A New England Woman's Perspective on Norfolk, Virginia, 1801–1802: Excerpts from the Diary of Ruth Henshaw Bascom

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RUTH HENSHAW (1772–1848) was born in Leicester, Massachusetts, the daughter of William and Phebe Swan Henshaw. Her family was related through marriage to the Denny, Ward, and Swan families of Leicester and Shrewsbury, Massachusetts. Ruth Henshaw kept a diary of her activities and travels which she started in 1789 and kept through 1846. This remarkable document of a Yankee woman's view of America in the early national period began while Ruth was still unmarried, and continued through her marriages, first to physician Asa Miles, and then to the Congregationalist-turned-Unitarian minister Ezekiel Lysander Bascom. After the deaths of both her husbands, Ruth continued her diary accounts of her extensive travels up and down the Atlantic seaboard. She herself gained a small measure of fame during her lifetime for the profile drawings she made of eminent persons she had met.¹

¹ For further information on the Henshaws, see the Collection Description to the Henshaw Papers, Manuscripts Department, American Antiquarian Society. On the connection of Ruth Henshaw to the Dennys and Wards, see the Collection Descriptions to the Ward and Denny Papers, and, in addition, C. C. Denny, *Genealogy of the Denny Family* (Worcester, 1886); Charles Martyn, *The William Ward Genealogy: The History of the Descendants of William Ward of Sudbury, Massachusetts*, 1638–1925 (New York, 1925). The entire diary is being edited for publication by Catherine Fennelly.

The policy the present editor has followed is that of literal transcription, with as

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The excerpt from the diary that appears here records the sojourn of Ruth Henshaw, not yet married, in Norfolk, Virginia, during 1801–2. Besides the obvious value of the diary as a measure of contemporary culture, and the literary artifact of an educated New England woman, this particular excerpt reveals an aspect of Virginia culture not yet fully explored by historians. Ruth Henshaw went to Norfolk after meeting Mrs. Stephen Harris of that city while Mrs. Harris was visiting her family, the Wards of Shrewsbury. Ruth Henshaw first encountered Mrs. Harris at the home of her cousin, William Denny, September 5, 1801, and soon thereafter accepted an invitation to travel to Norfolk, despite the dangers of the journey, which were especially serious during the autumn of 1801. In October 1801, Mrs. Harris 'concluded not to set out' after hearing of some 27 deaths from yellow fever in Norfolk, and 100 in New York.² By November 4, however, Ruth Henshaw had left by stage with Mrs. Harris for Virginia via Springfield, Hartford, New Haven, and New York, and thus down the coastline until the two women took ship at Baltimore for Virginia. The Harris family in Norfolk, with whom Ruth Henshaw stayed, was only one of several New England families who settled in that southern commercial center during the late 1790s. The diary excerpt

little modernization as possible, except where the clarity of certain passages seems to require editorial elaboration. The identification of people mentioned in the diary is largely confined here to residents of Norfolk who were connected with the Yankee merchant community in which Ruth Henshaw lived. All identifications, unless otherwise noted, are from Charles H. Simmons, *Simmons's Norfolk Directory* (Norfolk, 1801 and 1806), both editions in the library of the Society. Further details on Norfolk can be obtained from Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port* (Durham, N.C., 1931).

² Diary, Sept. 5, 1801; Oct. 23, 1801. On the yellow fever epidemics, see Wertenbaker, Norfolk, pp. 206–10. Norfolk was ravaged in 1795, 1802, 1821, 1826, and, most severely, 1855. For additional information, see William S. Forrest, The Great Pestilence in Virginia; Being an Historical Account of the . . . Tellow Fever in Norfolk and Portsmouth in 1855 (New York, 1856). The most widely read scholarly account of yellow fever in the early republic is probably J. H. Powell's Bring Out Your Dead: The Great Plague of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia in 1793 (Philadelphia, 1949). Various smaller studies exist on aspects of contagionism as a theory, and Dr. Benjamin Rush; no study of the yellow fever epidemic of 1802 in Norfolk or of the town's physicians has been done.

for 1801–2 is indicative of a heretofore little-known fact— Yankee merchants were established members of the Virginia grain trade, an economic development that had slowly grown up alongside of tobacco, and then rivalled the old staple as the main crop of Tidewater Virginia by 1800.³

Apparently, Ruth Henshaw's cousin, Isaac Denny of Leicester, had joined this Yankee enclave by 1801, and struggled to establish a store in Norfolk. Like most of the merchant community, Denny was ruined by the Embargo of 1807, and he returned to Massachusetts. He died in 1813. The house of Stephen Harris, the baker of Norfolk, seemed to operate as a kind of center for the Yankee merchants and tradesmen. Harris had moved to Virginia only a year before Ruth Henshaw came to visit, and was a member of a Boston family of merchants which included his brothers John and Ned, who stayed in New England, and William, who traded in the West Indies and lived in Wilmington, Delaware, with his wife, the former Eliza Conklin of Leicester. The flurry of activity that the diary excerpt reveals was not apparently indicative of a successful future for the New England entrepreneurs. The only surviving son of Stephen Harris never married, was a confirmed Virginian in his constitutional and sectional attitudes, and did not continue in the mercantile business. In 1836, Charles Harris erected a monument 'