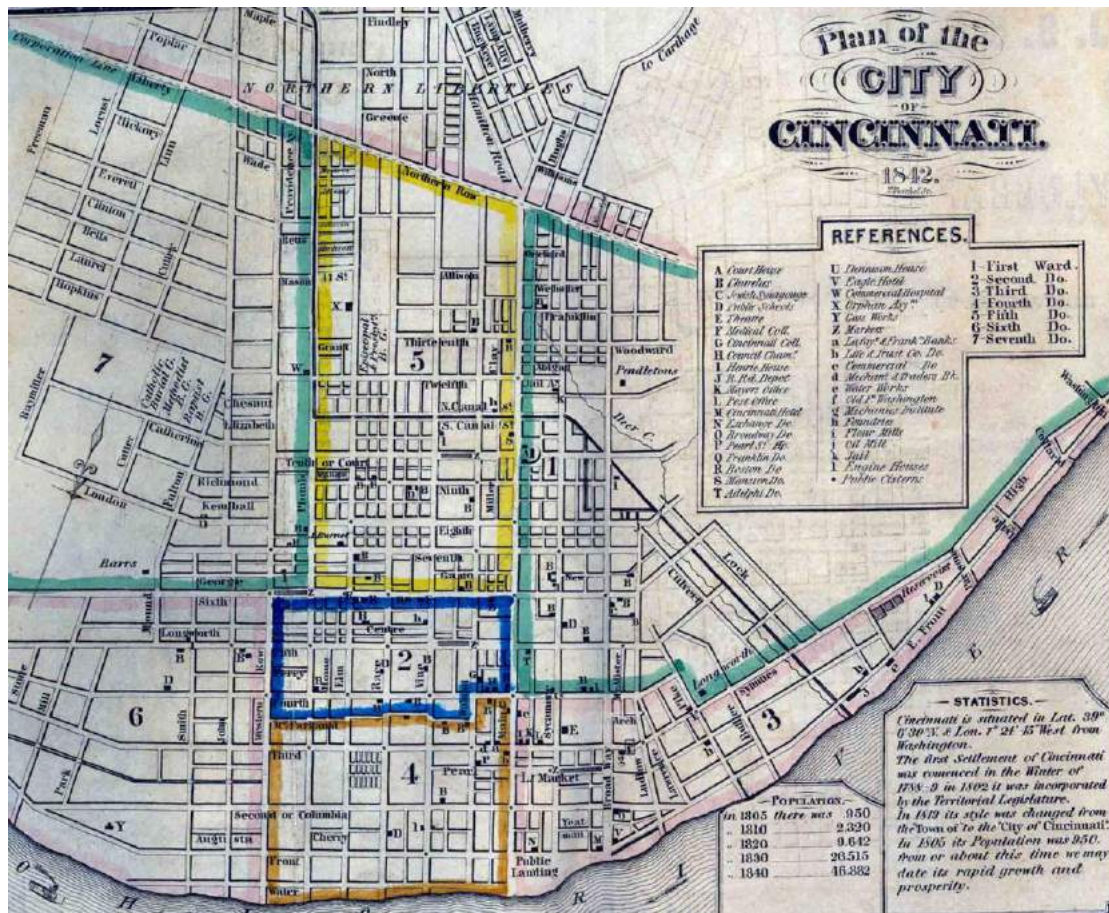
A house eternal in the skies;  
And there it is by faith I see,  
A place of rest prepared for me.

As yet a pilgrim here I stray,  
While doubts perplex me on my way;  
But still I trust, thro’ Jesu’s grace,  
My soul shall find a resting place.

Tho’ oft thro’ lonely wilds I go,  
With weary, fainting steps, and slow,  
Yet Jesus whispers, Soon, my son,  
Thy painful journey will be done.

With courage then, my soul, arise,  
Press forward to obtain the prize:  
I soon shall close this toilsome race,  
I soon shall reach my resting place.

<sup>943</sup> Catherine Street Baptist Church used to front the Baptist Cemetery and this church must have been visited by Harris many times during his late years. It must have been a large and accommodating building, since sometime after 1872 the Cincinnati College of Pharmacy, founded in 1850, moved into it. (Juettner, *DDF*, p. 145.) The site of the now defunct Catherine Street (later W. Court Street) Baptist burial-ground, between Wesley Avenue and Mound Street, Cincinnati, was said in 1881 to have been still marked with an inner iron-fence enclosure, containing some graves (Ford, *HCO*, p. 376), but it is today a landscaped area among some buildings, including three modern Baptist churches. It is not clear whether all human remains have been removed from the site, but certainly those of some members of the Gano family, (e.g. John Stites Gano; see <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=Gano&GSiman=1&GSsr=41&GScid=43543&GRid=18990510&>) with whom Samuel and William Tell Harris were associated, were removed to the Spring Grove Cemetery, after this vast new landscaped burial park was chartered and consecrated in 1845, and the Gano family memorial monument that had previously stood in the Catherine Street burial-ground in 1827 was resurrected in Spring Grove Cemetery (Ford, *HCO*, p. 379). It remains, however, unknown to the present writer what became of the Samuel Harris tomb and his mortal remains after closure of the Catherine Street site.



Street plan of the city of Cincinnati, 1842, showing the location of the Baptist burial ground in Ward 7, where Samuel Harris was buried, from C. Cist, *The Cincinnati directory for the year 1842*

## Appendix I: Two additional letters of Samuel Harris

The following two letters are preserved among the papers of Jesse Lynch Holman in the Hamilton Library of Franklin College, Indianapolis and copies were kindly supplied by the college archivist Ruth Dorrel. Both letters testify to the activities of both Harris and Holman in supporting the work of Bible Societies in Indiana and the second adds additional details to the account of the death of Harry Peake discussed by Harris in Letter 9.

### Letter Add.1: 7th November 1825

Aurora

7 Novr. 1825

[Addressed to 'Hon: Jesse L. Holman, Indianapolis'; with remains of red wax seal]

Dear brother,

The boxes from N. York<sup>944</sup> are now safe and in good condition here. I have advised Mr. Little<sup>945</sup> per this mail of it, and I have also stated to him that owing to a blunder in the Pittsburgh Shipping advice, I had calculated the expence on the Shelby Co. Society<sup>946</sup> boxes too high. It is really only \$16.81¼. This you can correct on your return thro' Shelbyville.<sup>947</sup>

In our box are parcels for different societies, some of them I enumerate as under, supposing it possible you may see persons from one or more of the places, to acquaint them with it.

1 for	Indianapolis <sup>948</sup>	expence on it	0.56¼ paid
1 -	Madison <sup>949</sup>	do.	0.47½
1 -	Vevay <sup>950</sup>	do.	0.37½
1 -	Charlestown <sup>951</sup>	do.	0.37½ paid

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<sup>944</sup> The American Bible Society had been founded in New York in 1816 and it was no doubt from headquarters in New York that branch members in Indiana grouped together to obtain copies of printed Bibles and Testaments for distribution in the state. As Harris makes clear in Letters 7 & 8, Bibles and Testaments from New York were shipped to Aurora via the agency of John Sharp in Philadelphia.

<sup>945</sup> William O. Little was one of the first settlers in Shelbyville, Indiana. He was the town's first postmaster and acted as corresponding secretary for the Shelbyville and Shelby County Bible Society. (*Tenth annual report of the American Bible Society, presented May XI, MDCCCXXVI*, p. 340.)

<sup>946</sup> Harris refers in this letter to several constituent members of the Indiana Bible Society, which Holman helped to found in 1822.

<sup>947</sup> Shelbyville, situated on land ceded to the United States in 1818 by the Miami tribe under the Treaty of St. Mary's, is the county seat of Shelby County, located in central Indiana, 26 miles to the south-east of Indianapolis and today within the Indianapolis metropolitan area. It was thus along the route that Holman would be expected to travel in returning from Indianapolis to his home in Aurora.

<sup>948</sup> Indianapolis was founded in 1820 and chosen to become the state capital of Indiana. In 1825 the state government relocated to Indianapolis from Corydon and it was in Indianapolis that J.L. Holman would have had to attend during the time that he served as one of the three judges of the Indiana Supreme Court (1816-1830).

<sup>949</sup> Madison, laid out and platted in 1810, is the county seat of Jefferson County, bordering on the Ohio River.

<sup>950</sup> Vevay, founded in 1802 by Swiss immigrants to Indiana, is located in Switzerland County, bordering on the Ohio River.



1 - Vernon<sup>952</sup>

do.

0.37½

Two of your family were at meeting yesterday, reported all well at home. We have Brr. Brown's<sup>953</sup> room to meet in, which was quite full yesterday. Should weather be favourable next L[or]d[s] day, we may [be] non-plussed for room.

Wishing you every blessing, I am  
dear Brother

Yours very affection[ate]ly  
Saml. Harris

## Letter Add.2: Aurora, 14th December 1828

[Aurora]  
14th Decr. 1828

[Addressed to Judge Jesse L. Holman]

Dear brother,

On the other side you will see the reason of my not being personally with you in the manifestation of love at y[ou]r solemn meeting.<sup>954</sup>

You will have your Committee of Bible Society tomorrow.

My hope is to be over about the 24th or 25th inst.

Yours in best affections,

Saml. Harris

[On the other side of the paper is written the following letter:<sup>955</sup>]

Saturday Decr. 13th 1828

[Addressed to 'E[l]der Saml. Harris, Aurora]

Bro. Harris,

Bro. Peck<sup>956</sup> is no more. He departed this life today at 11 o'clock and it is expected he will be interred at my house tomorrow at 12 o'clock, at which time & place it is requested you will at [*sic*, act?] and deliver (what is called) a funeral discourse.

I lament with you the loss of so much modest worth, though what is our loss is his gain. The particulars of his departure will be made known when we shall have opportunity.

With sentiments of esteem in haste, I remain your friend

R. Graves

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<sup>951</sup> Charlestown, founded in 1808, is located in Clark County, bordering on the Ohio River.

<sup>952</sup> Vernon, founded in 1815, is located in Jennings County.

<sup>953</sup> Probably Timothy Brown, a founding member of the Aurora Baptist Church. (*HDO*, p. 328.)

<sup>954</sup> I.e. the Sunday meeting of the Aurora Baptist Church. Harris's language may suggest that he had particularly in mind the celebration of the Lord's Supper, which was apparently held on a monthly basis in Aurora, as Harris states in Letter 4. Having received news of the death of Harry Peake, Harris must have taken immediate action to cross the Ohio River and return to his former lodging with Reuben Graves in the region of Touseytown, northwards of Petersburg, Kentucky (see note 594).

<sup>955</sup> The paper was thus refolded and dispatched again to Holman, bearing Harris's message.

<sup>956</sup> 'Peck' is evidently a mishearing of 'Peake'. Harry Peake died on the 13th December 1828 and was buried on the land of Reuben Graves. His story is told in Letter 9, where see explanatory notes.



## Appendix II: The other Browns

John Brown, the recipient of all the letters written by Samuel Harris in this collection (excepting the two short letters in Appendix I), along with members of his family were constantly in view as Harris penned his letters to his former home in Wigan and we have presented biographical information relating to them in the Introduction. However, some other persons bearing the surname Brown, specifically **David, Samuel, and Margaret Brown**, who were close neighbours of John Brown in Standishgate, Wigan,<sup>957</sup> are met with in the course of this series of letters and, at first glance, we might assume them to have been relations of John Brown. But this would be too hasty a conclusion to draw, since in contrast to John Brown, who was a native of Catterall in Lancashire, members of this second Brown family appear to have had their origins in Scotland. Thus we notice the following remarks made by Samuel Harris when referring to this Brown family: ‘your neighbour or some of the Scotchmen in Wigan will be able to inform you’ (*sc.* if Doone Cottage, at the mouth of the river Dee, is in Galloway county); and ‘Mrs. D. Brown will probably know’ (*sc.* about the location of the river Dee) (both these remarks in Letter 7). In addition, **William Brown**, although not specifically referred to by Harris, is to be linked with this second Brown family in ways that will be noted below and, furthermore, William Brown’s Scottish links seem again to be acknowledged by the notice of his death (on the 7th May 1857) published in *The Dumfries and Galloway standard* of the 13th May 1857, which would have been distinctly unusual had he or his family been unknown in that region. In fact, it seems possible, or perhaps even probable, that the family’s origins were in Tongland, Kirkcudbrightshire (the eastern part of Galloway). A member of one branch of the Brown family of Tongland who migrated to Wigan was Samuel Brown, who with his wife Mary (*née* Grounds), was the father of their nine children, born between 1816 and 1828,<sup>958</sup> all of whom were baptized at St. Paul Independent Chapel, where the register of baptisms specifically notes in the case of each of the children that the father, Samuel Brown, was of Tongland [*sic*],<sup>959</sup> Galloway and the mother, Mary, of Wigan. Another indication that this Brown family is unrelated to the family of John Brown is the fact that they joined (and left) Lord Street church at different times from John Brown.<sup>960</sup> A final piece of evidence

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<sup>957</sup> Thus, for example, Samuel Harris referred (in Letter 3) to ‘your neighbour D.B.’s family’, i.e., most probably, the family of David Brown; (in Letter 4) he further remarked, ‘I would that the whole family below you [i.e. further down the inclined street, thus perhaps at no. 8 Standishgate - see note 425] was more deeply baptized into the Spirit of Christ’; and later (in Letter 6) he referred to ‘such folly as your neighbours have displayed’ [in relation to the secession from King Street Baptist Church].

<sup>958</sup> We have further information from the burials register of St. Paul Independent Chapel, which records the death of Samuel Brown, aged 44, on the 12th March 1828. It was, in fact, on the 5th May 1828, that the last of Samuel and Mary’s nine children, another Samuel Brown, was born. It should be noted that these facts prevent us from identifying this Samuel Brown with the younger Samuel Brown discussed below, who, as Harris’s references to this latter person indicate, was still living after 1828. On the Brown family of Tongland, see <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~coolunkids/henry/pafg04.htm>.

<sup>959</sup> The common spelling of the place-name today is Tongland, but in older sources the spelling Tongueland is sometimes found.

<sup>960</sup> David, Samuel, and William Brown were all received into fellowship at Lord Street Church, Wigan on the 10th October 1819. While Samuel removed to Liverpool in 1819 (and apparently into Yorkshire

is the observation that when Harris referred to David, Margaret, or Samuel Brown, he did not attach to their names any epithet denoting familial relationship (e.g. sister, daughter, aunt, niece, brother, son, uncle, or nephew) with his addressee; instead Harris used the epithet ‘our young friend’ probably in reference to Samuel Brown (‘S.B.’) in writing to John Brown in Letter 2, which in this context seems to exclude Samuel from familial relationship, except that of a younger member of this second Brown family.

Evidence presently available would suggest that it was **David Brown** (d. 1845) who was probably the ‘patriarch’ of this large Scottish family dwelling close by John Brown in Standishgate, Wigan. We are fortunate in having access to the obituary notice of David Brown published in *The Wigtownshire free press*, whose death was announced to have occurred in Wigan on the 29th August 1845. This notice is worth citing in full:

D29/8/1845 - At Wigan, Lancashire, on the 29th ultimo, Mr David Brown, grocer, aged 77 years. He was universally esteemed as an honest and upright man and a Christian. Craigenallie, in Minnygaff parish, Kircudbrightshire was his birth-place, and well did he love to talk about the wrestling Jacobs who lived in that parish and its neighbourhood in the days of his youth among whom were the late venerable James Reid, the Cameronian minister in that district for nearly fifty years; the late Robert Murray, shepherd in Kitterick, and his wife, Mary Cochrane, with their son, the late Dr. Alexander Murray; Samuel Brown, minister of Kirkmabreck; the late Professor Dr. Thomas Brown’s father, and others. The deceased married his cousin, Nicholas<sup>961</sup> Brown, of Airiland, in Kelton parish (Alexander Brown, her father and Margaret Mathieson, her mother, died at the Old Clachan farm in Girthon, still held by her two brothers), who died in 1836, aged 65 years. They brought up a large family of sons and daughters and grandchildren, some of whom are still living in Wigan. According to the deceased’s wish, he was buried in the Scotch fashion, in the same grave with his wife and some of his family at the Scotch Free Kirk, Wigan.<sup>962</sup> He was a Baptist by religious profession; and from principle he rejoiced in the progress and prosperity of the Free church of Scotland, but considered the saints as his beloved brethren and sisters in Christ,

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at a later date), David and William Brown were among those who left Lord Street in June 1826 to begin the new Baptist church in King Street. (*BCBLSW*, p. 2; *KSCB&M*, where David Brown’s date of death is entered as 29th August 1845.)

<sup>961</sup> This is one example of many that can be found where the forename *Nicholas* is used for girls, particularly in the early nineteenth century in the Scottish counties of Ayrshire and Dumfriesshire. Entries in the 1881 Census for the Lowlands of Scotland indicate that *Nicholas* was more commonly a female than a male name, the male equivalent thereabouts being more likely *Nichol*. See further at <http://www.whatsinaname.net/female-names/Nicholas.html>.

<sup>962</sup> While there was never actually any church in Wigan called ‘the Scotch Free Kirk’, the church in view was most probably Chapel Lane Presbyterian Church, which was principally Scottish in its membership and at the time of the Great Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843 felt closest sympathy with those north of the border who left the establishment to form the Free Church of Scotland. (See Shaw, *SPW*, pp. 133-7.) It is noteworthy, for example, that a meeting of ‘the friends of the Scotch Free Church’ was announced to be held in Wigan in 1843 (*Preston chronicle*, 23rd September 1843). It was well remembered in Wigan that Thomas Chalmers, who stood at the head of the seceders in Edinburgh, had some forty-four years earlier first opened his mouth to address a congregation from the pulpit in the town of Wigan. (See W. Hanna, *Memoirs of the life and writings of Thomas Chalmers*, vol. I [New York, 1851] pp. 48 f.) While David Brown had been a member of King Street Baptist Church in Wigan (see notes 960 & 961) on account of his Baptist convictions, it seems his sympathies were strong for the principles of the Free Kirk of Scotland and that his fellow Scots in Chapel Lane Presbyterian Church welcomed his mortal remains to their burial ground on his decease in 1845.

amongst whatever denomination of professed Christianity such characters are to be found.<sup>963</sup>

David Brown is thus probably to be identified with the ‘David Brown, grocer, Wigan’ who in 1812 placed an advertisement in the newspaper offering a handsome reward for the recovery of a seven-year-old bay horse, stolen or strayed from a field near Swinley, Wigan.<sup>964</sup> This grocery business is probably one and the same with ‘David Brown & Son’ who, according to Baines’s *Directory of Wigan* (1825), had a grocery shop in Standishgate, Wigan. David Brown’s business was located near to that of John Brown’s (the latter being situated at no. 2 Standishgate). The Poll Books of 1832 indicate that he was still in business as a grocer at that date. In the 1841 Census, in which his age is given as 70, he is recorded as living in retirement (‘independent’) in Wigan Lane,<sup>965</sup> with the following family: Jane Brown (aged 30), Maria Brown (aged 25), Margaret Brown (aged 8), Mary Rushton (aged 15), Phoebe Rushton (aged 14), and one female servant, Hannah Jackson (aged 15). Jane and Maria were possibly unmarried daughters, but it seems most likely that Margaret Brown along with Mary and Phoebe Rushton were granddaughters, the latter two being the children of his married daughter Mary, who married John Rushton jun., whose own mother was another Phebe [*sic*] Rushton.<sup>966</sup>

**Samuel Brown**, the eldest son of David Brown, left Wigan for Liverpool in 1819, along with Mary Brown, i.e. David Brown’s eldest daughter, who married William Rushton jun. of Liverpool in 1821 (see below). In Samuel Harris’s letter written in November 1822, he alluded to Samuel Brown’s removal *from* Liverpool and it was probably at this time that the latter removed to Yorkshire. We do know that in 1826, at Elland, near Halifax, he married Ann, the third daughter of the late James Carr, a manufacturing chemist of Hunslet, Leeds and thereafter probably settled for a time in the West Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>967</sup> But about 1835 the family came to Wigan and at that time had seven living children.<sup>968</sup> Their residence in Yorkshire from about 1826 to 1835 would perhaps explain why Samuel Harris’s letters indicate that Samuel Brown became something of an intermediary on Harris’s behalf in obtaining news from his daughter, who was then residing in Mill Bridge, near Leeds, Yorkshire.

**William Brown** (1799-1857) was, it would seem, a younger son of David Brown, since we learn of him the following:

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<sup>963</sup> Death notices from *The Wigtownshire free press*, transcribed by Diana Henry and compiled by Randy Chapple (<http://freepages.history.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~ainsty/wfp/deaths/2.html>).

<sup>964</sup> *Chester chronicle*, 9th October 1812.

<sup>965</sup> The house apparently belonged to John Brown, our printer. Thus, a codicil (13th January 1838) to the will of John Brown makes provision for ‘a Messuage or Dwellinghouse Garden and Premises in Wigan Lane in Wigan... now in the occupation of Mr. David Brown’ (Brown, *Will*), which was most probably the house in which David Brown spent his retirement.

<sup>966</sup> See notes 398 & 486.

<sup>967</sup> *Leeds patriot and Yorkshire advertiser*, 14th January 1826.

<sup>968</sup> This information is gained from the 1841 Census, which lists the family as follows: Samuel Brown (48) teacher, Ann Brown (36) dressmaker, Jane Brown (16) dressmaker, Samuel Brown (11), Margaret Brown (7), Ellen Brown (6), Elizabeth Brown (4), David Brown (2), and Phoebe Brown (10 months?). The first three children, like their mother Ann, were all registered as having been born outside the county of Lancashire, while the last four were born within the county, thus reflecting the move from Yorkshire to Wigan about the year 1835.

Mr. William Brown was a descendant of a good Scotch family. He was born on the 24th of June, 1799, at which time his parents resided near the Fish Stones, Wigan.<sup>969</sup> In infancy he was blessed with the christian solicitude of pious parents. His first impressions were mainly attributable to the advice of his pious sister, Mrs. Rushton.<sup>970</sup>

We have already noted that Mary, the eldest daughter of David Brown of Wigan, was married on the 30th October 1821 to William Rushton jun., an assistant minister in Lime Street Baptist Chapel in Liverpool, so that William Brown, her brother, was another of the children of David Brown.<sup>971</sup> It would appear that William grew up in Wigan and, in time, joined his father in partnership in the grocery business in Standishgate. In 1834, however, the partnership of David and William Brown, grocers of Wigan was formally dissolved.<sup>972</sup> After that, William engaged in business in his own right and in the 1841 Census he is described as a grocer, aged 40 (perhaps a round number), living in Standishgate with his wife Mary (aged 35), his children Rachel (aged 3) and Eliza (aged 2), and two female servants, one named Martha Frost (aged 12) and the other Jane Grounds (aged 20). It is this last-named person who perhaps seals the link of this Brown family with the other Tongland-originating family of Samuel and Mary (*née* Grounds) previously referred to. In a directory for 1843-4 William Brown is described as a grocer and tea dealer, and a newspaper article in 1846 reported the theft by tea-thirsty bargees of tea belonging to William Brown from a tea-chest being transported to his premises via the Liverpool-Wigan Canal.<sup>973</sup> A letter written by William Brown on the 16th December 1856 is headed with the address '8, Standishgate, Wigan'<sup>974</sup> and a directory published in 1858 informs us of the name of his widowed wife: 'Brown Mary (Mrs.), grocer, 8 Standishgate'. Later, William D. Brown, probably the son of William and Mary Brown, is listed as a tea dealer (and later grocer) at 8 Standishgate in the Censuses of 1881 (when his age is stated as 37) and 1891. William Brown made it his life's work to build and develop the Sunday School at King Street Baptist Church. In 1857 his history of that endeavour was published under the title *The first thirty years of the King Street (2nd Baptist) Sunday School, Wigan*, to which an Appendix (occupying pages 52-76) was added containing a biography of William Brown (1799-1857), written by 'A Teacher'.

The fact that both David and William Brown were listed among the very restricted number of electors of Wigan indicates that they must have been recognized as 'citizens of substance'. It was perhaps for this reason, as well as on account of a personal friendship between John Brown, the recipient of Samuel Harris's letters, and William Brown that on the 24th June 1835 the former made William Brown a trustee and executor of his will, along with John Brown's wife Mary and his two sons William and George Wightman Brown. However, for reasons that we may now never know, a short time prior to his death, in a codicil dated 16th April 1842, John Brown

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<sup>969</sup> The Fish Stones in Wigan, used by fish vendors, were located near the junction of Millgate, Standishgate (where John Brown had his business), and Market Place (where Samuel Harris had conducted his druggist's business).

<sup>970</sup> Brown, *FTY*, p. 52.

<sup>971</sup> See note 398.

<sup>972</sup> *Perry's bankrupt gazette*, 11th October 1834.

<sup>973</sup> *Manchester courier and Lancashire general advertiser*, 1st April 1846; *Manchester times*, 1st May 1846.

<sup>974</sup> Brown, *FTY*, p. 68.

took the step of nullifying his appointment of William Brown, grocer of Wigan, as one of his trustees and executors.<sup>975</sup>

**Margaret Brown** presents a more difficult problem, which seems only soluble if we posit the existence of two persons of that name among the extended Brown family living in Wigan at that time. While only one of them seems to enter into the correspondence of Samuel Harris, on account of her having been a close friend of his daughter Susanna, for clarification it will be necessary to discuss the other Margaret also.

With regard then to the Margaret Brown referred to by Samuel Harris, on the 24th September 1823 (in Letter 3), after referring to 'D.B.', i.e. most probably David Brown, Harris mentioned to John Brown that his daughter Susanna had been a little mortified that the parcel from John Brown, just received, had not contained any letter from Susanna's old friend Margaret Brown, at the same time noticing that Margaret was about to change her surname, apparently by marriage, to Gaskell. After this reference, four months later, on the 23rd January 1824, (in Letter 4) he informed Brown that he had forwarded a letter from his daughter Susanna to 'M. Margt. Brown' and he seems to have been referring to that letter again when on the 3rd March 1824 (in the same letter) he mentioned Susanna's having written to 'Margt. Brown' a few weeks ago. Finally, in January 1825 (in Letter 5), when reporting on his niece Sarah's intention to visit England, taking the safer winter route via New Orleans, he told Brown that Sarah had a letter from his daughter Susanna for the latter's friend 'Margaret (Mrs. Gaskell)', but, since she was now intending to delay her departure and to take the northerly route to the coast via the Ohio River, he asked Brown to inform Margaret of the prolonged hiatus this delay would produce in communication between the two friends and to pass on loving greetings both to Margaret and 'to that whole family', which would seem to connect her with David, William, and other members of the Brown family (to be distinguished from John Brown's own family). However, it presently seems impossible to determine with certainty who were the parents of this Margaret Brown, for reasons which will become clear below in discussing a second person bearing this name, who did not marry a Gaskell but another person with the surname Brown. We may possibly catch a glimpse of Margaret Gaskell (*née* Brown) in the 1841 Census returns for Wigan, where we find living in Wigan Lane, John Gaskell, a carter aged 45, and his wife Margaret, also aged 45. By this date they had twins: John and Jane, aged 15; and two other children: Peter, a labourer aged 14, and Joseph, aged 3.

There seems, however, to have been another Margaret Brown associated with this Scottish family, this other Margaret being the daughter of David Brown. A person with the name Margaret Brown is known to have joined the Lord Street Baptist Church in Wigan after having been baptized there in February 1826 (i.e. over a year after Harris's references to Margaret Gaskell [*née* Brown]), but four months later this Margaret Brown left with others (including David and William Brown) to begin the second Baptist Church in King Street. Her name there remains Brown and not Gaskell, so that she is clearly to be distinguished from the other Margaret. We find an intriguing record in the marriage register of All Saints Church, Wigan for the 21st May 1829, recording the marriage by licence of Margaret Brown of Wigan to

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<sup>975</sup> Brown, *Will*.

Joseph Brown of Castle Douglas, Scotland, located less than 8 miles to the north-east of Tongland, noted above as probably the native heath of the Brown family. On the occasion of the marriage, the witnesses were David, William, and Jane Brown.<sup>976</sup> A newspaper advertisement of the time makes it clear that this Margaret Brown was the daughter of David Brown.<sup>977</sup> This Margaret would of course have continued to bear the surname Brown after her marriage. She was therefore closely linked with David and William Brown, so that in the King Street Baptist Church's first roll of members, David Brown (one of the three first deacons of the church) takes first place in the roll, while William and Margaret Brown are listed as numbers 9 and 10 respectively, with the dates of death of William and Margaret entered as 7th May 1857 and 26th February 1833 respectively.<sup>978</sup>

In view of all this, while no absolute certainty in the matter can be attained, we should probably at least distinguish between this latter Margaret Brown and the Margaret Brown who appears to have married a man with the surname Gaskell and who was the good friend of Samuel Harris's daughter Susanna. They do appear to have been of fairly similar ages and at least one of them was the daughter of David Brown. It is only the repetition of the name Margaret that causes us to hesitate in concluding that Margaret Gaskell (*née* Brown) was also the daughter of David Brown. There remains, however, the slight possibility that this was so and the clue may perhaps lie in the careful reference made to her by Samuel Harris on the 23rd January 1824 under the designation 'M. Margt. Brown'. Possibly two daughters of David Brown bore the name Margaret, but only one of them (the one who married Joseph Brown) as a first name, while the other (the one who married Mr. Gaskell) had it as a second name, which she preferred above her first name beginning with 'M', not perhaps Mary, since David Brown's eldest daughter bore that name, but possibly another Marion or some other name, perhaps Maria. The possibility that this Margaret Gaskell (*née* Brown) was a close relative of Samuel Brown, perhaps a sister, is also intriguing, as we may imagine a friendship between, on the one hand, Samuel Harris's daughter Susanna and, on the other hand, her contemporaries and erstwhile neighbours in Wigan, a friendship which became renewed when Susanna, like Samuel Brown, went to live in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where Susanna's husband Samuel Lawford was engaged in the family woollen-blanket manufacturing business.

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<sup>976</sup> This Jane Brown is possibly to be identified with Jane M. Brown (aged 53), who appears in the 1861 Census as residing at 1 Brown's Yard, along with her sister Marion Brown (aged 46), both of them described as a grocer's assistants and natives of Wigan, in view of which it seems reasonable to connect them with the larger Brown family, but precisely in what manner remains uncertain.

<sup>977</sup> 'On the 21st inst. Joseph Brown, Esq. solicitor, Castle Douglas, to Margaret, second daughter of Mr. David Brown, of Wigan' (*Lancaster gazette*, 30th May 1829).

<sup>978</sup> *KSCB&M*.

### **Appendix III: The passenger manifest of the ship *Halcyon*, sworn by I.S. Wooster<sup>979</sup> (Master), 25th June 1821**

The passenger manifest of the ship *Halcyon*, on which Samuel Harris, his family members, and other persons referred to in Harris's letters sailed from Liverpool to Philadelphia in 1821, contained the following list of names. Their ages as stated are here given in parentheses and occupations likewise are stated as given. Those names marked with an asterisk relate to persons mentioned in Harris's letters. Fuller information regarding some of these will be found either in the Introduction or in Appendix IV.

S[amuel] Harris, chemist (54)  
 \*S[arah] Harris (53)  
 \*W[illiam] T[ell] Harris, chemist (27)  
 \*S[usanna] Harris (22)  
 \*C[atalina] Harris (20)  
 \*J[ames] Latham, labourer (18)  
 \*E[dmund] Grundy, farmer (39)  
 \*S. Grundy (fem., 37)  
 T. Grundy (male, 14)  
 E. Grundy (male, 13)  
 R[obert] Grundy (male, 12)  
 H. Grundy (fem., 9)  
 A[lfred] Grundy (male, 8)  
 J. Grundy (male, 6)  
 M. Grundy (fem., 4)  
 M.A. Grundy (fem., 3)  
 S. Grundy (fem., 1)  
 S. Rigby, labourer (male, 26)  
 B. Rigby (fem., 25)  
 G. Rigby (male, 1½)  
 S. Rayner (fem., 19)  
 \*T[homas] Grundy, farmer (47)  
 \*M. Grundy (fem., 41)  
 T. Grundy (male, 19)  
 B. Haslam (fem., 18)  
 \*C[atalina] Wadsworth (44)  
 J[ohn] G[reaves] Wadsworth, farmer (male, 25)  
 \*J[ames] G[reaves] Wadsworth, teacher (male, 23)  
 \*H[enry] Wadsworth, farmer (22)  
 S[arah] Wadsworth (fem., 18)  
 G[eorge?] Wadsworth (male, 15)  
 Th[omas] Wadsworth (14)  
 A[nn] Wadsworth (13)  
 C[lara] Wadsworth (fem., 9)  
 H[arriet] Wadsworth (fem., 5<sup>980</sup>)

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<sup>979</sup> Isaac S. Wooster, sea captain, had a residence at 59 Penn Street, Philadelphia (*PD 1820*).



\*W[illiam] Fox, farmer (36)  
 \*J[onna] Fox (26)  
 S[arah] J[onna] Fox (fem., 3)<sup>981</sup>  
 M[ary Williamina] Fox (fem., 3)  
 C[atherine Lawford] Fox<sup>982</sup> (1½)  
 \*S[amuel] Lanford [*sic*, read Lawford], clerk (19)<sup>983</sup>  
 T. Lanford [*sic*, probably correct to Lawford], labourer (34)<sup>984</sup>  
 D. Hepworth, labourer (male, 26)  
 \*J[ames] Kay, minister (43)<sup>985</sup>  
 H[annah] Kay (fem., 45)  
 S[amuel] Kay, farmer (18)  
 J[ames] Kay, farmer (male, 16)  
 J[ohn Ibbetson] Kay, farmer (male, 15)  
 E[lizabeth] Kay (fem., 13)<sup>986</sup>  
 M[ary] Kay (fem., 11)  
 C[harles Hill] Kay (male, 9)<sup>987</sup>  
 F[rederick] Kay (male, 7)  
 A[lfred] Kay (male, 5)  
 H. Kay (fem., 3)  
 \*J. Robertson, surgeon (37)  
 J[ames] Scholes, farmer (46)  
 Susan Scholes (40)  
 Robert Scholes, farmer (18)  
 M. Scholes (fem., 17)  
 S. Scholes (fem., 16)  
 J. Scholes (male, 10)  
 J. Scholes (male, 9)

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<sup>980</sup> Harriet's age as given is approximate. She was born on the 9th December 1815 and died back in Lancashire in 1886, having borne 14 children to Thomas Henry Syers, a grocer and tea dealer of Liverpool. An announcement which appeared in the *Manchester courier and Lancashire general advertiser*, 4th July 1840 stated that on the 1st July 1840 Harriet married Robert Syers of Everton in Manchester Collegiate Church, which would become Manchester Cathedral in 1847. This seems to have been a reporter's error, as Robert Syers was, in fact, the father of the bridegroom Thomas Henry. One of the couple's daughters was named Catalina and a son (who emigrated to San Francisco) was named Henry Wadsworth Syers, commemorating Harriet's parents. Some of the details of the Wadsworth family members' names are derived from <http://www.geni.com/people/Harriet-Wadsworth/6000000021609022105> and <http://www.onegreatfamily.com/fh/Thomas-Syers/589498821>.

<sup>981</sup> Sarah Joanna Fox and her twin sister Mary Williamina were christened on the 16th August 1818 at Hartshead, Yorkshire.

<sup>982</sup> Catherine Lawford Fox was christened on the 9th January 1820 at Hartshead, Yorkshire. Full forenames of the three Fox children are taken from baptismal records, Hartshead, Yorkshire (kindly supplied by Roger Harris Lloyd).

<sup>983</sup> Samuel Lawford's age as given is approximate. He was baptized on the 22nd March 1801 at Hartshead, Yorkshire and so was probably 20 (see note 117). One wonders whether Samuel deliberately understated his age in order to avoid possible draft conscription into a militia army, a problem that William Tell Harris had faced on his earlier travels in the USA.

<sup>984</sup> See note 272 for identification of this person.

<sup>985</sup> The forenames of members of the Kay family have been obtained from the Kendal Christian Baptists, Register of births, reproduced in Nicholson, *ONK*, pp. 489-492. The last child, 'H. Kay' was born after James and Hannah Kay had left Kendal in 1817. Another child entered in the register, Robert Kay (born 20th November 1808), is not listed in the passenger manifest and might perhaps have died before the family left England.

<sup>986</sup> Elizabeth married Isaac Pugh and died on the 24th April 1896. (Nicholson, *ONK*, p. 401.)

<sup>987</sup> Charles Hill Kay died on the 18th August 1851. (Nicholson, *ONK*, p. 401.)

H. Scholes (fem., 7)  
[illegible:<sup>988</sup>] H. [Scholes?]  
E. Scholes (male, 4)

It will be noticed that the numbers of Grundy and Wadsworth children in this list require some harmonization with those mentioned in Harris's first letter, although the total number of passengers (64, or 65) is approximately the same in both enumerations, so that it seems likely some of the children travelled among the steerage passengers.

The *Halcyon* passengers' safe arrival in Philadelphia was announced in a letter written to the *Liverpool mercury* newspaper, published on the 31st August 1821.<sup>989</sup> It was signed in alphabetical order by seven (family heads) of the party and read as follows:

The undersigned Passengers by the American ship *Halcyon*, Captain Wooster, adopt this method of acquainting their friends in England with their safe arrival at Philadelphia in perfect health, June 24th, and also of testifying their sense of the very polite, kind, and unremitted attention to the health and comfort of the whole party (of which about thirty were children) by their highly respected Captain, during a passage of 50 days. *Philadelphia, July, 1821.* WILLIAM FOX. EDMUND GRUNDY. S. HARRIS. W. TELL HARRIS. JAMES KAY. JAMES SCHOLES.<sup>990</sup> CATALINA WADSWORTH.

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<sup>988</sup> There is damage to the document at this point.

<sup>989</sup> We find another reference to the *Halcyon*'s safe arrival in Philadelphia following another voyage a year later, bearing welcome letters from England, in a letter written by William Staughton to his son James, published in Lynd, *MWS*, p. 241.

<sup>990</sup> 'Schooles' is, of course, a printer's error for 'Scholes'.

## The Lives of Some Fellow-Travellers on the *Halcyon*

### *William and Joanna Fox*

The Mr. and Mrs. Fox, who are referred to several times in the course of Harris's letters, were William Fox (born 1795) and Joanna Lawford (1795-1850), who were married on the 4th September 1817 in Birstall, Yorkshire, Joanna's brother Samuel acting as witness. Joanna was the daughter of Abraham Lawford (1773-1829)<sup>991</sup> and was the sister of Samuel Lawford, the husband soon-to-be of Samuel Harris's daughter Susanna. Abraham Lawford, it may be noted, had been a neighbour and friend of Patrick Brontë, father of the three famous literary daughters, during Patrick's incumbency as Anglican minister at Hartshead-cum-Clifton in the early 1810s. From a letter written c. 1866-7 by William and Joanna Fox's daughter Sarah Joanna Fox we learn that Patrick Brontë was in the habit of going on Saturday afternoons to Abraham Lawford's house to read *The Leeds mercury* newspaper, 'so that', as she wrote, 'my Mother [Joanna Fox] from whom I have had this information was perfectly well acquainted with him [Patrick Brontë].'<sup>992</sup> The Lawford family home at Hare Park, Hightown, was not much more than a mile to the north of Hartshead.

Samuel Harris reported that in August 1823 his daughter Susanna came to stay with her sister-in-law, Mrs. Fox, about a mile away from Harris's own place of residence at that time, with the intention of attending her mother's funeral. She again stayed with Mrs. Fox in October of the same year during her confinement and the birth of her daughter. By this time Joanna Fox's husband, William, has disappeared

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<sup>991</sup> Abraham Lawford was baptized on the 27th June 1773 at St. Peter's, Birstall, Yorkshire. His father, Charles Lawford of Hightown, was baptized at the same place on the 18th May 1740. On the 16th June 1763 Charles Lawford married Sarah Ellis (1734-1804) at St. Peter's, Birstall. Charles died on the 26th January, and was buried on the 30th January 1820 at Gomersal Moravian Chapel (Register of burials for Fulneck, RG4/3062). On the 17th June 1795 Abraham Lawford married Mary Binns at St. Peter's, Birstall and they had three children: (1) Joanna, who is the focus of our attention here. (2) John, who was baptized on the 26th August 1798 at St. Peter's, Birstall. In 1825 he married Mary Parkinson and they had seven children. John died in May 1847. (3) Samuel, who was baptized on the 22nd March 1801 at Hartshead, Yorkshire and, while dwelling in Mill Bridge, died and was buried at Liversedge Church on the 24th February 1846. (Information kindly researched by Roger Harris Lloyd.)

<sup>992</sup> Sarah J. Williams to J.A. Erskine Stuart, [c. 1886-7]; MS BS xi, 67 p. I, Brontë Parsonage Museum. Sarah Joanna Fox had become Sarah J. Williams on her marriage in 1854 to the Welshman Richard Williams. The information sent by Sarah J. Williams to J.A. Erskine was used by the latter in his 1888 publication *The Brontë country*, pp. 50 f., where he noted that at this time *The Leeds mercury* had moved from weekly to daily publication on account of the war raging with France. Stuart referred to his informant as 'one of the older residents of Hightown' and noted in his Preface that there were 'other informants [than those he had carefully acknowledged] whose communications have been of even greater value than the foregoing, but who, for various reasons, prefer to remain *incognito*.' Sarah was evidently one of these. The 1861 Census reveals that Richard Williams was a woollen warehouseman then aged 55 and that he and his wife were living at Prospect Place, Gorton, Manchester. Richard must have died in the 1860s, as the 1871 Census states that Sarah Joanna Williams was a widow and had become a schoolmistress. Later Censuses indicate the same and that she taught in private day schools. By the time of the 1881 Census she was living in Droylsden, Manchester and she was still living there by the time of the 1901 Census. She died in 1905, aged 87. (Information kindly researched by Roger Harris Lloyd.)

from mention in Harris's letters and it may also be significant that only Joanna, and apparently not William, was present at the wedding of her brother Samuel to Susanna Harris on the 15th August 1822 (see note 115). Furthermore, William is omitted from mention in an 1885 history of the town of Aurora, where mention is made only of *Mrs. Joanna Fox's* having erected a log cabin 'in the very beginning of the village' of Aurora in Fifth Street,<sup>993</sup> close to the Harris residence. Possibly William Fox died soon after arriving in Aurora, but confirmation of this is presently wanting. Sometime before 1827, Mrs. Fox returned to England with Harris's daughter Susanna Lawford. Mrs. Fox must also have been accompanied by her own three children (mentioned in the *Halcyon's* passenger manifest), i.e. twin girls and the youngest daughter, Catherine Lawford Fox, who was born in 1820. There is mention of the marriage of Catherine Lawford Fox (with portrait of her husband Benjamin Rhodes, whom she married in 1838), her parentage and children, and the woollen manufacturing business involving her family in F. Peel, *Spenn Valley, past and present* (Heckmondwike, 1893) pp. 331-3. Catherine Lawford Fox died in 1870.<sup>994</sup>

### ***Edmund and Alfred Grundy***

According to R. Travers Herford, 'Edmund Grundy... was the son of Dennis Grundy, of Cinderhill, in the township of Pilkington,<sup>995</sup> and was born in 1781.' Herbert McLachlan further informs us that 'Edmund Grundy was a prominent Bury Unitarian and one of the founders of the Sunday school established in 1805 in connection with the Silver Street (afterwards Bank Street) congregation.'<sup>996</sup> In 1818 he seems to have been joined in the work there by James Kay from Kendal, whom we will notice below. McLachlan continues:

The Cause at Bury was shortlived and its site uncertain. At the Rochdale meeting of the Methodist Unitarians, 30th April 1818 Messrs Grundy and Kay reported that "they had been obliged to discontinue worship in their room at Bury, from the family being ill of typhus fever. They found it exceedingly difficult to procure a suitable place for service, but thought they could build what was required for £300, and that a thriving congregation could be raised independently of, and without at all interfering with, the highly respectable Unitarian congregation long established in the town"...

Travers Herford picks up the story again, stating that Edmund Grundy

began life as a calico printer, and continued in the business till 1820, when he went to America with his family, intending to settle there. He returned however after a very short stay (it is said, indeed, that the luggage was not unpacked in America) and became a coal (colliery?) proprietor in Bury, where he soon became one of the leading men of the town. In politics he was a Radical, and a great admirer of Henry Hunt, of Peterloo fame. In 1832, when Bury was made into a Parliamentary borough, Mr. Grundy came forward as a Radical candidate in opposition to Mr. Richard Walker, but was unsuccessful. The voting was: Walker, 306; Grundy, 153. He lived at a house which he built for himself at Parkhills, Bury, now occupied by his son, Mr. Robert Grundy.<sup>997</sup> He died in 1857, and is buried at Bank Street Chapel. Of his sons, I cannot refrain from

<sup>993</sup> *HDO*, p. 324. See further on 'Aurora Baptist Church' in Appendix V.

<sup>994</sup> Information derived from [www.u.mundia.com](http://www.u.mundia.com).

<sup>995</sup> Pilkington is situated 3 miles to the west of Stand and Whitefield, to the north of Manchester. On Stand, see notes 260 & 261.

<sup>996</sup> *MUM*, p. 43.

<sup>997</sup> With modern redevelopment of this area of Bury, Lancashire, Grundy Lane and Grundy Close have been constructed close to Parkhills Road, apparently commemorating this family.

mentioning the late Mr. Alfred Grundy, of Underley,<sup>998</sup> Whitefield (b. 1814, d. 1892). He was for many years a regular attendant at Stand [Unitarian] Chapel, and always one of its most faithful friends. To his generosity, no less than to his ungrudging personal service, the congregation of Stand are chiefly indebted for the recent acquisition of the freehold of the chapel and burial ground, which had previously been held only on lease from the trustees of the Grammar School, also for the freehold of the site of the new Sunday School, which has been built to commemorate the Bi-centenary of the Chapel. It was a great satisfaction to all the friends at Stand that he was able to present, and to lay one of the memorial stones of the school, on July 9th, 1892. His name will be long and gratefully remembered, not only at Stand, but throughout the neighbourhood.<sup>999</sup>

Other benefactions made by Alfred Grundy in Whitefield included the land for Whitefield Park and the cricket and tennis grounds in 1890. Edmund Grundy's Unitarianism ('Socinianism' in Harris's terminology) no doubt accounted for Harris's mention of his 'deviations from orthodoxy'. A possible portrait of Edmund Grundy may be viewed via the internet.<sup>1000</sup>

### **James Kay**

We learn something of the early life of James Kay from Nicholson and Axon's work on *The older Nonconformity in Kendal*, published in 1915, in chapter 30 of which they dealt with 'James Kay and the Unitarian Baptists'. There they recorded that James Kay, born on the 21st June 1777 and baptized at Bury Parish Church on the 10th July following, was the son of James Kay (d. 1779) of Heap, near Bury and Betty, the daughter of Charles Hill. After studying at Rotherham College, the younger James Kay accepted the call to become pastor of the New Street Congregational Church in Kendal on the 29th July 1801. In 1810, however, Baptist convictions which were perhaps long cherished, uniting with Unitarian opinions, led him to withdraw from the Congregational ministry and, with some of his former congregation, to establish a church of Unitarian Baptists, of which he became the minister. They met in the Caledonian Room on the south side of Market Place in Kendal and performed baptisms in the River Kent and the Anchorite's Well. Kay maintained himself and his family by opening an earthenware shop in Stricklandgate, where he dwelt from 1812 to 1815.<sup>1001</sup> In 1817 Kay's health gave way and he resigned his pastoral charge and left Kendal, seemingly returning at this point in his career to his native Bury, where he engaged in supporting the work there of Edmund Grundy (see above under 'Edmund and Alfred Grundy'), but in 1819 he accepted a call to take charge of the Unitarian congregation in Hindley, on the east side of Wigan, where, as Nicholson and Axon related, 'he remained two years. Though he was comfortably situated there he had a large family, and in order to give them more scope he decided to emigrate to the United States. In company with seven other

<sup>998</sup> A large house which later became Whitefield Town Hall.

<sup>999</sup> *Memorials of Stand Chapel* (Prestwich, 1893) pp. 91 f.

<sup>1000</sup> See <http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/edmund-grundy-164546>. As well as Edmund and Alfred, other members of the Grundy family also became eminent both in Unitarianism and in business in the Bury area, for example in the firms of Thomas, Alfred, and John Grundy, solicitors; Rothwell and Grundy of Limefield; John and Edmund Grundy of the Shed, Heap Bridge; and Grundy, Kay, & Co. of Mosley Street, Manchester. See J. Lord, *Bygone Bury* (Rochdale, 1903) pp. 42, 51 f., 55; M. Tillmanns, *Bridge Hall Mills* (Tisbury, 1978) pp. 18-20, 33, 35, 46; & *The story of the Lancashire & Yorkshire Bank Limited 1872-1922* (Manchester, 1922) p 31, with portrait of John Grundy on preceding leaf. Family members engaged in numerous philanthropic ventures, one of which was the Grundy Art Gallery in Blackpool, Lancashire.

<sup>1001</sup> Nicholson, *ONK*, pp. 395-7.

families, he and his wife and children arrived there in June, 1821.<sup>1002</sup> This is, of course, where we meet him in the company of Samuel Harris and others voyaging aboard the *Halcyon*. There is clearly enough in the foregoing account of Kay's early activities in England to indicate where his spiritual paths might have crossed those of Samuel Harris in the early years of the nineteenth century—in English Congregational and Baptist traditions, and in geographical location—but also in the intellectual debate over Unitarianism, or what Harris preferred to call Socinianism.

Unlike Edmund Grundy and his family, James Kay remained in the New World, where he laboured to spread the cause of his Unitarian faith. Working principally from letters of James Kay preserved in the American Unitarian Association collection in the Andover-Harvard Theological Library (Cambridge, Mass.), J.D. Bowers has published a useful account of Kay's preaching activities in Pennsylvania.<sup>1003</sup> It was Kay's personal devotion to the eminent eighteenth-century scientist and Unitarian, Joseph Priestley that motivated him to voyage with Harris and others to Philadelphia and from there to travel up country within Pennsylvania to the little town of Northumberland, situated close to the junction of two branches of the Susquehanna River, where in his later years Joseph Priestley had lived, worked, and died. Bowers notes that Kay, his wife, and their nine children (precisely the same family members as were listed in the *Halcyon*'s passenger manifest) actually took up residence in Joseph Priestley's former home and, in fact, dwelt there for a much longer duration than had Priestley, so that the building became known as 'the old Kay House'.<sup>1004</sup> However, it was precisely his devotion to the Socinianism of Priestley that made him a somewhat disquieting member of the American Unitarian Association, which strove to divert Kay from his advocacy of Priestleyan Unitarianism to the decidedly more monolithic Boston-based form of American Unitarianism. We need not retrace all the endeavours of Kay to promote Socinianism in central Pennsylvania from his home in Northumberland and for a time in the state's capital, Harrisburg, but it is worth citing here some extracts from published letters written by James Kay to persons back in England<sup>1005</sup> in the months following the disembarkation of the voyagers on the *Halcyon* in Philadelphia in 1821, since in more ways than one, they echo similar sentiments and remarks penned by Samuel Harris in describing his early experiences in the New World. On the 14th February 1822, James Kay wrote from Northumberland, Pennsylvania to Henry Taylor in Liverpool reporting:

After a very unpleasant voyage we arrived at Philadelphia, on the 24th June, (1821).

We remained in Philadelphia three or four months. During my stay in that city I preached several times to the Unitarian congregation, which is respectable both as to numbers and character. They and their worthy minister Mr. Taylor understand the principles of Unitarianism well, and are neither ashamed nor backward to bring them forward.

Soon after my arrival I had the pleasure of meeting my old and highly esteemed friend Mr. Robt. Little.<sup>1006</sup> He gave me a very pleasing account of the state of things in

<sup>1002</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 397 f. See also McLachlan, *MUM*, pp. 43-45.

<sup>1003</sup> Bowers, *JP*, chapter 6: "Respecting the good cause in our neighborhood": James Kay and Pennsylvania Unitarianism in the nineteenth century'.

<sup>1004</sup> Bowers, *JP*, p. 252, n. 44.

<sup>1005</sup> Published in *The Christian reformer, or new evangelical miscellany*, vol. IX (1822) pp. 100-103.

<sup>1006</sup> Robert Little (b. 1762) was another Englishman, who had moved from Methodism to Unitarianism, before emigrating to the USA in 1819. After travelling in 1827 in intense heat to visit Kay in Harrisburg, he delivered both morning and evening sermons there, but died, probably from heatstroke.

Washington. His congregation was numerous and respectable; composed of many of the members of the government, and, during the sitting of the congress, of many of the house of representatives.

During my tour, I thrice visited the town, remarkable as having been the residence of the latter days of that great and good man Dr. Priestley, to whom the lovers of science and religion are so much indebted. Here I preached to a large audience, and was encouraged by a few Unitarians, the remnant of Dr. Priestley's congregation, to remove hither<sup>1007</sup> from a firm persuasion that I might be both comfortable and useful. After much consideration, not seeing any other situation as encouraging, I left Philadelphia in October last, with a view to fix my residence here, and to resume my office as a minister.

News of James Kay's activities after parting from Samuel Harris in Philadelphia must have reached the latter in Aurora, Indiana, as from there he wrote to John Brown in Wigan, 'Mr. Kay, we hear, has a situation about a hundred miles from Philadelphia.' a comment which was immediately followed by another: 'Socinianism is reported to be spreading fast in the country.'<sup>1008</sup> This latter comment clearly reflects the success he must have heard that Kay was having in spreading Unitarian teaching in Pennsylvania. After describing some of the hostility with which he was greeted in the course of spreading the Unitarian cause in Pennsylvania, Kay concluded this letter by remarking,

The Unitarian controversy is carried on with much energy in almost every section of the state, from Maine to Georgia, and from Boston to Kentucky. There is a great number of congregations in Maine, New York, Indiana, and Kentucky, &c. that have lately come from the Methodists, retaining much... zeal; they are hostile to the doctrine of the Trinity, the satisfaction of Christ, &c. They refuse every name but that of christian and call their ministers by the name of elders.<sup>1009</sup>

Some extracts from a letter written six months later by James Kay to Robert Greenhow of Kendal are worth citing at greater length in this place, as much of their content reflects similar reports penned by Samuel Harris to his friend John Brown:

*Northumberland, Pennsylvania,  
United States of America,  
July 6, 1822.*

Emigration to a foreign country with a large family is much more pleasing in theory than in practice. It is impossible for any one to conceive, when settled on his own comfortable hearth, laying plans for his future execution in a foreign country, the many disappointments, perplexities, anxieties and distresses that will assail and surround him before he obtains a comfortable settlement in a land of strangers.

For some months after my arrival in this country, I felt strong doubts of the propriety of the step I had taken. I well nigh lost my wife and Samuel by that insidious and dangerous disease of hot climates, the dysentery. But though this sickness of my family was a most painful trial, yet I met with as much sympathy and kindness as tended most powerfully to support my mind, and gave me a high idea of the beneficence of the friends to whom I had been introduced. The physician that attended my family with unwearied diligence, though an entire stranger to me before, refused to receive a single dollar for his attention; whereas had he charged, as he usually did, I could not have had less than 200 dollars to have paid. Thus I began to feel, that though in a land of strangers, I was in a land where the best feelings of the heart were cherished, and where every grace of Christianity was in full exercise.

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His body was taken upriver to Northumberland and buried there beside Joseph Priestley. (Bowers, *JP*, pp. 226-9.)

<sup>1007</sup> That is, to Northumberland, Pennsylvania.

<sup>1008</sup> See Letter 2, written in November 1822.

<sup>1009</sup> *The Christian reflector, and theological inquirer*, vol. III (Liverpool, 1822) pp. 284 f.



Having now been in this country more than twelve months, I am enabled to form a more correct and dispassionate judgment of the step I have taken, and now I am not only satisfied with my removal from the land of my fathers, but feel every day increasing cause for gratitude that I was induced to take this step. My circle of friends and acquaintances is as large as ever it was in the old country, and I never met with more kindness and attentions than I have received and continue to receive in this country. My sphere of usefulness as a minister was never so extensive as it is now, and my prospects of success never so flattering as at present.

As soon as my wife and family were sufficiently recovered, I removed to this town, which is distant from Philadelphia 134 miles, and delightfully situated on one of the most beautiful and picturesque rivers I ever saw. You will recollect that this is the town where the great and good Dr. Priestley spent the latter years of his useful life, and where he published some of his most useful works. Here, then, I sat down as a minister, having a very small number of Unitarian friends, who were desirous I should settle here and be their minister. Among this number is Joseph Priestley, the grandson of the Doctor. I had scarcely commenced my duties as a minister before I found I was in a nest of hornets. Every pulpit in the neighbourhood sounded the tocsin of alarm, and warned their respective hearers to have nothing to do with the new minister, and studiously to keep from hearing him. I was called upon to give a confession of Unitarian views of truth, through the medium of the newspapers, and shortly after a small piece was published in defence of the doctrine of the Trinity, by a respectable Lutheran minister, and most industriously circulated. I attended to both of these calls. And now, after a residence of nine months, I have the pleasure to say, that the face of things has completely changed. The Lutheran minister who wrote against me is become a decided Unitarian, and a spirit of inquiry is afloat to the distance of thirty or forty miles, and a very considerable number have become openly and avowed Unitarians. I regularly preach at stated intervals in Northumberland, Sunbury (the county-town), and Milton, and occasionally in Chilesaque, New Berlin, Lewisburg, and Pennsborough, in all which places a spirit of inquiry is excited. In the month of February last I was elected Principal of the College in this town, which I have conducted by the assistance of my son Samuel, who takes the classical and mathematical departments. In consequence of this election, I am in possession of a large house and five acres of land, most delightfully situated on the Susquehanna, and besides make a regular charge for every pupil. Our prospect of success in the College is not very flattering, as the whole Calvinistic interest is against us. But perhaps we may ultimately succeed. If not, I am in possession of a comfortable house, which will give me time to determine what other course to take.

...I think that many persons come here who had better remain in the old country. It is not the country for any mere professional man, without money; the professions are filled up. The mere labourer has no business here. The weaver with a little money would be sure to better his circumstances. Weavers in Philadelphia can earn six dollars per week, and can be very well supported for two. The farmer with a little money and a competent share of perseverance could not fail to succeed. These are the only persons who appear to me to be likely to improve their circumstances by the change, unless, perhaps, I mention the annuitant, who may certainly live cheaper here than in England.

Our friend Campbell<sup>1010</sup> is going on pretty well, though his health of late has been very bad.

The Unitarian cause is spreading in every direction with a rapidity which alarms the Orthodox most sadly. They rage and oppose us in the most violent manner; still the cause proceeds and is making converts every day, from the Halls of Congress to the very extremity of the Union.

Our mutual friend, Little, is become a pastor of a Unitarian congregation just established in the Capital, with the most pleasing prospects of success and usefulness. I have had the pleasure of an interview with him, and a few days ago had a very pleasing letter from him, giving me an account of the opening of their new church (for every place of worship here is called a church)...

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<sup>1010</sup> That is, John Campbell (d. 1824), whom Kay had known during his residence in Kendal. On Campbell, see Bowers, *JP*, pp. 229 f.

Another letter, written by Kay from Northumberland on the 1st October 1822 to Francis Browne Wright in Liverpool was similarly published in the journal printed by Wright. It contained accounts of hostility and progress similar to those recounted in the letters cited above. Kay also wrote of his preaching expeditions, which he engaged in when he found convenient opportunities to absent himself from the school for which he was responsible in Northumberland. These circuitous preaching tours do remind us of similar tours undertaken by Samuel Harris in Indiana and Kentucky. Kay wrote,

I often lament that my strength is not adequate to the field of useful exertion, that is opened before me; and that the confinement of my school absolutely precludes my seizing many opportunities of making known the word of life, which I should otherwise have. The distance of some of the places where I preach, is such, that I am often obliged to travel after dark on Sunday evening, or very early on Monday morning, in order to reach home in time for my school.

Lower down in the letter he enumerated the places he was accustomed to visit on his preaching expeditions. They included Sunbury, New Berlin, Lewisburgh, Chilisquaque, Pennsborough, Milton, Muncey, Mount Lewis, Bloomsbury, Catawissa, and Danville, all located within a radius of some fifty miles from his centre in Northumberland. In these places he met with convinced Unitarians and there too he persuaded more to the cause,<sup>1011</sup> but his home remained in Northumberland until his death in 1847. A memorial tablet was erected in the Northumberland church bearing the inscription, ‘Rev. James Kay, a faithful pastor of this Church for twenty-five years, and a true disciple of Christ, he went about doing good. A grateful people here record his worth. Born June 21, 1777. Died September 22, 1847.’<sup>1012</sup> Bowers sums up James Kay’s work in America by commenting that during the course of two decades he ‘secured Priestley’s legacy, not just in Northumberland, but throughout the United States, through his own itinerant travels, public writings, connections with a cohort of like-minded Unitarian ministers and laypeople, and his association with the Western Unitarian Association.’<sup>1013</sup>

### ***Catalina Wadsworth and her family members***

Mrs. Wadsworth, the mother-in-law of William Tell Harris, was born Catalina Greaves in 1776 in Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire. On the 14th October 1794 she married John Wadsworth (son of Christopher Wadsworth and Ann Tatham, of Haworth, Yorkshire), an ordained minister in the Church of England.<sup>1014</sup> John and Catalina Wadsworth came to reside at Parbold, a village to the south of Eccleston and almost half-way from there to Wigan, for it was in Parbold that John held the post of Master of Parbold Hall Academy. His daughter Catalina’s social education in the upper-class society of Parbold Hall is occasion for some comment by Samuel Harris in Letter 10 of this series. J.M. Virgoe wrote, ‘In 1806 Parbold Hall was leased by Edward Dicconson to the Rev. John Wadsworth. By 1808 Dr. [*sic*] Wadsworth was running a school at the hall, although it seems unlikely that it was attended by any local children,’ possibly a majority of the scholars coming from homes in Manchester. Thus Virgoe went on to cite a letter written home to his parents by one of the school’s

<sup>1011</sup> *The Christian reflector, and theological inquirer*, vol. III (Liverpool, 1822) pp. 286 f.

<sup>1012</sup> Nicholson, *ONK*, p. 401. His wife Hannah (probably *née* Ibbetson) was born at Halifax on the 21st March 1776 and died on the 2nd October 1850 (*ibid.*).

<sup>1013</sup> *JP*, p. 206.

<sup>1014</sup> Power, *HESSC*, p. 6.

pupils, Abel Bayley, in which Bayley stated that ‘Mr Wadsworth purposes attending the young gentlemen to Manchester on the day of breaking up’ and added in stilted style at the conclusion, ‘Mr and Mrs Wadsworth present their most respectful compliments to you.’<sup>1015</sup> John Wadsworth died in January 1820, aged 56, and was buried at the church of St. Mary the Virgin in Ecclestone, Lancashire.<sup>1016</sup> John Wadsworth’s death in 1820 might possibly have been a factor inducing members of the Wadsworth family to emigrate to America.

The baptisms register of St. Mary the Virgin church in Ecclestone contains also an entry for Harriet Wadsworth, born 9th December 1815 to John Wadsworth (described as a schoolmaster of Parbold Hall) and Catalina.<sup>1017</sup> Baptisms, at Douglas Chapel (a medieval foundation, situated in Parbold, and demolished in 1875) in the parish of Ecclestone, of other children of John and Catalina Wadsworth are also recorded in the register: Thomas (born 11th October 1807), Ann (25th June 1809), and Maria (20th June 1811).<sup>1018</sup> Maria died, aged 4, on the 6th April 1815.<sup>1019</sup>

On her return to England in 1824, Catalina Wadsworth took up residence at Ardwick Green, which was at that time a private park on the south-east side of Manchester’s city centre, the fashionable surrounding houses being inhabited by prosperous Manchester merchants. In Manchester she must almost immediately have gone into a business at 44 Piccadilly, a short distance away from Ardwick Green, as a ‘smallware dealer and hosier’, as is confirmed by a directory published in 1825.<sup>1020</sup> By 1834 she had a business at 19 Higher Temple St., Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Manchester, a mile to the west of Ardwick Green.<sup>1021</sup> The 1841 Census confirms that she was then still living in Chorlton-upon-Medlock (on Higher Temple Street), with Sarah and Thomas Wadsworth (both said to be aged 30, the latter described as a salesman), and Ann Wadsworth (said to be aged 25),<sup>1022</sup> and Jane Johnson, a female servant of Scottish origin. Catalina Wadsworth died aged 74 in Chorlton-upon-Medlock in October 1850 and was buried at Ecclestone, Lancashire on the 12th December 1850. Under her will and the codicil to it,<sup>1023</sup> she left all of her property, which included five houses in Failsworth (situated to the north-east of Manchester, half-way to Oldham and not far from Catalina’s place of birth, Ashton-under-Lyne) and monies deriving from her deceased husband’s estate, held on trust and invested for the benefit of Catalina during her lifetime, to her son Henry Wadsworth. Henry had moved a long way from his occupation given as a (presumably agricultural) ‘farmer’ in the *Halcyon*’s passenger manifest of 1821, for in his mother’s will he is referred to as a ‘farmer’ in quite another sense of the word, in fact a collector of taxes, residing in Chorlton-upon-Medlock. We do not know why Catalina made no bequests in her will to any other of her many children, some of whom must surely have

<sup>1015</sup> *A history of Parbold* (Preston, 1994) p. 57.

<sup>1016</sup> See the burials register at [http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Ecclestone/stmary/burials\\_1813-1831.html](http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Ecclestone/stmary/burials_1813-1831.html).

<sup>1017</sup> See the record at [http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Ecclestone/stmary/baptisms\\_1813-1824.html](http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Ecclestone/stmary/baptisms_1813-1824.html).

<sup>1018</sup> See [http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Ecclestone/douglaschapel/baptisms\\_1798-1812.html](http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Ecclestone/douglaschapel/baptisms_1798-1812.html).

<sup>1019</sup> See [http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Ecclestone/stmary/burials\\_1813-1831.html](http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Ecclestone/stmary/burials_1813-1831.html).

<sup>1020</sup> Baines, *CPL*, vol. II, p. 276. This same directory has an entry for ‘Wadsworth Ann, hair dresser, 59, London road’. London Road is the continuation southward of Piccadilly leading to Ardwick Green and since Catalina’s daughter Ann would be aged about 16 in 1825, we are led to speculate whether this Ann Wadsworth was one and the same person.

<sup>1021</sup> *Pigot & Co.’s Directory*.

<sup>1022</sup> As has previously been noted, compilers of the 1841 Census tended to round down people’s ages.

<sup>1023</sup> Wadsworth, *Will*, both proved 27th May 1851.

outlived their mother, but she possibly deemed that they were well provided for already through their businesses or their marriages.

As the passenger manifest indicates, among the children accompanying Catalina Harris on the vessel that brought to America Samuel Harris and his family, the names of her two eldest sons were both entered as 'J.G. Wadsworth', one, John Greaves Wadsworth, a farmer aged 25 and the other, James Greaves Wadsworth, a teacher aged 23. It is to the latter that Harris referred in his letters after the family's return to England, since he mentioned this person's having obtained a teaching post in Parkgate, situated on the Wirral peninsula in Cheshire. James Greaves Wadsworth and his brother Henry had acted as witnesses at the wedding of William Tell Harris to their sister Catalina in April 1821. On the 11th June 1827 James Greaves Wadsworth, then living at Hurstclough, Mottram-in-Longdendale (located approx. 10 miles to the east of Manchester centre), described as the second son of the late Rev. John Wadsworth of Parbold Hall and then employed as a bookkeeper, married Amelia, the daughter of Samuel Edgeley of Manchester.<sup>1024</sup> In 1841, John and Amelia (both then aged 40, quite possibly another 'rounded' number), with their son James M. Wadsworth (aged 12) were living in Booth Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester,<sup>1025</sup> close to John's mother Catalina. In view of Samuel Harris's adverse remarks with regard to James Greaves Wadsworth's unsuitability for pioneer settler work in America, it is worth noting that this same James Greaves Wadsworth was listed among the participants in a fancy dress ball, dressed as '*je ne sais quoi*', which formed part of the gigantic Manchester Music Festival of 1836. Dance music at the ball was reportedly provided by 'Almack's celebrated quadrille band, led by Mr. Liltolff [*sic*]' and the ball was attended by 'about seven hundred ladies and gentlemen, including most of the fashionables... and the leading families in the neighbourhood', and graced by the presence, among his suite, of William VIII, Duke of Brunswick (who had formerly been under the guardianship of Britain's King George IV).<sup>1026</sup> While this tends to confirm Harris's estimate of James Greaves

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<sup>1024</sup> *Manchester courier and Lancashire general advertiser*, 16th June 1827.

<sup>1025</sup> So it is stated in the 1841 Census, where John continues to be described as a bookkeeper.

<sup>1026</sup> *Manchester courier and Lancashire general advertiser*, 17th & 24th September 1836. Some Manchester Nonconformists felt scandalized by the 1836 Musical Festival, when 'in the morning sacred music was to be performed in the "Old Church," and in the evening a fancy dress ball was to be held in the theatre, at which some of the clergymen were to be present in their gowns. [William] Gadsby preached a sermon against this, what he called "awful profanity." "A report was circulated that the Church and the Theatre had been courting a long time, and that they were to be married the following week."' (T. Swindells, *Manchester streets and Manchester men, fifth series* [Manchester, 1908] p. 164.) The Manchester Musical Festival of 1836 was, in fact, the second such event, the first having taken place in 1828, when, it would appear, other members of the Wadsworth family had attended the festival's culminating event, the fancy dress ball. They included 'Mr. G. Wadsworth' and 'Miss Wadsworth', possibly two of the family members listed among passengers of the *Halcyon* in 1821: G. [= George?] and Ann Wadsworth. See *An account of the Manchester Musical Festival, 1828... with a description of the characters who attended the Grand Fancy Dress Ball* (Manchester, 1828). The 1828 event was famously commemorated in the painting by Arthur Perigal (1784-1847), on display today in Salford Museum and Art Gallery (see <http://salfordonline.com/1511-unseen-salford-treasures-arthur-perigals-a-fancy-dress-ball.html>). 'Despite measuring 7 feet by 10 feet this painting is really a *tour de force* of the miniaturist's art. At a significant point in the growth of 'Cottonopolis', Robert Peel, home secretary, and 400 members of Manchester's merchant élite are portrayed at leisure, all dressed in exotic costumes of the most striking variety, [including monarchs and emperors, Cupid fairies, Chinamen, knights in armour, Napoleon Bonaparte, and Harris's particular *bête noire* Little Red Riding Hood (see Letter 11 of April 1830)]. A probable self-portrait is included on the right-hand side. Perigal attended in the costume of 'an old gentleman of George II.'d's

Wadsworth's unsuitability for pioneer settling in frontier America, his farmer brother, John Greaves Wadsworth, two years his elder, might well have succeeded in the American west had he actually launched out in that direction with the Harris and Fox families.

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time' (*Manchester Guardian*, 4th October 1828). 'Completed in eighteen months, the picture was praised in the *Manchester Guardian* (10th July 1830) as 'a faithful representation of the most brilliant scene ever witnessed in Manchester'. (*ODNB*.)

## Appendix V: The Churches in the Background of the Harris Letters

Throughout this series of letters, we find frequent references to the Baptist and Congregational churches in Wigan with which Samuel Harris and John Brown were associated, as well as to the Baptist Church in Aurora, Indiana. It may therefore be useful to append here summary accounts of these churches' origins and later history.

### *St. Paul Independent Chapel, Wigan*

St. Paul Independent Chapel in Standishgate, Wigan, was erected in 1785, although the congregation who worshipped there had been established in 1777.<sup>1027</sup> Prior to its Independent, or Congregational, stance, it had been a church belonging to the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, and this explains its very unusual (among Independent churches) dedication to an ecclesiastically designated saint and its originally liturgical form of worship and use of clerical vestments, as also its strongly Calvinistic Methodist leaning.<sup>1028</sup> Its first two ministers—John Johnson (c. 1763-1804) and William Roby (1766-1830)—had both been students at Lady Huntingdon's College in Trevecca. Among the earliest preachers in St. Paul's were Leonard Redmayne and Isaac Sharp, both of whom are referred to by Harris in this series of letters. The minister Daniel Fleming was succeeded in 1803 by Joseph Parkin (b. 1780),<sup>1029</sup> after whose death, toward the end of 1809, Alexander Steill came to minister at St. Paul's. Steill was born in Portsea, Hampshire on the 24th February 1768 and had studied under David Bogue in Gosport. Before coming to Wigan, he had served in Winchester and Kidderminster. He laboured for 21 years at St. Paul's Independent Chapel and, following the example set in 1643 when the Puritan rector James Bradshaw had removed the organ from Wigan's parish church, Steill in his turn removed the organ from St. Paul's, as the instrument was deemed offensive by some of the stricter members of the congregation. On the 5th November 1812 he formally consecrated the Church of St. Paul (which took its name after the church in Wigan) at Hindley, on the east side of Wigan.<sup>1030</sup> He died, aged 64, on the 23rd March 1832<sup>1031</sup> and was buried at St. Paul's, Wigan. Like Harris and Brown, Steill was a great bibliophile and Nightingale noted, 'It is recorded that he left behind one of the first private libraries in the kingdom.'<sup>1032</sup> In 1833 John Brown, the recipient of this series of letters, printed, in 50 pages, *A catalogue of the valuable library of the late Rev. Alexander Steill of Wigan... to be sold, by order of his executors.*<sup>1033</sup> During the early decades of the nineteenth century the church at St. Paul's became tired of the frequent change of ministers belonging to Lady Huntingdon's Connexion (the last of whom was Joseph Kerby) and moved to a purely Independent form of church government. A formal dissolution of the foregoing church and the adoption by its members of the Declaration of Faith and Order composed by the Congregational Union of England

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<sup>1027</sup> Robinson, *LCU*, p. 163.

<sup>1028</sup> See Sellers, *PF*, p. 9.

<sup>1029</sup> On Joseph Parkin and his family, see note 916.

<sup>1030</sup> *CSP*, pp. 7-9.

<sup>1031</sup> Nightingale, *LN*, pp. 75-80.

<sup>1032</sup> *LN*, pp. 79 f.

<sup>1033</sup> Folkard, *WD*, p. 35.

and Wales was ratified on the 4th October 1839.<sup>1034</sup> There is much to support the claim that it was a series of secessions from St. Paul Independent Chapel during the nineteenth century that produced several new Nonconformist churches in Wigan. In addition to Lord Street Baptist Church (and its derivative King Street Baptist Church), from St. Paul's also sprang the nucleus of Hope Congregational Church and the Working Men's Congregational Church under the leadership of William Medlen Hutchings (1827-1876), a person remembered mainly for having composed the hymn 'Mothers of Salem' for the 1850 anniversary of St. Paul Independent Chapel Sunday School, of which he was the superintendent.<sup>1035</sup> Another secession occurred, when on the 10th June 1866, Silverwell Congregational Chapel was founded. It endured until 1888, when the premises were bought by the Manchester, Lincolnshire, and Sheffield Railway Co.<sup>1036</sup> In 1973 St. Paul Independent Chapel combined with Hope Congregational Church to become Trinity United Reformed Church in Milton Grove, Wigan.

### ***Lord Street Baptist Church, Wigan***



**The only known representation of Lord Street Baptist Church, Wigan, which today hangs in a side room of Wigan Baptist Church**

Lord Street Baptist Church was formed in 1796, when, among others challenged by the religious unrest that prevailed in the locality in the last decade of

<sup>1034</sup> *SPCCM*, p. 1. See also Roaf, *EPL* for historical reminiscences relating to St. Paul's. St. Paul's moving from the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion to Congregationalism paralleled a similar transition of societies in other places in Britain. M.R. Watts mentioned those in Chichester, Mevagissey, Peterborough, Preston, Reading, and West Bromwich and observed that the process came about because of a failure of the Countess of Huntingdon's plan to provide her Connexion with an organization comparable to that of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists. (*The Dissenters*, vol. I [Oxford, 1978] p. 453.)

<sup>1035</sup> See Hutchings's publication: "Two whole years": a discourse delivered on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Working Men's Congregational Church, Wigan, May 29th, 1864 (Wigan, 1864).

<sup>1036</sup> Nightingale, *LN*, p. 88. The date of opening is given in the Note book of John James Charnock (Town Clerk of Wigan, 1895-1900), posted at <http://www.wiganworld.co.uk/stuff/chronology.txt>.



the eighteenth century, a handful of the company who met for worship in St. Paul Independent Chapel, taking exception to the hyper-Calvinism of the minister and at the same time developing Baptist convictions, hived off and, together with others who had formerly been associated with Chapel Lane Presbyterian Church,<sup>1037</sup> began meeting separately in a room in Brick Kiln Lane, from where they would eventually move to a new church building in Lord Street. This was the church in which John Brown and his wife were members and so the church's concerns and individual members come constantly under review in the letters of Samuel Harris to his old friend in Wigan. In Brick Kiln Lane the small company received encouragement from John Hirst of Bacup and James Hargreaves of Bolton, but they did not have a pastor until 1803 when they gained the services of William Wrathall of Skipton. William Wrathall died in 1809 and it was not until May 1810 that he was replaced in the pastorate by the 57-year-old John Simmons of Accrington, who in 1812 baptized, among others, his son James and William Ellison, both of whom receive frequent mention by Harris in these letters. Having reached the age of 70, John Simmons resigned the pastorate at Lord Street in April 1823 and retired to Olney in Buckinghamshire.<sup>1038</sup> He died in January 1826.<sup>1039</sup> Two of his sons would later minister in Buckinghamshire: James at Olney<sup>1040</sup> and John Edmund at Stony Stratford.<sup>1041</sup> Later the church moved from Lord Street to Scarisbrick Street, where it still functions to the present day (2016).<sup>1042</sup>

### ***King Street Baptist Church, Wigan***

With regard to the origins of King Street Baptist Church, Sellers<sup>1043</sup> gives the following account of the division which occurred in the Lord Street church:

In 1826 Rev Benjamin Millard of Bath arrived at Lord Street on supply. He was a determined man and was filled with compassion for the destitute people who lived in the 'central' part of the town (around the old parish church). He felt a call to go and work amongst them and invited the Lord Street people to join him; if they did not, he would go alone. The records tell us that this radical proposal startled and perplexed the people; still an infant church, they were now being called upon to venture into the unknown. Some said yes, others said nothing. The church minute book in fact uses a wonderfully telling phrase about the latter; 'shyness ensued'. Clearly the pastor's enthusiasm had outstripped his flock's. In the end 15 members withdrew with Millard and 22 remained at Lord Street.

The 15 members who left Lord Street to commence the King Street church, some of whom Harris mentions by name in the course of his correspondence, were: David Brown, Henry Heyes, and Robert Jackson (deacons), together with Ann Heyes (later Ball), Jesse Taylor, Jane Taylor, James Walker, Jane Walker, William Brown, Margaret Brown, Mary Heyes (later Holland), Betty Sutton (later Leech), Thomas Bennett, Mary Ann Morson, and Thomas Sutton.<sup>1044</sup> This second Baptist Church in

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<sup>1037</sup> In fact, the first three brethren in the register of the new Baptist church (Henry Ross, James Skirrow, and James Robinson) all came from the Presbyterian church. (Shaw, *SPW*, p. 82.)

<sup>1038</sup> *KSCB&M*.

<sup>1039</sup> *BCBLW*, p. 19.

<sup>1040</sup> Sellers, *PF*, p. 9.

<sup>1041</sup> See Whelan, *BA*, p. 448. See further on J.E. Simmons in note 341.

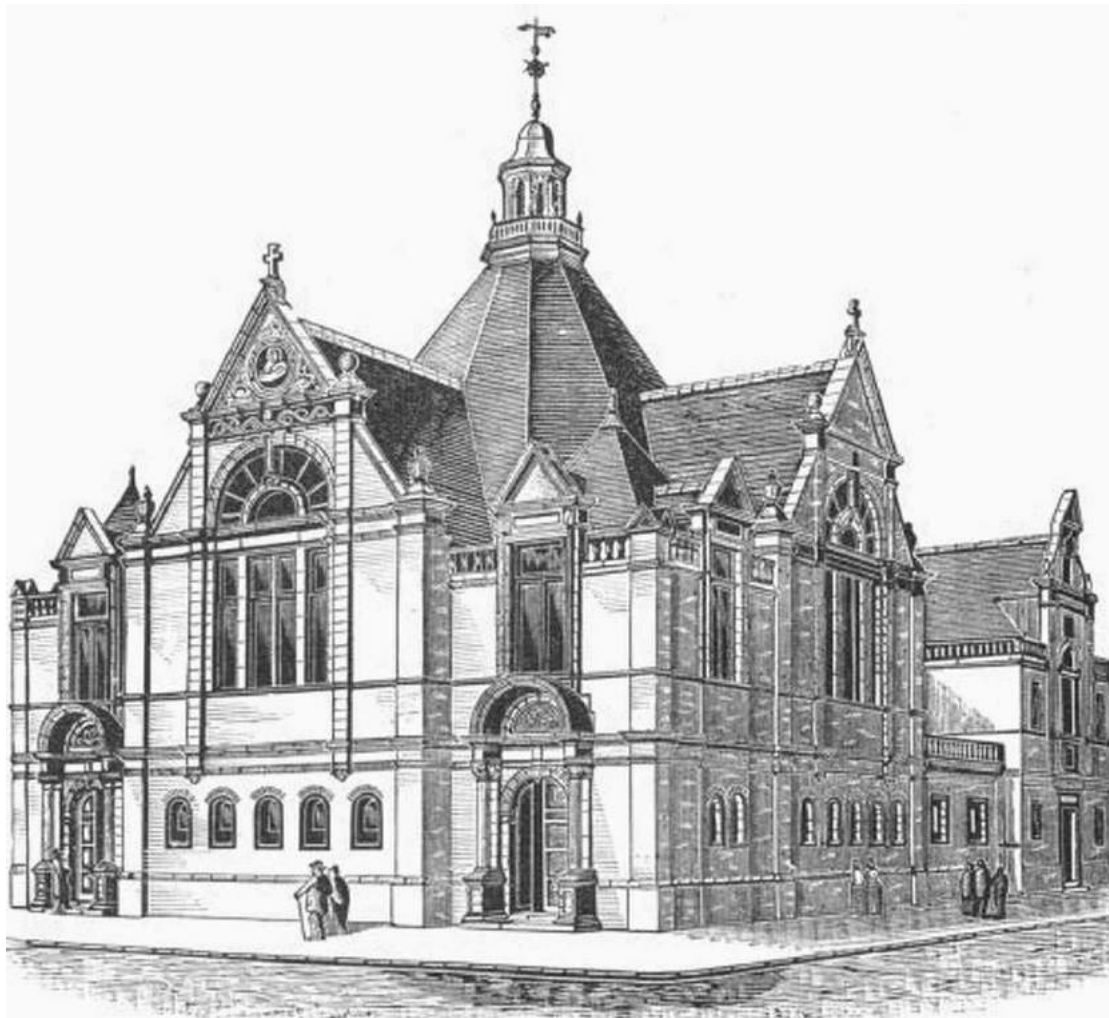
<sup>1042</sup> Whelan, *BA*, p. 77, n. 131.

<sup>1043</sup> *PF*, pp. 9-11, 30.

<sup>1044</sup> *KSCB&M*, reproduced in Johnson, *OHY*, p. 8.

Wigan first held meetings in part of the Commercial Hall<sup>1045</sup> and Benjamin Millard continued to lead the flock amid depressing circumstances until his death at the age of 64 on the 7th April 1849. Millard was himself something of a scholar and, for the Hanserd Knollys Society, began the translation from the original Dutch of *A martyrology of the churches of Christ, commonly called Baptists, during the era of the Reformation*, by Tieleman Jans van Braght, which was completed after his death and published posthumously in 1850.<sup>1046</sup> A building fund was commenced and, ultimately, the new King Street chapel was opened on the 4th May 1854. Although the discussion between Harris and Brown on this secession from the Lord Street Baptist Church was at the time critical of the seceders, nevertheless the two Baptist churches continued to function amicably in parallel for many years, until, at the end of 1969, the King Street church reunited with the Lord Street fellowship, which had been meeting in a new building in Scarisbrick Street since 1853.

### *Hope Independent Chapel, Wigan*

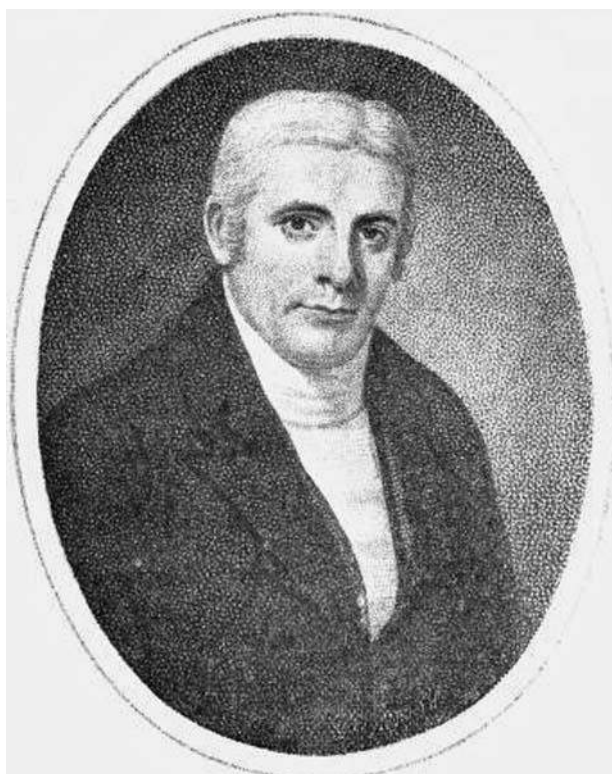


**Hope Independent Chapel, Wigan (from Nightingale, *LN*, p. 93)**

<sup>1045</sup> On the Commercial Hall, see note 504.

<sup>1046</sup> See Brown, *FTY*, pp. 34 f.; and Johnson, *OHY*.

Like the formation of Lord Street Baptist church a few years earlier, the formation of the Congregational church meeting in Hope Chapel, Wigan, is attributed to the disaffection of some members of St. Paul Independent Chapel in Standishgate with the extreme Calvinism of the minister, Alexander Steill. In 1812 John Ralph,<sup>1047</sup> the Dissenting minister of Bethesda Chapel in Liverpool, came to Wigan to preach to the seceders from St. Paul's (some of whom had for a time fellowshiped with the Baptists in Lord Street) in a schoolroom in Mesnes Lane, before moving to a large room adjoining the Bear's Paw Inn in Wallgate until the first Hope Chapel was built on a plot of land on Mesnes Lane leased from the joint proprietors John Bretherton and James Tennant. It was opened on the 30th August 1818, but the congregation expanded so rapidly that the chapel was raised and three additional galleries erected before it was re-opened two years later.<sup>1048</sup>



Portrait of John Ralph, from Nightingale, *LN*, p. 85

### ***Aurora Baptist Church, Indiana***

A useful summary of the origins and development of Aurora Baptist Church is to be found in the *History of Dearborn and Ohio counties, Indiana* (1885), from which we extract the following section most relevant to our study in this place, on which nevertheless a number of comments will be necessary:

<sup>1047</sup> John Ralph is referred to more than once by Harris in this series of letters. Some biographical details relating to Ralph may be found in Horsman, *HHCC*, pp. 18-27.

<sup>1048</sup> Nightingale, *LN*, pp. 84-87. See further, on the 1822 division in Hope Chapel, in note 414.

The first services were held in a log-house located on the lot where William Brewington now resides, on Fifth Street.<sup>1049</sup> It was built originally for a private residence, by Mrs. Joanna Fox, but was afterward used as a schoolhouse, and by all denominations of Christians for church purposes, as occasion might require. Somewhere between the years 1825 and 1828 the Baptists built a meeting house on their lot, a lot east of the present site of the old house, and was the first meeting house built in the town. It was a brick structure... It was surmounted by a small belfry, and for a time the people were summoned to church by a triangle. Afterward this was supplanted by a bell, which is [in 1885 at the latest] the present ferry bell on the side of the river. Some of the seats which were in the meeting house are now [in 1885 at the latest] in use in Council Hall. The old building has some special reminiscences connected with it, one of which is that the world-renowned Lorenzo Dow<sup>1050</sup> once preached in it; and, second, that the first session of the first United States Bankrupt Court was held within its walls, presided over by Jesse L. Holman. The reason for this court being held here was owing to the fact that Judge Holman was sick, and unable to go to the capital of the state to transact the business absolutely necessary to be done. The church worshipped in this house until 1848. Elder James Dickens<sup>1051</sup> [*sic*] of the Bulletsburgh, Ky. church,<sup>1052</sup> was the first pastor, and under his ministry the church entered upon its career of usefulness and prosperity. Frequent accessions were had by letter up to October, when the first convert was baptized. At the close of the year the church numbered seventeen members. Elder Dickens [*sic*] served the church until 1824, when, having declined further services, Elder Samuel Harris was called to the pastorate,<sup>1053</sup> and served the church, excepting at short intervals, until 1832. During his ministry, members were received at almost every meeting. He died of cholera while on a visit to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1832. Elder Thomas Curtis, a minister of great usefulness, and beloved by all the churches, was chosen as the next pastor.<sup>1054</sup>

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<sup>1049</sup> By the time the anonymous *History of Dearborn and Ohio counties* was published (in 1885), this statement was already out of date, as is confirmed by information found elsewhere in the book. William Brewington, who opened a general store in Aurora in 1870 and achieved prosperity through real estate speculation, died in 1878 (*HDO*, p. 640).

<sup>1050</sup> Lorenzo Dow (1777-1834) was a famous itinerant preacher and an important figure in the so-called 'Second Great Awakening'. He was so energetic in his itinerant preaching throughout the USA that it would be something of a surprise if he had not also preached in Aurora. As occasional remarks in Harris's letters testify, he was not, however, the sort of preacher whom Harris would unreservedly have encouraged.

<sup>1051</sup> On James Dicken see Letter 4 and note 432.

<sup>1052</sup> It is interesting to note that 'the Aurora church was probably the first in the state to agree to pay its pastor a regular stipend, in 1820. But the amount was only \$1.50 a month, and the practice was later abandoned.' (Cady, *MBCI*, p. 129.) On Bullittsburg Baptist Church, see note 594.

<sup>1053</sup> As Harris made clear in Letters 2 & 4, he disclaimed the office of 'pastor' over the church in Aurora, while accepting invitations to minister to the church.

<sup>1054</sup> *HDO*, pp. 328 f.

## Appendix VI: Samuel Harris's Property and Dwelling Places in Aurora and Elsewhere in Indiana, Kentucky, and Ohio

Samuel Harris's property purchases and the places in which he lived during the almost eleven and a half years that he resided in the USA constitute an essential topographical and chronological background to the series of letters that he wrote to his old friend John Brown in Wigan. It is, nevertheless, something of an intricate puzzle to unravel the details involved. The following is an attempt to reconcile all the currently available data and to present as coherent an account of property and dwelling places as may be achieved.

### *Property acquired by Samuel Harris*

We must begin this discussion by first considering a statement relating to the first platting of the village of Aurora, contained in the anonymous *History of Dearborn and Ohio counties, Indiana*, published in 1885:

In January, 1820, an entire square was donated to Samuel Harris, on condition that he would make improvements on the same equal to four substantial buildings within eighteen months. At the same meeting of the company it was ordered as follows: "That four lots be donated to the friends of Samuel Harris, and ground sufficient to establish a cotton-mill or woolen-mill, provided the same be established thereon within four years."<sup>1055</sup>

The reader of Samuel Harris's letters in the present collection naturally finds this passage somewhat startling since, as these letters testify, Samuel Harris was in England in 1820 and did not arrive in Aurora until late in the year 1821 at the earliest. Furthermore, there is absolutely nothing in Harris's letters, nor in what we know of his earlier life in England, to suggest that he personally was inclined to establish and operate a mill of any description, although it should perhaps be remembered that Harris hailed from a part of England's West Country that had traditionally been a centre for wool production and members of his family, not least his father, had at times been involved in the clothing, linen drapery, and hosiery trade. Unfortunately, on account of an absence of documentation between Letter 1 (written from Philadelphia, July 1821) and Letter 2 (written from Aurora, November 1822) in the present series, we lack any knowledge of the way in which Harris obtained his first property in Aurora. What follows is largely a speculative reconstruction of events leading to Samuel Harris's first acquisition of property in Aurora, but as will be seen, it is nevertheless not altogether without foundation. In order to understand the statement cited above, it is necessary first to step backwards a little in time. When we consider how Harris, his family members, the Fox family, and possibly James Latham and Daniel Hepworth,<sup>1056</sup> set out westwards from Philadelphia to settle in Aurora, Indiana, we have to ask ourselves why it was that they took that specific course. Certainly, something must have directed them to Aurora, rather than mere drifting down the Ohio River stream in quest of a suitable resting place, like land-seeking birds sent forth from some latter-day Noah's ark. Their journey must surely have been purposive and so, if we look around for motive and direction, it seems

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<sup>1055</sup> *HDO*, p. 305. The information is repeated in Shaw, *HDC*, p. 267

<sup>1056</sup> See note 973.

reasonable to suggest that the region of destiny had been reconnoitred by William Tell Harris during his tour through the USA during the years 1817-1819. We are fortunate in that his account of that tour was published and remains available for us as an indicator of possible precedents to the emigration voyage of 1821.

After a visit during 1817 to the American south, where the degrading system of slavery had sickened William Tell, in the following year he struck out west from Philadelphia passing through Pittsburgh and Wheeling, a route that would be taken again in 1821 in the company of his parents and sister. After voyaging some way down the Ohio River, he spent seven weeks exploring the northern part of the State of Ohio bordering on Indian territory, before proceeding to Cincinnati and from there, across the Ohio again, to Covington, Kentucky and thence southwards through Boone County, with Aurora, Indiana on the opposite shore, only crossing into Indiana at Ghent, to reach the settlement of Vevay in Switzerland County, to meet with people who revered their folk hero William Tell. There he teamed with the family of Richard Ainley from Holderness, near his own former place of residence in Hull, Yorkshire, and also a man from Lincolnshire and together they voyaged down the Ohio to Jeffersonville and Louisville, before traveling north and west into Indiana, where William Tell visited the Rapp settlement at Harmony and the Birkbeck and Flower settlements across the Wabash in Illinois. William Tell reported how his companion Richard Ainley had parted company with himself and the Lincolnshire man in order to explore land around the White and Patoka rivers, tributaries of the Wabash, and that having selected a suitable place to settle there with his family, he went up country to the land office in Vincennes to enter his claim for a quarter section of land.<sup>1057</sup> Thus we have a contemporary account, witnessed by William Tell Harris, of how land might have been obtained at the time in this region of Indiana. In December 1818 William Tell travelled overland to Pittsburgh, where he rested for the winter, but in the spring of 1819, he set out again, first northwards to reach Lake Erie, thence through Upper Canada to Montreal and Quebec, and from Montreal southwards through the state of New York, touching into Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and from Boston travelling south to New York city, whence he set out on his return voyage to England.

We see then how William Tell Harris made a careful exploration of the possible regions of North America to which he and other family members might return and settle. We have now to imagine ourselves listening in to discussion between William Tell and his family members on his arrival back in England in September 1819, now planning their proposed resettlement in the New World. They could have started by trying to narrow down the number of possible destinations. Probably the first region they would rule out was the southern states of the USA, where the stain of slavery could only be viewed by them as a repugnant and inhumane social institution in every way to be avoided. Then, what of those relatively long-settled New England states? First, William Tell, through his observations in the eastern states, had reached the clear conclusion that the surest way to lay sound foundations and to prosper in the New World was to forget what former position in society and what professional or artisan skills one might have practised in England, and instead to engage in farming on new land that was available in vast quantities at

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<sup>1057</sup> For a sample title deed, granting a quarter section, consisting of 160 acres, to John Woods in White County, Illinois, see Woods, *TYR*, pp. 290 f.

relatively low prices. For this reason the prospective pioneers would look beyond the New England states, which by this time had already been overrun by professionals and craftsmen from the old world, and would seek for new land to cultivate further to the west. So what of the new lands being claimed on former Indian hunting grounds, perhaps in upper Ohio? William Tell had practical experience of the difficult, confrontational situation that was festering between European settlers and Native Americans. He had almost been conscripted to fight against Seminoles in the south, and in Ohio he had seen at first hand some of the apparently unavoidable difficulties that arose where European and Native American cultures came into collision. It seems reasonably safe to deduce that the Harris party, informed by William Tell's observations, consequently ruled out from a list of possible destinations beyond the New England states, first, all those states in which slavery was still practised (which would have included the Kentucky that William Tell had otherwise taken some delight in<sup>1058</sup>) and, second, those frontier regions where the white man's progress entailed the red man's inevitable retreat. What possible regions did this leave for the would-be emigrants to the New World? The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had forbidden slavery in the territories that would become the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Statehood had been achieved by the first three of these by the time of the Harris family's arrival in the USA in 1821. They knew therefore that the Ohio River then marked the boundary between slave-holding and slave-free America. However, William Tell had personal experience of the sorts of conflicts that could arise, for example, in upper Ohio, when the sedentary and agriculturalist immigrants from Europe arrived in territory previously roamed by the hunter-gatherer Native American peoples. Conflicts with Native American tribes had ceased in the southern parts of Indiana and Illinois some years before William Tell had visited those regions. There is good reason for thinking that one destination, the so-called English Prairie, on the east side of the Big Wabash River in southern Illinois, must have been foremost in their thinking, as many English settlers had already travelled there and numerous reports on the favours that the land there offered had been published. William Tell would also have brought a favourable report of what he had seen there. There are indeed hints in his father's letters that this destination had long been in view by him as a suitable place for settlement. Thus, when he learnt of trouble there between Birkbeck and Flower, he remarked to John Brown in November 1822, 'We have great reason to be thankful, that we did not proceed so far', which seems to imply that proceeding that far had at least been an option contemplated by Harris and his family. In fact, to his last days, while setting aside the Birkbeck settlement, Samuel Harris still longed to see the Flower settlement, near Albion in Edwards County, Illinois.

But the family stopped short in Indiana soon after leaving Ohio behind them on their westward journey. They were not the first to do so. Writing in 1819, John Woods related how a party had set out from Baltimore intending to reach the English settlement in Illinois, but the last he had heard from them was that they had stopped in Evansville, Indiana and, ten miles from there, had obtained land to settle on.<sup>1059</sup> A

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<sup>1058</sup> After describing Lexington, Ky. as a handsome, cultured town, with a well-supplied market, offering the comforts of life in abundance, he then hesitated and commented, 'One circumstance, however, must, while it exists, blast the prospects of this beautiful portion of the Union, which is exceeded by none and equalled by few. Slavery is here sanctioned by law, and... casts a hideous gloom around in the unnatural distinctions of bond and free.' (*RTUSA*, pp. 145 f.)

<sup>1059</sup> *TYR*, p. 32.



common practice among would-be settlers in the west was for the male head of the family to leave the other family members in some safe place (perhaps at home in Europe, at a town on America's east coast, or at some secure place in the settled west) and then to go ahead to seek out available and suitable land on which to settle, after which his family would be sent for and would join him in the new abode, where he had made the first attempts to clear the ground and to build a temporary log cabin. As previously noted, William Tell had seen this in practice in the case of his fellow-traveller into Illinois, Richard Ainley from Holderness in east Yorkshire, who had gone ahead of his family to seek out land between the White and Patoka Rivers<sup>1060</sup> and to register it in Vincennes.

Could the Harris family act in similar manner? Perhaps they could, had all their members been young and sufficiently able-bodied, but Samuel and Sarah were already advanced in years by early nineteenth-century standards and the ordeal of emigration might be softened for them if some certainty of abode and land could be achieved before their actually setting out on the long journey westward. By planning in this manner they would perhaps have had two advantages that the raw youth going west would have been without: a certain amount of saved capital, the proceeds in the main of the sale of Samuel Harris's druggist business in Wigan; and, in addition, contacts already made in the New World. William Tell's letters written during 1817-1819 reveal that on that expedition he had carried with him introductory letters from influential persons in England,<sup>1061</sup> in addition to some provided him by helpful friends in the USA, and these letters were found to be effective in his obtaining respect and help in certain places that he visited. The most appropriate contacts they could perhaps contemplate using in their quest for a dwelling place in Indiana or Illinois were those already made by William Tell in visiting the burgeoning town of Cincinnati. Who might these people have been? There are suggestions in William Tell's tenth letter, written from Cincinnati in July 1818, but we have first to try to surmount the obstacle placed in our way by nineteenth-century editors' annoying practice of obscuring the names of living persons. Thus, we read William Tell's report at the end of this letter:

Through the unceasing kindness of Dr. S. (Philadelphia), since my arrival in the States, I receive the most polite attention from Mr. D. general G. and captain M. rendering my stay here [in Cincinnati] very agreeable, and affording me much information, calculated to assist me in the main object I have in view.<sup>1062</sup>

It is fairly easy to identify 'Dr. S. (Philadelphia)' with Dr. William Staughton, the British-born Baptist minister referred to by Samuel Harris in Letter 1. Identifying the other three gentlemen is, however, more problematic. Leaving aside 'Mr. D.' and 'captain M.',<sup>1063</sup> and turning our attention to 'general G.', we are helped by a later

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<sup>1060</sup> Probably in Pike County, Indiana. See <http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=pubmembertrees&rank=1&gsln=Ainly&gskw=>.

<sup>1061</sup> See e.g. *RTUSA*, pp. 14, 19, 36, 66, 95.

<sup>1062</sup> *RTUSA*, p. 99.

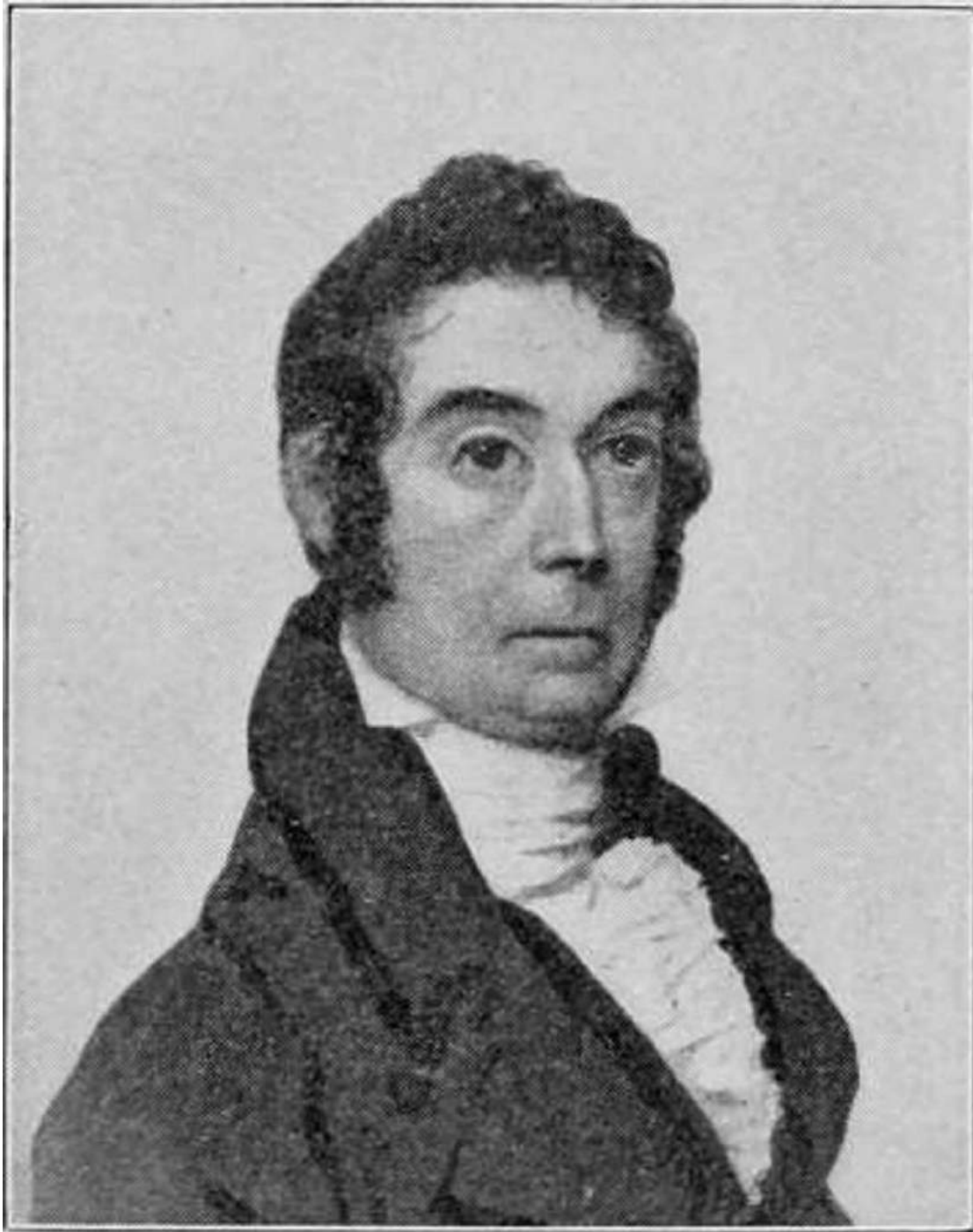
<sup>1063</sup> The following suggestions may be made in attempting to identify these persons. It is at least possible that 'Mr. D.' was William Goforth's former medical pupil, business partner, and close friend Daniel Drake, to whom we referred earlier in connection with his treatment of cholera victims in Cincinnati in 1832, although it is perhaps surprising that, in that case, William Tell used the title 'Mr.' rather than 'Dr.', which would have been expected in referring to this eminent, though humble, leader in Cincinnati society. Drake's hospitality toward visitors to Cincinnati was occasioned principally by his publications *Notices concerning Cincinnati* (1810) and *Natural and statistical view, or picture of*

remark in William Tell's twelfth letter, written in September 1818 when, during a visit to Big Bone Valley in north-western Kentucky, just to the south of Cincinnati and across the Ohio River from Aurora, he commented regarding the fossilized skeleton of a mammoth found there, 'It is to the exertions of the late Dr. Goforth, of Cincinnati, father to the lady of general G. that we are indebted for a more intimate acquaintance with this enormous creature.'<sup>1064</sup>

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*Cincinnati and the Miami country* (1815), and was on such a scale that it merited a separate chapter in Horine's biography (*DD*, pp. 368-385). It would certainly have occasioned William Tell's acknowledging Drake's having afforded him 'much information, calculated,' as he wrote, 'to assist me in the main object I have in view,' that is, scouting the western lands in quest of a future habitation for members of his family. We might similarly suspect that 'captain M.', also acknowledged by William Tell among those who extended to him their hospitality in Cincinnati, was Daniel Drake's intimate friend and uncle by marriage Captain (later Colonel) Jared Mansfield, surveyor-general of the Northwest Territory and later professor at the U.S. Military Academy, West Point. (Horine, *DD*, pp. 91 f.)

<sup>1064</sup> *RTUSA*, pp. 125 f.



**Portrait of Dr. William Goforth, from O. Juettner, *Daniel Drake and his followers* (Cincinnati, 1909)**

‘The late Dr. Goforth, of Cincinnati’ could only be the physician William Goforth (1766-1817), who in 1804 had served as commissioned surgeon-general in the First (Gano’s) Division of the Ohio Militia and who, at Big Bone Lick in Kentucky, had dug up a collection of prehistoric fossil bones.<sup>1065</sup> He was the son of another William

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<sup>1065</sup> Concerning William Goforth’s fossil finds, Drake wrote as follows: He ‘brought away, the largest, most diversified and remarkable mass of huge fossil bones that were ever disinterred at one time or place in the United States; the whole of which he put into the possession of that swindling Englishman, Thomas Ashe, *alias* D’Arville, who sold them in Europe and embezzled the proceeds.’ (Ford, *HCO*, p.

Goforth (1731-1807), ‘one of the most influential men in the formation of the Ohio commonwealth’ and Hamilton County judge, himself the son of Aaron Goforth, a native of Hull, Yorkshire, which links the Goforth family with the Harris family’s former place of residence, from which (excuse the word-play) he *went forth*. Dr. William Goforth, referred to by William Tell, was not, in fact the *father* (i.e. Judge William Goforth) of ‘the lady of general G.’, but the *brother* of Mary Goforth (1768-1857),<sup>1066</sup> who in 1787 had married John Stites Gano (1766-1822), who must be the ‘general G.’ of William Tell’s letters. John Stites Gano had a long military career, beginning as an ensign in a New York Militia company, before moving west to fight in the Indian Wars of 1791, promoted to Major of the First Regiment Ohio Militia in 1792, then to Lieutenant Colonel in 1797, and Major General commanding the First (Gano’s) Division of the Ohio Militia in the War of 1812.<sup>1067</sup> One of the sons of John Stites Gano was Daniel Gano (1794-1873),<sup>1068</sup> who was the person who executed the mortgage taken out by Samuel Harris on a tract of land in Hamilton County, Ohio (the subject of a codicil to his will, dated 27th April 1830),<sup>1069</sup> which he bequeathed to Samuel Lawford in right of his wife, i.e. Samuel Harris’s daughter Susanna.<sup>1070</sup>

After a somewhat lengthy, though nevertheless necessary, discussion, we have arrived at a possible way in which to understand the previously cited quotation from

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295.) Ashe’s own, rather bombastic, account of the fossil booty he took back to England and how he fell foul of the customs authorities in Liverpool, to the ultimate benefit of the Liverpool Museum, is contained in *Memoirs and confessions of Captain Ashe*, vol. II (London, 1815) chap. XVII.

<sup>1066</sup> This is confirmed by Daniel Drake in Ford, *HCO*, p. 295.

<sup>1067</sup> On the career of John Stites Gano (1766-1822) and his importance in the early history of Ohio and of Covington, Kentucky, see respectively Wolever, *JG*, pp. 524-546; & *ENK*, s.n. ‘Gano, John Stites, Major General’. See also under ‘Gen John Stites Gano’ in <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=18990510>, where it is further related that John Stites Gano’s father, John Gano, served as a brigade chaplain for the New York Militia during the Revolutionary War and was credited with having baptized George Washington. For a careful examination of this possibility, see Wolever, *JG*, pp. 451-480 and plate B for a portrait of John Stites Gano.

<sup>1068</sup> For the children of John Stites Gano and Mary Goforth, see [http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~scanderson/Web%20Cards/WC01/WC01\\_323.HTM](http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~scanderson/Web%20Cards/WC01/WC01_323.HTM) and <http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/s/t/a/Dianne-Dora-Stanley/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-0113.html>. On Daniel Gano’s activity in helping to establish the Cincinnati Baptist Missionary Society in 1824, see Wolever, *JG*, pp. 546-8.

<sup>1069</sup> See Appendix VII: The Will of Samuel Harris. Major Daniel Gano (1794-1873) served as Clerk of Courts in Cincinnati during most of his career. In 1829 the English traveler Frances Trollope became the tenant of a property in the village of Mohawk (today part of the Over-the-Rhine neighbourhood) then on the northern outskirts of downtown Cincinnati. She described the property as ‘a very pretty cottage, the residence of a gentleman who was removing into town, for the convenience of his business as a lawyer’. This gentleman is identified by the editor of Frances Trollope’s narrative, H. Van Thal, as Major Daniel Gano. (Trollope, *DMA*, p. 84.) Cincinnati directories of the period testify that Daniel Gano provided lodgings to a number of other persons in Cincinnati. The Gano (Ganeau) family were of Huguenot descent and produced, among others, John Allen Gano (1803-1887) of Kentucky, who, within the Stone-Campbell movement, became dubbed the ‘Apollos of the West’. Further, it was Daniel Gano who was selected by Alexander Campbell as a moderator in Campbell’s debate with Robert Owen in Cincinnati in 1829 (see Richardson, *MAC*, p. 268), on which Samuel Harris would write in this series of letters, and it was also Daniel Gano who welcomed John Thomas (1805-1871), the future leader of the Christadelphian sect (see also note 929), on the latter’s arrival in Cincinnati in 1832. See Foster, *ESCM*, pp. 347, 741. At various points in the notes to Harris’s letters we have had occasion to notice Harris’s links both with persons of Huguenot descent and the Campbellite Restoration Movement. See Daniel Gano’s portrait at <http://www.cowanauctions.com/auctions/item.aspx?ItemId=95854>.

<sup>1070</sup> See Appendix VII: The Will of Samuel Harris, and comments under ‘Susanna Josephine Harris’ in the Introduction.

the *History of Dearborn and Ohio Counties, Indiana*, chronicling the acquisition of land lots in Aurora by Samuel Harris in 1820, prior to his actual arrival in the village. Since he would later use the legal services of Daniel Gano of Cincinnati and since we know that his son had obtained assistance from Daniel Gano's father, John Stites Gano, in 1818, we have a very suggestive means, quite possibly using William Staughton as a channel for correspondence between Philadelphia and Cincinnati,<sup>1071</sup> by which land was obtained on Samuel Harris's behalf in Aurora. All this must have occurred quite rapidly following William Tell's landing back in Liverpool on the 1st September 1819, since the land grants in Aurora to Samuel Harris and to friends of Samuel Harris are said to have been made on the second Monday in January of the following year. The silver thread linking the negotiations and ultimate land acquisitions in Aurora was probably the shared Baptist convictions of Samuel Harris, William Staughton, the Gano family,<sup>1072</sup> and, in Aurora, of Jesse Lynch Holman, who acted as the first director, trustee, and treasurer of the Aurora Association for Internal Improvements, busily engaged in the first platting of Aurora in 1819, the perfect opportunity for the Harris party's securing of a sure footing in an ideal situation in the New World.<sup>1073</sup>

But what of the cotton- or woollen-mill? As far as we know, none such was ever built, but was there ever an intention among members of the Harris family and fellow settlers in Aurora that such should be built? Perhaps a little further speculation might be indulged in. A person who was closely attached to the Harris family on their journey from Wigan to Aurora was James Latham. His name appears immediately after theirs in the passenger manifest of the vessel they voyaged on and remarks made by Samuel Harris in these letters make it clear that he had assisted this young man's passage in expectation of being repaid by service or labour performed by him. Samuel Harris did indeed employ James Latham for a time, as did his son William Tell sometime later, but Harris was disappointed when Latham left him in September 1822, apparently without having fulfilled all the labour expected of him. Latham was the son of a cabinet-maker in Wigan and elsewhere in the letters Harris implies that Latham was a mechanic and carried with him valuable effects, perhaps the tools of his trade. Could it have been that Samuel Harris was willing to take James Latham with him to Aurora as a skilled artisan who would help the Harris family to build the mill that was required of them within the four years expiring in 1824 and did that project fail because Latham went away, at first to find employment on his own behalf in Cincinnati? It seems possible that others too who emigrated with the Harris family were expected to travel with them to Indiana to help improve the new village. This

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<sup>1071</sup> We may perhaps find another link between William Staughton and the Baptists of Cincinnati reflected in the fact that Staughton's only son, James M. Staughton, who was born in Bordentown, New Jersey in 1800, went to Cincinnati at the invitation there of Daniel Drake, to assume the chair of surgery in the medical department of Miami University. Like Samuel Harris, he succumbed to the outbreak of cholera in Cincinnati, where he died aged only 33 on the 6th August 1833, i.e. less than a year after Harris's death. (Juettner, *DDF*, p. 142.)

<sup>1072</sup> An exemplary Baptist preacher was Stephen Gano (1762-1828), the third son of John and Sarah (Stites) Gano, on whom see Sprague, *AAP*, pp. 229 f.

<sup>1073</sup> William Tell Harris had visited the Indiana land office in Jeffersonville on the 12th October 1818, 'where maps of the district, shewing the entered and unentered sections may be seen' (Harris, *RTUSA*, p. 129), perhaps even then with a view to his family's search for new land in Indiana, but land sales in Indiana's 'Gore', which included Dearborn County, were then still dealt with in Cincinnati, which may well have been the occasion for the involvement of Baptist friends in Cincinnati coming to the assistance of the Harrises on this matter.

seems to be implied in Harris's first letter, written from Philadelphia, in which he commented, 'The rest of the party seem inclined to tarry in this neighbourhood a little. This will be of advantage to us as we shall travel *in less dust*.' The telling phrase is 'a little', revealing that Harris still believed that others of the party would travel on westward following his own family, which more widely included William and Joanna Fox. A complete square and four additional lots was a large section of the platted village, so that we expect a larger number of people than those who actually did reach Aurora to have been on their way there. The large Wadsworth family, who had become related to Samuel Harris through the marriage of his son William Tell to Catalina Wadsworth shortly before the emigrants set forth from Liverpool, would possibly have been among the number expected to continue westward with the Harrises and there is certainly enough in Samuel Harris's letters to indicate his disappointment that they too did not come out west, but lost themselves by remaining in Philadelphia.

To summarize, the entire square donated to Samuel Harris was to be where four substantial buildings were to be erected within 18 months, commencing January 1820, and we may speculate that the four buildings were respectively intended as residences for: (1) Samuel Harris, wife, and daughter; (2) William Tell and Catalina Harris; (3) the Wadsworth family; and (3) the Fox and Lawford families. James Latham would perhaps have been expected to lodge with the Harrises and Daniel Hepworth possibly in one of the other households. These 'friends of Samuel Harris' were also gifted the four additional lots for the construction of a mill and the commencement there of a business. Clearly, the Harris party, or what remained of them, did not reach Aurora in time to complete the building of the four substantial houses on the entire square, on condition of which the land had been granted to Samuel Harris, in consequence of which this property became forfeit and was probably returned to the Aurora Association for Internal Improvements,<sup>1074</sup> though it remains possible that some of this land, perhaps a number of lots on the south-east edge of Fifth (or Literary) Street, was occupied for a time by members of the Harris party,<sup>1075</sup> since we know that Joanna Fox, the sister of Samuel Harris's son-in-law, lived on one of these lots, where the first meetings of Aurora Baptist Church were held until a new meeting-place was built by the church, sometime between 1825 and 1828, one lot eastwards of the Fox house.<sup>1076</sup> As for the four additional lots donated to the friends of Samuel Harris, on which 'a cotton-mill or woollen-mill' was to be established by 1824, this project too seems to have failed, perhaps for lack of requisite manpower and skill in the construction of such an edifice. However, the proposed construction itself presents some problems for the historian. First, such mills were normally water-powered at this period in the development of cotton- and woollen-mills and the obvious site for such a mill in Aurora would have been on Hogan Creek, on a channel cut from it, or a tributary running into it. However, the original platting of Aurora was located entirely southwards of Hogan Creek and no source of water power within the platting is known to the present writer. Second, cotton was not likely to have been of local production. Commercially viable cotton and tobacco

<sup>1074</sup> Indeed, there is record that many of the original lots in Aurora became forfeited to the Association when the credit on which they had been obtained was never liquidated. (Lake, *ADCI*, p. 10.)

<sup>1075</sup> It is just conceivable that the 'four quarter sections up the [Hogan] creek' owned by 'an English gentleman, named Harris', being improved in 1829 with the assistance of another English immigrant (see note 94) formed part of the original allotment of land to Samuel Harris.

<sup>1076</sup> *HDO*, p. 328.

plantations normally depended on slave labour, so that they might be seen on the opposite bank of the Ohio River in Kentucky, but not generally on the Indiana side.<sup>1077</sup> As for wool, it was not likely that it could be locally produced for some years in this region of Indiana, where forests still covered most of the land being settled. Cloth and the raw materials for its production—flax, cotton, wool—were likely to remain articles to be imported to Aurora during the early years of the new town's life and so Harris was careful to instruct his friend John Brown regarding clothing that should be brought with the immigrant to this place. Those who planned the laying out of the new town of Aurora in 1819 possibly had ambitious, though not altogether practical, notions of what the future town should comprise. So, for example, at their first meeting on the 20th January 1819 it was decided that 'the company proceed by themselves or their directors to lay out a town, to build an ox saw-mill and grist-mill, a bridge across the Hogan Creek, a warehouse or such other improvements as they may judge proper.' It was not, however, until 1836 that the bridge over Hogan Creek was erected and while the oxen-powered grist-mill at the west end of Third Street was indeed constructed,<sup>1078</sup> we have no certain knowledge of the construction of a saw-mill, warehouse, or the 'cotton-mill or woolen-mill' in the early years of the new town. The fact, however, that ox power was envisaged for powering mills, rather than water power, does seem to suggest that only small-scale, domestic milling was at this time in view and as for oxen and the sawing of timber, we have evidence in these letters that such an activity was willingly engaged in by William Tell Harris in January 1825, when his father wrote, 'At this moment I see from my parlour window my son William Tell, with his straw hat and light summer dress... driving his team of oxen, hauling wood for the supply of the steamboats. This he does cheerfully.'

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<sup>1077</sup> Journeying down the Ohio on the 25th August 1819, James Woods looked about him and wrote, 'We passed Petersburg, a small place in Kentucky, and also a little town of Indiana, its name unknown to us [which must have been Decatur, shortly thereafter to be renamed Aurora]... Some tobacco on the Kentucky side, but none on the other; it is never cultivated on an extensive scale except in the slave states. In the free states cotton and tobacco are only raised for home consumption.' (Woods, *TYR*, pp. 103 f.)

<sup>1078</sup> *HDO*, pp. 304, 309. This account, borrowed from reminiscences by N.D. Folbre, actually states that the grist-mill was situated 'on the bank of South Hogan Creek', but his may be another example of Folbre's somewhat blurred memories, as the map of the south part of Aurora in Lake, *ADCI*, pp. 62 f. shows the flouring mill at the corner of Third and Bridge Streets. We may note further that in the *Indiana palladium* of the 18th March 1826, Elias Conwell placed an advertisement offering to sell or rent his new distillery and horse grist-mill in Aurora.





**Modern view of the Mount Tabor cabin, the original Harris family construction in Aurora, Indiana, looking east toward the Ohio River and Kentucky on the opposite bank. The landing at Petersburg can just be seen above the roof of the white house.**





**Further views of the Harris cabin, under reconstruction, 2014**

Possibly ‘the friends of Samuel Harris’ were permitted to retain, at least for a time, the four lots originally intended for a site on which to construct a textile mill, and it seems also possible that some of this land became the home lot of Joanna Fox and indeed also of the Baptist Church, on Fifth (or Literary) Street. Once arrived in Aurora, however, the Harris party would have had to look for new lots and these they seem to have found among the so-called ‘out lots’, which fringed the original 206 lots involved in the first platting of the town. It must have been soon after his arrival in Aurora that Samuel Harris began to purchase such lots, the first of these being out lots numbers 39 and 40, on rising land named Mount Tabor,<sup>1079</sup> on which, rather hurriedly as the evidence on the ground today seems to suggest, the first home of the Harris family was constructed: the saddlebag log cabin which is today (2016) in process of

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<sup>1079</sup> We have previously suggested that the name Mount Tabor was possibly chosen in honour of Jonathan Tabor, the grandfather of Samuel Harris’s wife Sally. Another possible reason for Harris’s naming these lots Mount Tabor may relate to his early connection with St. Paul Independent Chapel in Wigan. In 1804, the year before Harris arrived in Wigan, the minister at St. Paul’s, John Johnson (mentioned in note 503), died. Johnson had himself travelled to America, as the Countess of Huntingdon’s agent at Bethesda orphanage in Savannah, Georgia, which had been bequeathed to the Countess by George Whitefield, but he returned to Lancashire to serve in the late Countess’s churches in Manchester and Tyldesley, a town close to Wigan. Johnson was described as ‘a poet, a musician, a hebraist, yea an almost universal genius’. Among other activities, he issued the prospectus of a scheme for a universal language and, on his death in 1804, he left not only a Hebrew grammar that he had prepared, but also in manuscript a poem in ten books, entitled ‘Mount Tabor’. (See Roaf, *EPL*, pp. 11-19 and *ODNB*.) We have to wonder whether this document could have been shown to Samuel Harris after Johnson’s death and whether it made on him some lasting impression.



reclamation.<sup>1080</sup> In Letter 6 Harris described this land as consisting of ‘four acres on the side of a hill from the summit downwards, facing and overlooking the town, and four acres from the summit back on the ridge’. We have a personal reminiscence of the dwelling from an old Aurora newspaper:

About the year 1828, when four years of age we attended school, held in a log-cabin, which stood on what was then a grassy common, between Fourth and Fifth Streets, west of Squire<sup>1081</sup> Harris’ dwelling. This was also used as a place of worship for Methodists, a sect at that time few in number. Twenty-five or thirty frame and log-houses composed the village.<sup>1082</sup>

Memory must have played its tricks, since in actual fact, William Tell Harris’s Mount Tabor property was not situated *between* Fourth and Fifth (or Literary) Streets, but *southwards* of Fifth Street. Otherwise, the landmarks mentioned—the public school lot and the lot on which the Methodist Episcopalian Church was built—were just to the west of Harris’s Mount Tabor property, on the south side of Fifth (or Literary) Street. Evidence from excavation of this building on Mount Tabor, located close to the later Gaff residence, now Hillforest Museum, seems at first sight to suggest that a substantial log cabin was speedily erected on that site possibly as early as 1822. From comments made by Samuel Harris in the present series of letters we may however attempt a slightly closer dating. In Letter 2, written 21-22 November 1822, Harris informs John Brown that the house on Mount Tabor had not yet been constructed, although the building materials had been assembled. His remarks were written in such a way as to imply that he had mentioned his proposal to build on the site in an earlier letter.<sup>1083</sup> Later comments written by Harris indicate that the ultimate purpose of the Mount Tabor house would be to accommodate his son William Tell and wife Catalina, so it is interesting to note that in this same letter he suggests that William Tell would move out of the temporarily rented house in which they were all then dwelling in the spring of the following year (1823). As Harris reported in Letter 3, William Tell and Catalina did move out of the house in which they were living with Samuel and Sarah Harris, into the newly built although not completely finished<sup>1084</sup> Mount Tabor cabin, on the 8th August 1823.

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<sup>1080</sup> Minutes of the Aurora Association actually record that Harris purchased this site in May 1823 at a cost of \$75 ([http://www.hillforest.org/harris\\_log\\_cabin.php](http://www.hillforest.org/harris_log_cabin.php)), but evidence, both in these letters and in analysis of the timbers used to construct the Harris cabin, suggests that the Harris family had already begun clearing the land, building a wall, and assembling house-building materials on the site prior to that date, which may, in fact, be the date of final settlement of the purchase.

<sup>1081</sup> ‘Squire’ was a term commonly applied to lawyers, but occasionally used as a merely respectful handle. (See e.g. *HDO*, p. 115: ‘The most important personages in the country... were the young lawyers, universally called “squires” by the old and young, male and female.’) It would have seemed an appropriate title for a person of William Tell’s standing in Aurora and Dearborn County, in which he became a probate judge in 1844.

<sup>1082</sup> Reminiscences published in an 1852 issue of the *Independent banner*, a newspaper edited and published in Aurora by N.D. Folbre (on whom see also note 641) and reprinted in *HDO*, p. 309. It is quite possible that the article was penned by Folbre himself, since according to his headstone in River View Cemetery, Aurora, he was almost 30 years old at the time of his death on the 3rd March 1854, which would make him of roughly equivalent age to the small child mentioned in the journal extract.

<sup>1083</sup> ‘You mention my newly raised dwelling on Mount Tabor. My letter stated only that I *intended to raise* one. You should not think that we are conjurers. We have raised a large wall, containing masonry enough for a good sized house, but the foundation stone is not yet laid. The greater part of the materials are now on the spot and we hope to begin to build as soon as the frost goes next spring.’

<sup>1084</sup> On the 25th February 1824, Harris wrote, ‘William... has aimed to build a very good house, and it is as far as finished, but having long since spent all I had allotted for him, he goes on very slowly.’ Further down in the letter there is perhaps a suggestion that William obtained assistance from James

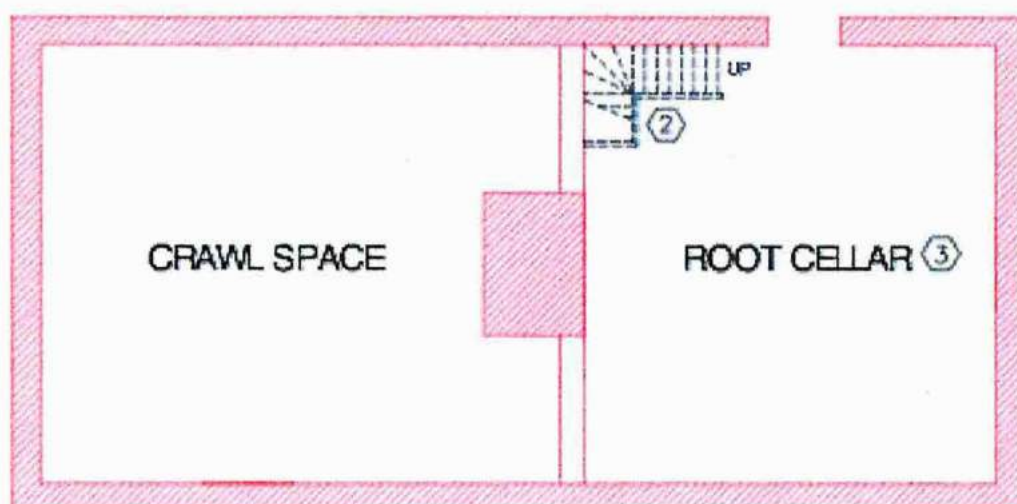
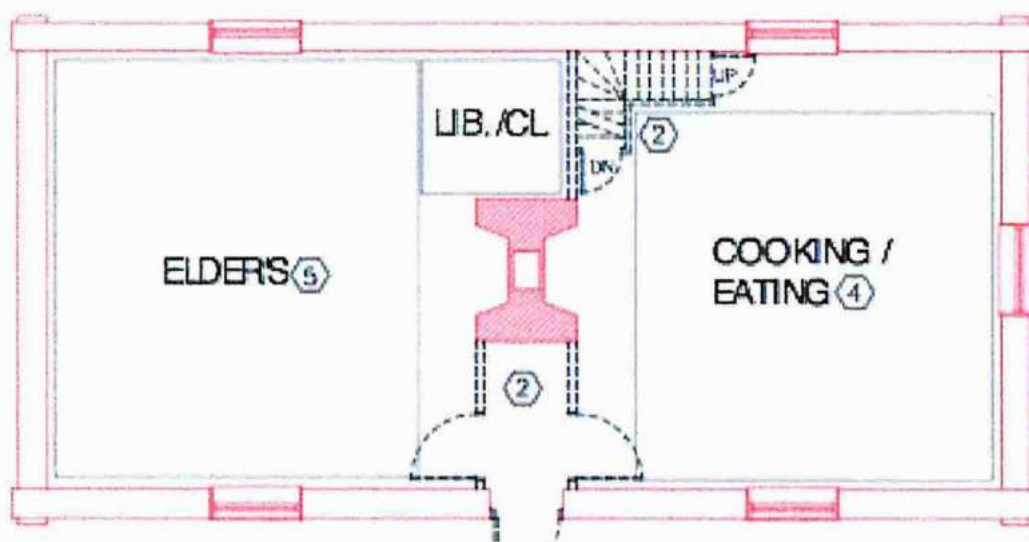
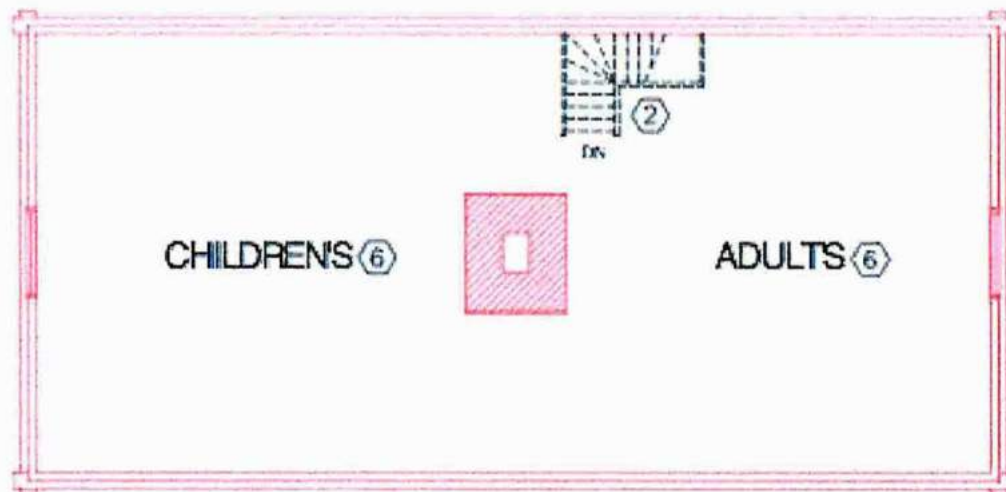
After the death of Samuel Harris, the Mount Tabor property passed into the possession of his son William Tell Harris. When the latter wrote his last will on the 12th August 1864, he bequeathed this property, consisting of the Mount Tabor estate (out lots numbers 39 and 40) and all his household furniture, to his stepdaughter Hannah Webber Vail, the wife of Benjamin Vail. His will was executed on the 25th October 1865.<sup>1085</sup>

The images included above of the Harris cabin on the Mount Tabor site during its twenty-first-century renovation should be examined in conjunction with the plans and attached notes relating to the cabin kindly submitted to the editor in August 2015 by Robert Powell, the Chair of the Harris Cabin Restoration Committee and Hillforest Historical Foundation Board Member, as they enable us to understand better some of the remarks made by Harris concerning the cabin which are included in his letters to John Brown. In Robert Powell's estimation, this cabin was constructed in the so-called 'saddlebag' style and, as a log structure, it is an example of a very rare architectural approach to pioneer living which reflects, in Powell's thinking, the sophistication of a well-travelled explorer of the early nineteenth century American 'Northwest Territories', a profile seemingly consistent with the story of William Tell Harris and his travels in these regions.

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Latham in the work of bringing the Mount Tabor property into order: 'James Latham... visited us early in the winter and worked a little for William'.

<sup>1085</sup> See Appendix VII. Somewhat oddly out lots 39 and 40 are shown in Lake and Griffing's *Atlas of Dearborn County, Indiana* (1875) as in the possession not of Hannah Webber Vail but of her husband Benjamin Vail, while Gridley's *Atlas of Dearborn County, Indiana* (1899) shows these two out lots in the possession of Hannah Webber Vail, though this is possibly a later correction of the earlier assumption of the husband's priority in property rights.



### **Plans of the three levels in the Harris cabin on Mount Tabor**

#### ***Notes:-***

1. The general dimensions of the cabin are based on field data; however, owing to the nature of the structure, there is slight deviation across the wall planes.
2. The dashed black lines represent probable original building features that might have been practical for the proposed original space use indicated. Because there has been much extensive remodelling over the past 193 years, it is difficult to confirm their existence.
3. Restoration projects to date include extensive foundation stabilization and reconstruction. This work supports the theory that the 'root cellar' (17' x 17') and a stairway were constructed as part of the original work.
4. The 'cooking/eating' area (15' x 17') would have been located with convenient access to the 'root cellar' and a stairway would have been more practical than a ladder for retrieving goods from the cellar.
5. The suggested 'elders' area (17' x 17') would have afforded convenient access to the cooking & eating area and the outside. The area labelled 'lib./cl.' (library/closet) is very close in dimension to the area in another house dwelt in by the Harris family and referenced in Samuel Harris's Letter 2 (7' x 7'). The elders' area offers suitable space for a bed, writing-table, and bureau.
6. There is evidence that the original cabin did not have a full second story and, as was typical, a 'loft' was provided for sleeping. The sleeping loft would have been occupied by the children and the working adults. The configuration shown places the children to the portion of the loft where there would be the least disturbance from adults' coming and going.

In addition to the Mount Tabor property Harris also purchased: (1) a large estate of about 540 acres situated about 11 or 12 miles inland from Aurora, on which he settled his daughter Susanna and her new husband Samuel Lawford; (2) another tract of land consisting of some 145 acres situated about 5 miles from Aurora (both referred to by him in Letter 2, written in November 1822); (3) land situated to the north-east, in Hamilton County, Ohio, which, as we learn from Harris's will (see Appendix VII), he intended for his daughter Susanna and her husband Samuel Lawford; and (4) the property known as Mount Vernon, which he originally intended as an heirloom for his niece Sarah Ann.

With regard to the first of the above estates, Harris describes it as lying in 'the neighbourhood of bears, wolves & rattlesnakes' (Letter 3) and elsewhere (if referring to the same place) as Susanna and Samuel Lawford's 'Winthrop estate' (Letter 7). We might perhaps look to the possibility of equating this property with (3) above, i.e. the tract of land lying to the north-east of Aurora, in Hamilton County, Ohio, since we know from Harris's will (see Appendix VII) that such a tract of land was owned by him and intended for Susanna and Samuel. A distance of 11 or 12 miles would direct us to Miama township in Hamilton County, approximately to the area of North Bend and Cleves. However, an accumulation of evidence points us not northwards of Aurora, but in a westerly direction in quest of this unbroken land, since reference is made specifically to Sparta township as the place of Susanna and Samuel Lawford's

residence in the USA in the document relating to their divorce in 1843.<sup>1086</sup> In terms of acreage as stated by Harris, this property was somewhat larger than the three-quarters section of a standard square of land (normally consisting of 640 acres), which is what documentation from 1824 specifies. The three-quarters section of a square of land in Sparta township is described in the land office register under two certificates. The first certificate describes the purchase as ‘the Southeast quarter of Section Thirty five, in Township Six, of Range Three/West/ in the District of Cincinnati and State of Indiana containing One hundred and Sixty three Acres’, which Samuel Harris obtained from its previous owner Adam D. Livingston<sup>1087</sup> and for which he received certificate of full payment on the 3rd September 1824 under letters patent and the seal of the General Land Office.<sup>1088</sup> This quarter section was situated on South Hogan Creek. The 1875 survey map of Sparta township in Lake, *ADCI* (p. 43) indicates that the quarter consisted of 160  $\frac{3}{4}$  acres (the  $\frac{3}{4}$  anomaly perhaps resulting from raised contour of the land), plus a small two-acre section, apparently with a cabin on the land, taken from section 36 and added to Harris’s section, probably indicating why it was slightly larger than the usual quarter section of 160 acres. A month later, on the 5th October 1824 Harris obtained a certificate acknowledging full payment for the whole north half of this same section 35 in Sparta township, consisting of 327 and forty-eight hundredths acres, previously under the ownership of Sidney Robinson, who, like Adam D. Livingston, had purchased the land in 1817.<sup>1089</sup> Section 35 of Sparta township corresponds with Harris’s location of the land at 11-12 miles’ distance from Aurora.<sup>1090</sup> Today all of this territory is roughly located around Lauman Road, Moores Hill, in Dearborn County. One more minor piece of evidence lending additional weight to the probability of identifying this three-quarters square with the Winthrop estate of Susanna and Samuel Lawford is to be found in a notice placed in the *Indiana oracle* on the 28th June 1823 (vol. III, no. 156) connecting the taking up of a stray horse on the 28th May in Sparta township with information as to the horse’s possible value supplied by Samuel Lawford.<sup>1091</sup> It is by no means clear

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<sup>1086</sup> Lawford, 1843LD.

<sup>1087</sup> Adam D. Livingston, a sergeant in the war of 1812, was registered as the original owner of this land; see Mikesell, *ES*, pp. 7, 28.

<sup>1088</sup> The certificate may be viewed in the files of the US Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management at <http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=0059-303&docClass=CV&sid=qkjiqx3h.fi3#patentDetailsTabIndex=1>.

<sup>1089</sup> See <http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=0059-489&docClass=CV&sid=ggr2c33d.ji2#patentDetailsTabIndex=1> and Mikesell, *ES*, p. 28.

<sup>1090</sup> The town of Sparta is situated approximately 10.3 miles to the north-west of Aurora (as the crow flies the distance is about 9 miles, but the distance of 10.3 miles given in the ‘Table of distances for Dearborn County, Indiana’ on p. 18 of Gridley, *ADCI* was probably measured following a somewhat circuitous route along the course of the North Hogan Creek), but Sparta township, in which the town of Sparta is located, would include territory located roughly 11-12 miles inland from Aurora.

<sup>1091</sup> For additional minor evidence, see in note 132. The evidence cited above for locating the Winthrop estate needs to be balanced against another faint clue to an alternative identification of this lot, which is found in the information recorded in *HDO*, p. 538 that in 1824 a portion of lot no. 7, which lay across the North Hogan Creek, partly in Manchester Township and partly in Sparta Township, was granted to ‘Samuel Hamile’. The surname is very strange and is, as far as I am aware, unattested elsewhere. It could quite possibly be an error in transcribing the name Harris (the accuracy of some information contained in *HDO* has already been questioned in notes 35 & 54). This land remains wooded and relatively undeveloped to the present day, situated between Manchester and Sparta, just south of Holman Ridge, traversed north-west to south-east by the North Hogan Creek. This area was linked to Aurora by the old trail known as Kibbey’s Road (see G.R. Wilson, *Early Indiana trails and surveys*. [*Indiana Hist. Soc. Pubns.*, VI, 3] [Indianapolis, 1919] p. 441). On the



why in 1822 Harris estimated the extent of this land as 540 acres, rather than 480 acres, which would have been a precise three-quarters measure, but the 1875 survey map of Sparta township in Lake, *ADCI* (p. 43) does indicate the later divisions of this square, one of which, measured at 59.65 acres, extended from the northern half of the square some way into the south-western quarter, which may possibly have something to do with the calculation made by Harris.

The second tract of land listed above, consisting of about 145 acres situated about 5 miles from Aurora, remains presently unidentified, although we may wonder if it was the school lot that came into the possession of Harris's son-in-law Samuel Lawford, in township 6, range one west.<sup>1092</sup>

In the letter written to John Brown in February 1824, Harris remarked that he was then in treaty to buy Mount Vernon,<sup>1093</sup> a tract of land on which he finalized agreement in the spring of that year. This property is much more readily identifiable, as Harris's will (see Appendix VII) specifically stated that it consisted of lots numbers 54, 55, and 56, clearly identified (albeit the number '54' has been omitted in the legend) as then being later in the possession of J.F. Lindsay, in the map of the 'South Part of Aurora' in Lake and Griffing's *Atlas of Dearborn County, Indiana* of 1875. It lies approximately on the bluff overlooking the Ohio River to the south of downtown Aurora, approximately between Market Street, Dutch Hollow Road, and John Street. It was land which Harris intended to bequeath to his favourite niece, Sarah Ann, daughter of his brother Francis, but, as she had become resettled in England and failed to claim it in person, it reverted after Harris's death to his son William Tell.

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other hand, we have to suspect that it is simply the lot number-7—which is in error in the *HDO* account, in which case it could be viewed as additional evidence of the view we have arrived at.

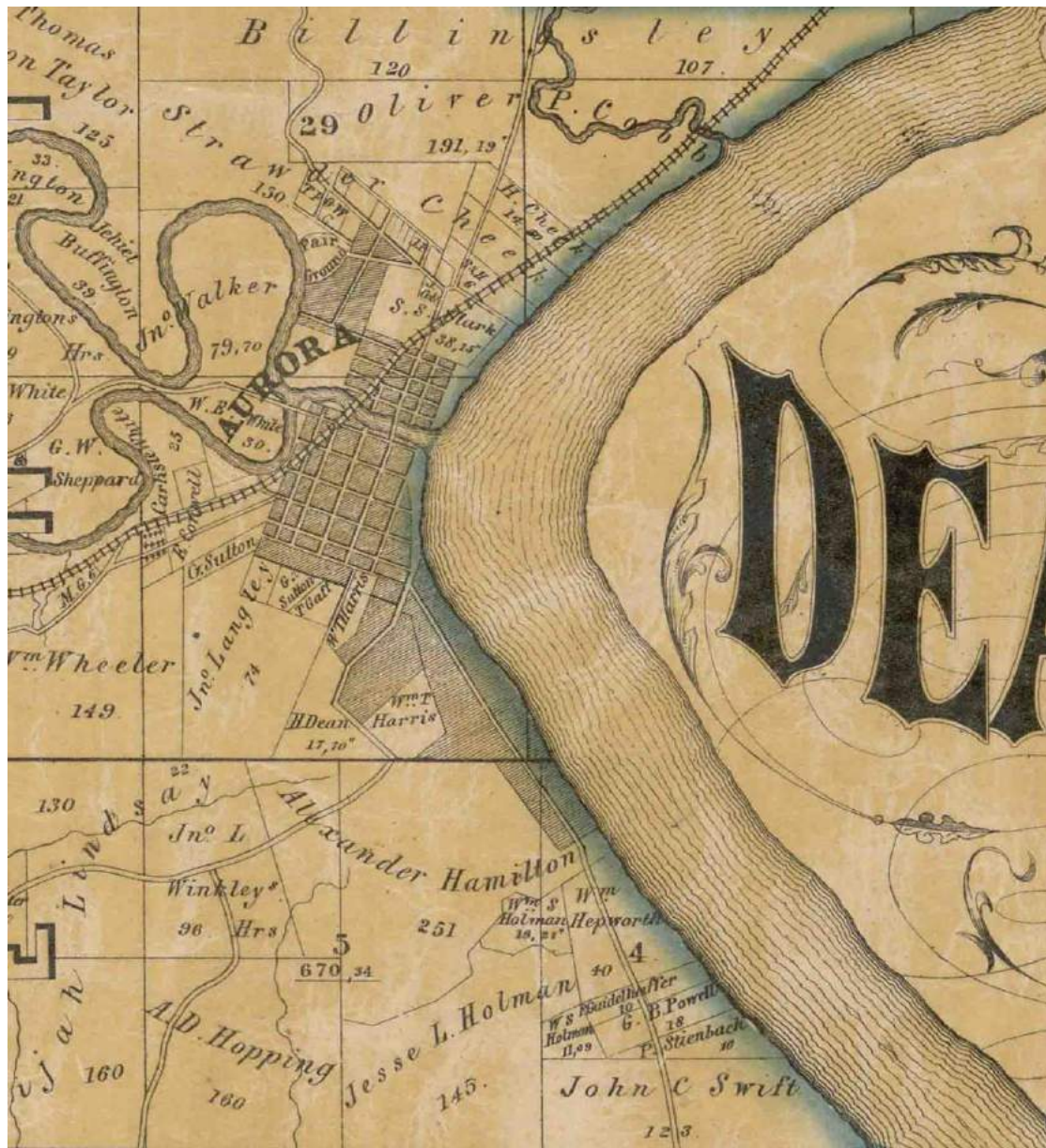
<sup>1092</sup> See note 132.

<sup>1093</sup> The name 'Mount Vernon' was possibly adopted for this land to commemorate Samuel Harris's niece Sarah Ann's having arrived in the USA, with her father and brother, on the brig *Mount Vernon* in 1823. The brig itself was probably named for the plantation home of America's first president, George Washington, in Fairfax County, Virginia, which William Tell Harris had viewed in 1817 from his passing steamboat (*RTUSA*, p. 46). That in turn had been named by G. Washington's half-brother Lawrence in honour of Vice Admiral Edward Vernon, who had been Lawrence's commanding officer in the British Royal Navy. These latter comments may also apply to very many other 'Mount Vernons' in the USA, one of which in the neighbourhood was the Mount Vernon, founded in 1815 by Col. Edward Meeks some miles to the south of Aurora on the Kentucky bank of the Ohio River. That Kentucky town became known as Grant in 1869 and, since 1883, as Belleview.

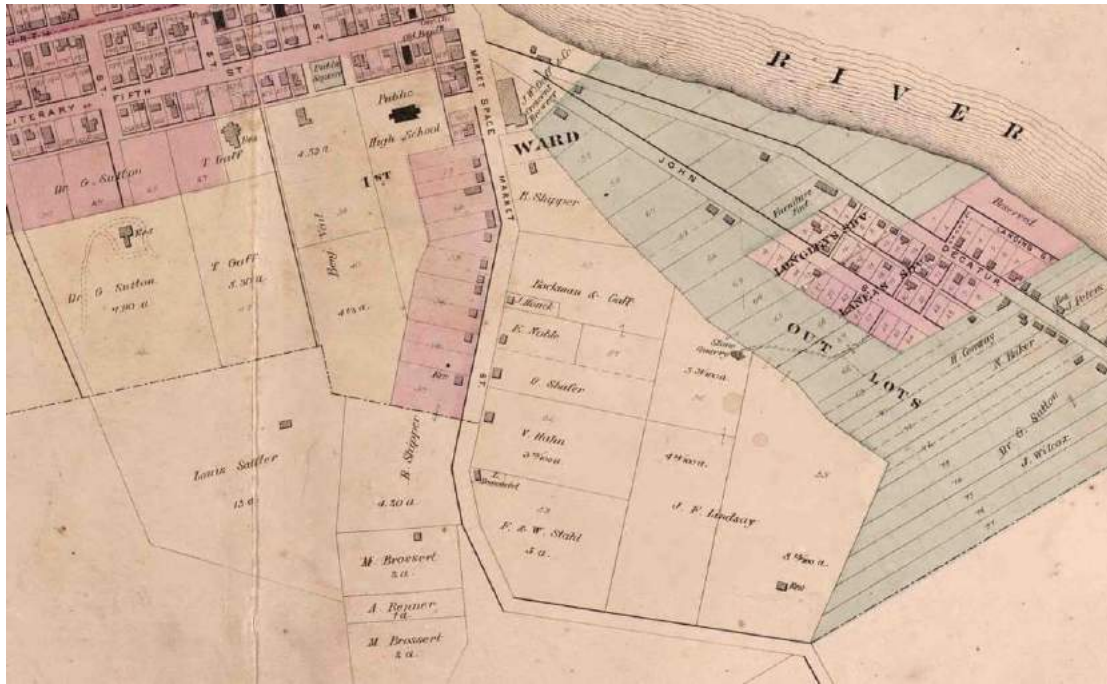


**Lots 39 and 40, marked 'Mount Tabor/W.T. Harris', from detail in the lower right corner of the *Map of Dearborn County, Indiana* published by Thomas Pattison in 1860**





The Mount Tabor and Mount Vernon lots, marked with the name of 'Wm. T. Harris' on the Map of Dearborn County, Indiana published by Thomas Pattison in 1860



**Out lots (54), 55, and 56 depicted in the map of the ‘South Part of Aurora’ in Lake and Griffing’s *Atlas of Dearborn County, Indiana* of 1875**

### ***The dwelling places of Samuel Harris in Indiana, Kentucky, and Ohio***

It has been necessary to separate our discussion of the property owned by Samuel Harris from the present discussion of the places in which he dwelt during the last eleven years of his life, passed in America, as, while the two sometimes coincide, they are nevertheless far from interchangeable entities. The lands that Harris acquired he held only as domains on which his two children could settle, or as investments from which he could receive repayment either in crops or rents. As for his own domain, this was continually shifting as he led an increasingly roving existence in Indiana, Kentucky, and Ohio.

We do not know for certain where Samuel and Sarah Harris first lodged on arriving in Aurora in the autumn of 1821, but it is clear that more than one habitation served them, for towards the end of Letter 2, written 21-22 November 1822, he wrote, ‘We have removed into a habitation somewhat larger than what we spent our first year in.’ He probably moved into this rented accommodation in September 1822 since, looking back in February 1824 he wrote, ‘I remain in the hired house upon which I entered in September 1822, at 32 dollars p[er] ann[um]’ and there he may well have remained until March 1825, since a barely legible remark he wrote in April 1830 would seem to state that he took up abode with his son and daughter-in-law in the Mount Tabor cabin when his niece left Aurora for England in that month. In 1822 Samuel and Sarah’s son and daughter-in-law, William Tell and Catalina, also dwelt in this rented accommodation with their elders, but already in November of that year Samuel remarked, ‘My wife & I may be alone as housekeepers in course of next summer.’ Again, early in 1823 he remarked that at that time he was, as he said, ‘in expectation that my son would soon leave me with his wife’ and further down he stated, ‘On the 8th August, my son & his wife left us.’ Remarks found elsewhere in his letters make it clear enough that William and Catalina had moved into their own property on Mount Tabor, financed for them by Samuel Harris, and that the delay

between intention and actual moving was occasioned simply by the necessary time taken in erecting the log cabin on that site and bringing it into sufficient state for habitation.<sup>1094</sup> Henceforth, perhaps for a short time, Samuel and Sarah would be alone together in their rented accommodation (but see further below).

The only evidence we have regarding the location of this rented property consists of what may be gleaned from these letters. It was, as Harris stated on two occasions, about a mile away from the house of Joanna Fox, which was in fact close to the Mount Tabor estate.<sup>1095</sup> In addition, it was close enough to the Ohio River to offer a chamber window looking down on the Ohio, through which Harris could muse upon the scene of traffic drifting down the river,<sup>1096</sup> or perhaps, through his parlour window, catch sight of his son William Tell, then dwelling on Mount Tabor, 'with his straw hat and light summer dress... driving his team of oxen, hauling wood for the supply of the steamboats.' The apartments were also extensive enough to house another married couple and their ten-year-old daughter for a time. We have before noted that Joanna Fox, her husband perhaps having died by this time, was living on Fifth (or Literary) Street in Aurora. Approximately one mile to the south-east of there lay Veraestau, the residence of Jesse Lynch Holman and it seems possible that Harris had accepted temporary residence with his good friend from the Baptist Church. However, since the comments written by Harris point to a separate house rather than to lodgings in, or an annex to, Holman's home Veraestau, it is more likely that Holman had granted Samuel Harris use of one of his other properties in this area, situated on land close to the river on the north-east side of Decatur Street through part of which the Lesko Park Bike Path passes today. Some such properties, in the south-eastern corner of Aurora, marked 'Holman's Add.' as an inset on the map of the 'South part of Aurora' in Lake, *ADCI* (p. 63), are shown in the map below.

The above possibility needs, however, to be harmonized with Harris's account of the funeral of his wife Sarah on the 17th August 1823:

Very few were missing in the train which followed the remains to the town's burying ground about half a mile in the woods, on the following Lord's day afternoon, after which brother Plummer, a Methodist preacher, discoursed to a large congregation in my house, very judiciously and affectionately from Revelat. xiv.13.

The phrase requiring some interpretation here is 'the town's burying ground about half a mile in the woods'. About half a mile from where? we may ask. If we look for a burying ground about half a mile in the woods from the location previously described for the rented house in which the Harris family were living, we look in the direction of the Holman Hill Cemetery, which is indeed situated approximately half a mile inland from the strip of land along the old Rising Sun road between the south of Aurora and Laughery Creek. It is located on the north side of Dutch Hollow Road at the top of the hill ascending south-westwards from Aurora centre. Even today the Holman Hill graves lie among trees girding the hill that rises westward from the Ohio

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<sup>1094</sup> The 'Harris cabin' on Mount Tabor possibly copied some of the design features of the rented accommodation in which the Harris family had previously dwelt (see note 346).

<sup>1095</sup> 'Mr. & Mrs. Lawford... slept at his sister's (Mrs. Fox) about a mile distant' and 'Mrs. Lawford is come... to ly-in [*sic*] at her sister-in-law's about a mile from us.' (Letter 3, 4th-24th September 1823.)

<sup>1096</sup> 'I now sit at my chamber window, where my dear Sally used to sit, and looking down on the old Ohio as it rolls steadily along, bearing large flats downwards to N[ew] Orleans, never to return, I see a lively emblem of human life.' (Letter 5, 28th January 1825.)

River. Unfortunately, however, among the 36 graves in this small cemetery that have been listed publicly<sup>1097</sup> the name of Sarah Harris does not appear. Harris's description of the place of burial as 'the town's burying ground' should, however, cause us to look elsewhere, in fact to the Conwell Street Cemetery on the south-west edge of Aurora town, since the Holman Hill Cemetery could not properly bear this designation. In letter 4 Harris informs John Brown that his brother Francis was laid to rest less than seven weeks later 'by the side of my dear Sally's remains'. Today, an old memorial stone to Francis Harris stands among similar granite stones from that period in the south-west corner of River View Cemetery on the north side of Laughery Creek, behind a marker sign indicating 'Old Conwell Cemetery'. Similar remarks can be made regarding the burial of Samuel and Sarah's daughter Susanna, who, as John Carroll Power wrote, 'was buried near her mother'<sup>1098</sup> and, like Francis Harris, now has a memorial stone in River View Cemetery. Unfortunately, we know of no such memorial stone for Sarah Harris, but it seems almost certain that her remains were removed at the same time, 1886,<sup>1099</sup> to River View Cemetery. In consequence of the above, it seems that the only way of interpreting Harris's reference to 'the town's burying ground about half a mile in the woods' is by understanding it as a general designation of the location as imagined by dwellers in the town of Aurora and not as implying any specific location viewed from Harris's current dwelling place, which, as we have argued, was at this time about a mile to the south of Aurora. The sketch map included below should help clarify the relative positions of the places involved.

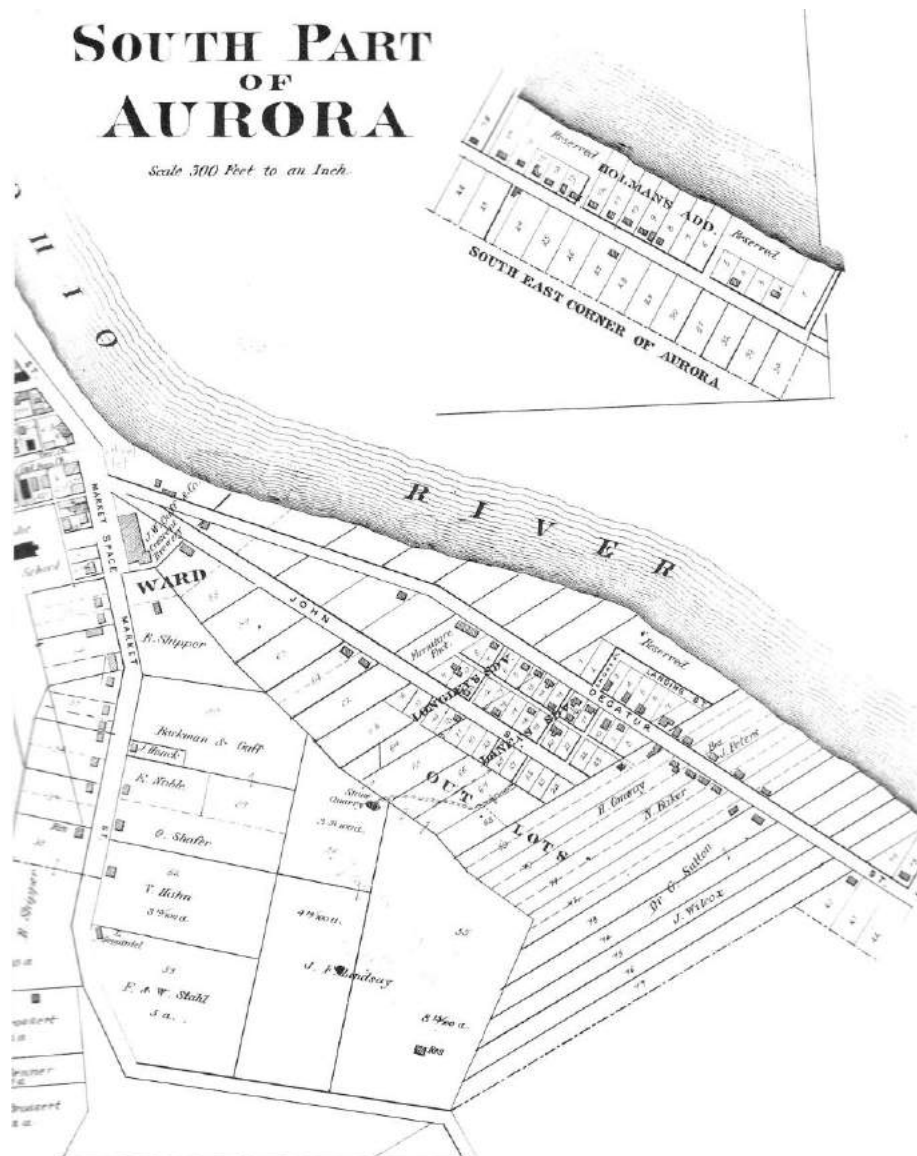
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<sup>1097</sup> On the Find a Grave website (<http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gsr&GScid=2300864>). It should, however, be mentioned that Justin Meyer, the transcriber of these 36 grave inscriptions, states in correspondence with the editor, that the listing is probably incomplete and the site probably contains numerous unmarked graves.

<sup>1098</sup> *RPSS*, p. 231.

<sup>1099</sup> 'The Aurora Graveyard, its interments and markers, was [*sic*] relocated to an area on the southwest corner of the original plat in 1886, designated as Section K on the west side of West Avenue.' The only other small cemeteries from the 'primitive' time of Aurora's early settlement that were relocated in River View Cemetery were the Probst and Buffington family cemeteries, and the Holman cemetery at Veraestau; there is no mention of relocations from Holman Hill Cemetery. (*RVC*, pp. 8, 15.)





**‘Holman’s Add.’, situated to the south-east of Aurora, shown as an inset on the map of the ‘South part of Aurora’ in Lake and Griffing’s *Atlas of Dearborn County, Indiana* of 1875**

With the ‘Holman’s Add.’ region in view, we are now perhaps in a better position to understand the descriptive passage in which Samuel Harris described to John Brown the arrival in Aurora of his brother Francis with the latter’s children Francis jun. and Sarah Ann two days later, on the 19th August 1823:

On Tuesday morning following, the 19th, I was called out to my nephew, who appeared overcome with distress and fatigue. He had come forward in a skiff for me to go and pilot the boat to a proper landing place, but expressed his doubt whether his father would be brought ashore alive. I immediately sent to my son, who collected assistance while a neighbour went to meet the boat. Soon after I saw William leading my niece, followed by my brother sitting up on a bed carried by eight men, and several others as relays.

Francis with his children would have descended the Ohio River in their boat and would probably have tied up at the landing in the central part of Aurora. There they would have asked directions to the residence of Samuel Harris and either Francis jun.



made use of a skiff previously tethered to their boat, or a skiff would have been made available to him, in order to reach his uncle's house about a mile further downriver. Thereupon Samuel found somebody able to convey a message to his son William Tell at Mount Tabor, while a neighbour went to meet the boat at the landing in Aurora and guide it to the Harris homestead further downriver. Since there is no mention of this neighbour going with the other person who went to rouse William Tell, it is possible that this second person travelled upriver to meet the boat using a skiff, if not the one which had just served Francis jun., then possibly one belonging to Samuel Harris, who certainly used one belonging to himself in sailing four miles upriver in company with another person on the 18th February 1824 (see Letter 4). Francis jun. possibly remained in an exhausted condition in the house with his uncle Samuel. William Tell collected sufficient assistance to deal with the crisis and the rescue party all apparently boarded the newcomers' boat conveying Francis and his daughter with their luggage to the riverbank near to Samuel's house. Meanwhile, we may imagine that Samuel busied himself at home in caring for his nephew and in preparing for the arrival and accommodation of his brother and niece. Thus, preceded by his two children from the shore, Francis sen. was ultimately brought to meet Samuel in his rented house borne along in a bed by eight men and several others to lend further assistance. The property where they were taken in must have been substantial enough, so that even after Francis sen.'s death and Francis jun.'s departure in January 1824 it still accommodated, as previously noted, three other persons in addition to Samuel Harris and his niece.<sup>1100</sup>

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<sup>1100</sup> 'One of my apartments is occupied by a very agreeable couple and their little daughter (about 10), with whom we have been intimate ever since we lived here.' (Letter 4.)



**Sketch map to indicate relative positions of the Harrises' rented house, the Mount Tabor cabin, Conwell Street Cemetery, Holman Hill Cemetery, and the home of Jesse Lynch Holman (Veraestau). River View Cemetery and Laughery Creek are situated just a little south of Veraestau.**

It would seem that this family of three remained with Samuel for a limited time and when his niece departed for England in March 1825, Samuel, then alone, left the rented house and moved in with William and Catalina on Mount Tabor. But he did not intend to remain there indefinitely. Since his wife's death a little over a year and a half previously, he had had time to get over his initial disorientation and to set his life on a steady course, aided by his niece Sarah Ann, but now that Sarah Ann had left for England, now that he knew his two children were settled independently, he was in a sense alone again and yet free. He recognized that the freedom that had come to him late in life opened a door to pursue a calling that had long been close to his heart: the work of itinerant preaching and teaching. He had in a sense come to the end of housekeeping. He no longer needed the comforts of a large home to shelter himself and his wider family; a hermit's cell was enough for his needs as he began to

travel to churches in Indiana, Kentucky, and Ohio to encourage the struggling flocks of Baptist Christians. So in January 1825 he wrote to John Brown,

At present my plan is to break up housekeeping towards the end of March, when Sarah will go to Cincinnati on her route eastward. William is fitting up a chamber for my use, which I expect to occupy from Saturday noon till Monday morning, for the convenience of being near our meeting-house, which is at the edge of the town. My inestimable friend & brother Holman, who resides on a charming spot about 1½ mile distant, will build a chamber for me adjoining his house early in the spring, where I shall, when at home, provide for and wait upon myself like any other hermit. I say, *when at home*, as my expectation is to be travelling about among the churches in our association during the travelling part of the year.

We may wonder perhaps why Samuel Harris did not rather move into the Mount Vernon property in which he had invested and which he intended to bequeath to his niece Sarah Ann. This estate he had bought in the spring of 1824 at a monetary outlay of less than two years' rent he was currently paying for the rented house, but it would seem that the living accommodation was primitive and less than adequate, for he remarked in February 1824, '*There is a cottage for me, though probably some addition must be made.*' After Sarah Ann's departure, Samuel must have wondered what then to do with the Mount Vernon property and there is perhaps a hint in his letter of January 1825 that he considered for a time the possibility of attracting another of his former Wigan associates, Mr. Salmond, to come and settle on the site:

If old Mr. Salmond was here he would find himself at home upon a pretty little spot about 16 acres I bought last spring with my large atlas, silver watch, a diamond ring and some other trifles, close to Aurora – a fine prospect &c. I intended it for Sarah at my decease, but she is going from it. Should she not return, 'twill be a pretty addition to William's Mount Tabor. Should our town continue to improve as it has done lately, this property will be valuable a few years hence.

There the matter apparently rested and instead Samuel made use of the chamber in the Mount Tabor cabin that William had fitted up for his father's use. However, he viewed this as merely a temporary measure while he looked for a small property in which he could regain his independence. It seems likely that not only his desire to travel in the ministry, but also some perceived tension between William and Sarah seen at close quarters in restricted accommodation encouraged him to look elsewhere. For a time he perhaps felt that the solution lay in accommodation again provided by his friend Jesse Holman as he mentioned in his letter of January 1825 cited above. We do not know whether Samuel did avail himself of this opportunity for any length of time, but there is a hint in Letter 6 that he was still living at Mount Tabor with his son and family as late as March 1827.<sup>1101</sup> By that time, however, his prospect was directed to the possibility of finding lodging on the opposite side of the Ohio northwards of Petersburg. He wrote to John Brown:

One of our brethren [Reuben Graves] about three miles off, on the Kentucky side, has invited me to the office of domestic tutor. I have partly accepted it and expect the habitation now erecting for me, a few yards from his own, will be ready for me about the end of April. 'Tis almost literally a prophet's chamber, about 16 feet square. 'Tis likely that I may spend at least two Sabbaths every month in Aurora, coming over on the Friday or Saturday, and returning on the Monday.

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<sup>1101</sup> See note 543.

In October of that year he was able to write of this 'log cottage' as 'my *home*... in a corner of a court, the centre of which is occupied by my friend and brother Reuben Graves' and he would later write of it as 'the hermitage in which I now write' (September 1828) and 'my snug log hut' (February 1829). Thus, he wrote to John Brown, 'I have my bed &c. &c. in that side [of the Ohio] as well as on this' and 'in Aurora my residence is with my son.'

By July 1829, however, this regime of fairly regular shuttling between his lodgings in Aurora (with his son) and in Kentucky (with Reuben Graves) came to an end and for reasons explained in Harris's 10th Letter he was compelled to take up a teaching post with a family in French Grant, Ohio. The time he spent there was, however, short and he returned to Aurora at the end of October. The break up of William and Catalina's marriage occurred in August 1829, and thereafter Samuel felt more at ease than previously in residing with his son in the cabin on Mount Tabor. In April 1830, when the couple's divorce was granted, he could write, 'Ever since Mrs. W[illiam] T[ell] H[arris]'s departure, I have been the domestic factotum with regard to the kitchen, as well as have full charge of my own chamber' and 'I now consider myself stationary in Aurora.' He would only leave again when he visited Cincinnati once more, to make final preparations before setting forth on his projected journey to the settlement of George Flower at Albion, Illinois. As we know, he found his final resting place in the Baptist Burial Ground in Cincinnati.

All of the above discussion may be summarized as follows.

Autumn 1821 – Nov. 1822	A small habitation in Aurora
Nov. 1822 – March 1825	A larger, rented house, perhaps the property of J.L. Holman, to the south-east of Aurora centre
March 1825	Mount Tabor
spring of 1825?	Possibly in a chamber at J.L. Holman's Veraestau
c. April 1827 – July 1829	Moving between a cabin in the court of Reuben Graves at Touseytown, Kentucky and a chamber at Mount Tabor
July – Oct. 1829	A cabin at French Grant, Ohio
Oct. 1829 – 4 Oct. 1832	Mount Tabor
19 Oct. 1832	Dies in Cincinnati

## **Appendix VII: The Wills of Samuel Harris and William Tell Harris**

*The following transcripts of the wills of Samuel and William Tell Harris are copied (with minor corrections noted in brackets) respectively from page 91 of Will Record Book 1 and pages 224-5 of Will Record Book 4, kept at the Dearborn County Clerk's office in Lawrenceburg, Indiana.*

### ***The will of Samuel Harris***

I Samuel Harris of the Town of Aurora, Dearborn County, State of Indiana, do make this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking and annulling all former wills and Testaments at any time heretofore made by me.

First I give and Devise my farm called Mount Vernon in the Town of Aurora, being composed of out lots Number fifty four fifty five and fifty six to my ni[e]ce Sarah Ann Harris, provided she shall personally, claim the same within three years after my decease to her and her heirs forever on this condition that whereas my son William Tell Harris, has made some improvements on the said farm and will continue to improve the same, now if my said ni[e]ce should claim the same within the time above specified she is [to] pay the said William Tell Harris, the amount of his account for all the improvements he has made or may make on [the] said farm together with interest on the amount of all monies so expended, to be calculated on each half year[']s balance of his account.

Also it is my will that if my said Ni[e]ce should not personally claim the said farm within the time aforesaid and comply with the condition aforesaid in that case I give and devise the said farm to my said son William Tell Harris and his heirs forever.

Also it is my will and I give and devise all the Estate real and personal of which I may dispossess [sic] to my said son and his heirs forever except so much of my personal estate as may be sufficient to pay all my just debts and the expences attending my last illness and funeral and subject also to such small legacies of which I may make a written memorandum either attached to this will or noted in my ledger.

Finally it is my will and I do hereby appoint Jesse L. Holman Executor of this my last will and Testament – In testimony whereof I hereunto set my hand and affix my seal this thirteenth day of May in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty six.

Samuel Harris [Seal]

Signed sealed & published by the said Samuel Harris as his last will & Testament in the presence of us who at his request in his presence and in the presence of each other have subscribed our names as Witnesses thereto

Mary S. Randolph<sup>1102</sup>

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<sup>1102</sup> Mary Skipwith Randolph was the daughter of Catherine Lawrence and Thomas Randolph, who was killed at the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, after which, her mother presumably having died earlier, Mary was adopted into another family. It is reported that at least two newspaper articles stated that Mary was the adopted daughter of Thomas Randolph's 'bosom friend' William Henry Harrison (1773-1841), who became the 9th President of the USA (for one month, prior to his death in 1841). However,

Henry Leasure  
Caleb Wright<sup>1103</sup>

Whereas I have taken a Mortgage<sup>1104</sup> on a tract of land in Hamilton County State of Ohio executed to me by Daniel Gano<sup>1105</sup> of the City of Cincinnati in the said county bearing date the first day of April 1830 for the sum of Two thousand one hundred and eighty three dollars seven cents payable in three years from the date of the interest payable from the date half yearly. Now it is to be understood that the foregoing Mortgage at the time of my decease with all interest accruing from that time is the property of Samuel Lawford, residing near Leeds, England in right of his wife hereon my Daughter. It is therefor my will in addition to the foregoing that my said Executor transfer the said Mortgage to the said Samuel Lawford his heirs and assigns immediately after my decease. In testimony whereof I hereto set my hand and affix my seal this Twenty seventh day of April Eighteen hundred and thirty.

Samuel Harris [Seal]

Signed sealed and published in our presence

Daniel Hepworth<sup>1106</sup>

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another report stated that she was adopted by James Dill, whose name is, of course, attached, to legal documents shown below. In 1833 Mary married William Harrison Sheets in Lawrenceburg, Dearborn County, Indiana. In 1832 W.H. Sheets had been elected Indiana Secretary of State and so the couple moved to Indianapolis. See further on the career of W.H. Sheets at <http://longislandsurnames.com/getperson.php?personID=I2464&tree=Cleaves>.

<sup>1103</sup> Caleb Wright is recorded as having been a contestor in an election in Aurora, March 1826 (Dearborn County Commissioners' Records, Bk. 1).

<sup>1104</sup> By this time in his experience of financial arrangements in America, Harris had reached the conclusion that money in the bank was a better source of income than investment in property. This is reflected in his closing remarks written to John Brown in Letter 11: 'I wish you were all here, in a good house of your own building on about one or two hundred acres of land, and three or four thousand pounds on good mortgage security in Cincinnati at from 6 to 10 p[er] cent interest, or rather *rent*. Money is like landed property in that city and is properly *rented out* upon security equal to your funds or stocks, in my opinion more than equal.' So in the same letter he wrote concerning his rescued funds from an invested legacy in England: 'Three or four weeks after my last to you, a letter from Colchester stated the whole matter. Without entering into particulars... the estate was very near being thrown into Chancery, when of course it would have been lost *to me*. Some expense attended the *successful* efforts to rescue it from the danger, our share of which, together with the legacy duty and interest upon it, absorb nearly a tenth part of the principal money. All the arrears of interest are also lost to me. I have drawn, according to instructions from the executor, for the balance and when advised that my bill of exchange is honoured, shall invest it here secured by good mortgage upon such interest as will render my income somewhat more than before, though the principal is less, as the regular legal interest here is 6 p[er] cent... Had I known what I do now, I would have vested only a small part of my small property in purchase, say from forty to 80 acres. The remainder should have been at interest.' The investment was duly made, so that in his final letter he wrote to Brown, 'What would have been my situation in your neighbourhood upon the interest of £900, under the obligation to have it lodged in the public funds? Here, I am able to do with half of it and devote the other half to the assistance of my granddaughter & to her father's aid also occasionally, and with the hope of being able, after a while, of setting apart some of my half to the discharge of an old obligation, for which I have hitherto struggled in vain. But what could I have done, had I been in old England when even this supply, my only dependence, entirely failed me?' £900 would have been approximately equivalent to \$3,000 at this time in the western states (Woods, *TYR*, p. 17). See further regarding the mortgage referred to in this codicil to Samuel Harris's will under 'Susanna Josephine Harris' in the Introduction.

<sup>1105</sup> On Daniel Gano, see note 1069.

<sup>1106</sup> Daniel Hepworth is perhaps to be identified with the 'D. Hepworth, labourer (male, 26)', who is listed among the party that sailed with the Harris family to the USA in 1821 (see Appendix III). Although in the present series of letters, Harris seems to make no mention of him (unless, as seems likely, he be identified with the 'man' accompanying the Fox and Lawford family members referred to in Letter 1 – we note that his name appears immediately after theirs in the passenger manifest of the

W.T. Harris  
James Latham

State of Indiana  
Dearborn County

Be it remembered that on the 12th day of November 1832 then in open court personally came Mary S. Randolph in the Probate court of Dearborn County one of the subscribing Witnesses of the within last will and Testament of Samuel Harris deceased and on her solemn oath duly administered declares and swears that she signed the within and foregoing will as a Witness at the request of the Testator in the presence of the other subscribing Witnesses the said Samuel Harris being then as deponent believes to wit 30th of May 1826 of sound mind and disposing memory

Mary S. Randolph

Sworn to and subscribed 12th Novr. 1832 in open court.

James Dill clerk<sup>1107</sup>

Be it also remembered that on the same 12th of November 1832 personally came William Tell Harris and James Latham two of the subscribing Witnesses to the annexed & foregoing and annexed Codicil to the last will and Testament of Samuel Harris dec<sup>d</sup>. and on their solemn oaths duly administered depose and saith that they signed the foregoing codicil as Witnesses in the presence of the Testator at the request of the Testator and in the presence of each other, the said Samuel Harris being then to wit on the 27th day of April 1830 of sound mind and disposing memory as deponent verily believe

W.T. Harris  
James Latham

Sworn to and subscribed in open court 12th November 1832.

James Dill clerk

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*Halcyon*), Hepworth does seem to have travelled on to Aurora since the 1830 Census has his name in Laughery township (which then included Aurora, so that, for example, the names of William Tell Harris and Jesse Lynch Holman also appear in this section), stating his age and that of his wife as between 30 and 40, in addition to two children, a boy aged between 15 and 20 and a girl still under 5. In fact, like Samuel and William Tell Harris (see note 498), Daniel Hepworth filed a document of intent to assume American citizenship on the 20th July 1821 (the record actually states the date as the 20th June, but this must be an error, as the passengers of the *Halcyon* did not disembark until the 25th June), soon after arriving in Philadelphia, but his citizenship was not ratified until the 20th April 1830, as is confirmed by Circuit Court Order Book no. 3 of Dearborn County, Indiana. (Information kindly supplied by Chris McHenry, from *Indiana source book, genealogical material from The Hoosier genealogist, 1979-1981*, vol. IV [Indianapolis, 1987] p. 14.) The Hepworths must then have become neighbours of the Harris family in Aurora. In addition, the William Hepworth, whom the 1860 *Map of Dearborn County, Indiana* by T. Pattison shows to have been the owner of land bordering the Ohio River a little further to the south of lots owned by W.T. Harris and east of land owned by Jesse L. Holman, was possibly the son of Daniel Hepworth. As Daniel alone was listed among the passengers of the *Halcyon* in 1821, it seems most likely that he sent for his wife and son to join him after first having established a home for them in Aurora. An entry in the Dearborn County Commissioners' Records, June 1847, notes an allowance made to Daniel Hepworth 'for taking care of body of dead man'.

<sup>1107</sup> James Dill (d. 1838), the first recorder of Dearborn County, served in that office 7th March-30th August 1803 and 1817-1831. He was also clerk of Dearborn County, 6th September 1813-1838. (*HDO*, p. 232.) For anecdotal comments regarding James Dill, see O.H. Smith, *Early Indiana trials and sketches* (Cincinnati, 1858) pp. 9, 172 f.; and *HDO*, pp. 148 f.



The foregoing last will and Testament of Samuel Harris was proven in open court and admitted to record at the request of the Executor therein named 12th of November 1832

James Dill clerk

***The will of William Tell Harris***

I William Tell Harris of the City of Aurora, Dearborn County, in the State of Indiana, do make and publish this my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all former Wills by me heretofore made to wit; 1st I devise in fee Simple to Hannah W. Vail the wife of Benjamin Vail of Wilmington in county and State above named and to her heirs two certain out Lots in the City of Aurora Dearborn County and State of Indiana and mentioned on the Plat of the Town now City of Aurora as (39) thirty Nine and forty (40)<sup>1108</sup> with all the appurtenances thereto belonging.

2nd I will that my daughter Sarah Ann Power, now the wife of John C. Power shall have a legacy of my personal estate of three thousand dollars to be her own exclusive property and that she shall so receipt therefor, the money for her sole use, but if she should die before the said Hannah W. Vail then the said legacy is hereby given to the said Hannah W. Vail, and if she should die before the said Sarah Ann Power the Legacy shall be paid to the children of Hannah W. Vail, yet my daughter Sarah Ann Power shall have the use of the Legacy during her life.

3rd I bequeath to Hannah W. Vail all my household furniture of every description, bed and table linen, books, pictures, plate.

4th After the payment of all my debts and the legacies I bequeath the residue of my personal estate to William Webber.

5th It is my will that none of my Real Estate shall be sold for the payment of the legacies hereby given.

6th I hereby appoint my esteemed friends William S. Holman,<sup>1109</sup> Benjamin Vail and Samuel Musgrave the Executors of this my last will and Testament.

William Tell Harris

Signed and published in the presence of us and in the presence of the Testator the twelfth day of August in the year 1864.

Benjamin Franklin Burlingame<sup>1110</sup> [Seal]

Benjamin Powell Boardman [Seal]

State of Indiana Dearborn County Sct

On the 25th day of October 1865 personally came into the Clerks office of the Court of Common Pleas of Dearborn County Indiana Benjamin Franklin Burlingame and Benjamin Powell Boardman the subscribing Witnesses to the foregoing last Will and testament of William Tell Harris deceased and being duly sworn on oath say that they were present at the execution of said Will, that they signed their names as Witnesses thereto in the presence of said Testator at his request and in the presence of

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<sup>1108</sup> I.e. the Mount Tabor estate.

<sup>1109</sup> On William Steele Holman, the son of Jesse Lynch Holman, see Blake, *HV*, pp. 43-232.

<sup>1110</sup> Benjamin F. Burlingame served as Dearborn County commissioner in 1853 and 1856. (*HDO*, p. 231.)

each other that said will was duly executed and at the time of Execution thereof the said Testator was of full age to devise his property of sound disposing mind memory and understanding and not under any coercion or restraint whatever and that he did then and there declare the said writing to be his last will and testament.

Benjamin F. Burlingam [*sic*]

Benjamin P. Boardman

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 25th day of October 1865

John F. Cheek clerk<sup>1111</sup>

State of Indiana Dearborn County Sct

I John F. Cheek clerk of the Court of Common Pleas of Dearborn County Indiana do hereby certify that the above and foregoing contains a true and complete Record of the Last Will and testament of William Tell Harris and of the proof endorsed thereon.

[L. Seal]

Witness my hand and the Seal of  
said court this 25th day of October 1865

John F. Cheek clerk

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<sup>1111</sup> John F. Cheek served as clerk of Dearborn County, 1864-8. (*HDO*, p. 232.)

## Principal sources referred to in the preparation of the notes

### Manuscript:

<i>BBCB</i>	Bullittsburg Baptist Churchbook, 1795-1833 (available at <a href="http://baptisthistoryhomepage.com/bullittsbrg.minutes.index.html">http://baptisthistoryhomepage.com/bullittsbrg.minutes.index.html</a> )
<i>BC</i>	Burgess certificates, in Wigan Archives, Leigh Town Hall (call no. AB/MR13)
<i>BCBLSW</i>	Baptists Church book, Lord Street, Wigan (covering the period 1796-1890 and containing an account of the founding and early days of Lord Street Baptist Church, records of events, and transcripts of some early letters written by the church), in Wigan Archives, Leigh Town Hall (call no. D/NB/10/A1/1)
Brown, <i>Will</i>	John Brown, Will (24th June 1835) and 2 codicils (13th Jan. 1838 & 16th April 1842), Lancashire Record Office, WRW/A R174A/66
<i>ESP</i>	Edmund Sibson papers (WMS 735 <i>et seq.</i> , in Warrington Public Library)
<i>FTGF</i>	Fragments relative to the Tabor and Grimstone families, with reference to the genealogical table [not present] by a descendant. Essex Record Office (call no. D/DU 617). <sup>1112</sup>
Harris, <i>1794PL</i>	A personalized copy of <i>Kearsley's gentleman and tradesman's pocket ledger for the year 1794</i> belonging to John Harris sen., now (in 2016) in the possession of Nathaniel James Lovett of Onancock, Virginia, USA. Evidence suggests that the pocket ledger was handed down through successive generations as follow: John Harris – Samuel Harris – William Tell Harris – Hannah White Webber (step-daughter of the preceding, who married Benjamin Vail sen.) – Benjamin Vail jun. – Richard Dudley Vail (1890-1978, son of the preceding) – Mannie

<sup>1112</sup> In the catalogue of the Essex Record Office, this document is further described as 'A volume compiled and illustrated by Amelia, daughter of William Fox (1736-1826)... and his wife, daughter of Jonathan Tabor of Colchester (1703-1778)', although it was most likely compiled by Samuel Harris's sister-in-law, the youngest daughter of William and Mary Fox, i.e. Susanna (1772-1840), who in fact in a codicil to her will written the 13th May 1840, stated that she was passing it on to her brother. (It is described in the codicil as 'the Genealogical account of the Tabor family with the book called the fragments which relate to it'.) Of her two brothers, Jonathan (1762-1847) and William (1768-?), only Jonathan seems to have been alive after Susanna's death in 1840, as there is no mention of her brother William in the 1841 Census and his wife Harriet was at that time living with their youngest son, the Rev. Octavius Fox, in Worcester. Furthermore, William was clearly dead by 1845 as the will of his wife Harriet, made in that year, stated that she was a widow. Jonathan, it seems therefore, received the Fragments and it is interesting to note that one of his children was Amelia Jane Fox (1801-1893), who may well have been the Amelia referred to in the Essex Record Office entry. Amelia, who never married and seems to have outlived all of her brothers and sisters, probably passed on the Fragments to another family member, who eventually presented them to Essex Record Office. (Information kindly supplied by Roger Harris Lloyd.)

- Johnson Vail (1892-1969, wife of the preceding) – Sallie Johnson Stockley (1883-1952, sister of Mannie Johnson Vail) – Minnie Stockley Lovett (daughter of the preceding) – Nathaniel James Lovett (son of the preceding).
- HSCCMB* Hope Street Congregational Chapel, Wigan: Minutes book 1824-1845 (includes list of church members, 1823; and history of the church to 1845), in Wigan Archives, Leigh Town Hall (call no. D/NC8/1/1)
- KSCB&M* King Street Particular Baptist Church, Wigan: Church Book and Minutes Book, in Wigan Archives, Leigh Town Hall (call no. D/NB/5/1)
- Lawford, 1843LD* Libel for divorce by reason of cruelty and adultery, alleged by Susannah Josephine Lawford against her husband Samuel Lawford, 2nd March 1843. (Cause papers in the Diocesan Courts of the Archbishopric of York, 1300-1858, ref. CONS.CP.1843/2; available via the Borthwick Institute for Archives at the University of York Library and Archives.)
- LBAL* Loughery Baptist Association letters, preserved in the library of Indiana Historical Society
- Lyon, Will* Mary Lyon, Will (20th November 1830), Lancashire Record Office, WCW/939/68
- PB* Poll books for the Borough and Corporation of Wigan: (1) 1830; (2) 1st March 1831; (3) 4th May 1831; (4) 1832, in Wigan Archives, Leigh Town Hall (call no. SR1/18/B)
- RP* Riot papers, 1831, in Wigan Archives, Leigh Town Hall (call no. D/DX/AP/G2)
- RVC* United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, Registration form for River View Cemetery, received 15th Nov. 2013 (available at <http://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/places/pdfs/13001011.pdf>)
- SPCCM* St. Paul Congregational Church, Wigan: Church meeting minutes, 1833-1840, in Wigan Archives, Leigh Town Hall (call no. D/NB5/3/1)
- Tuckett, Mem.* Sarah Ellen Tuckett (daughter of Elinor Tuckett, *née* Harris and mother of Hilton Arnold Baynes), *Memories*, written 22nd May 1877 and transcribed in *Memoirs of Hilton Arnold Baynes* (pp. 6-25), written in 1918 and typewritten copy made 18th December 1926 (copy in possession of Erynne Baynes, *alias* Michelle Kahler, *née* Sargeant, of Glenwood, Queensland, Australia)
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- Whitehouse, HTBW* T. Whitehouse (*fl.* 1781-1842), wine merchant and amateur historian, *A history of the town and borough of Wigan in the county of Lancaster, and its vicinity, with anecdotes collected and recollected* (Wigan, 1829) [a manuscript illustrated with original watercolour sketches, in Wigan Archives, Leigh Town Hall]
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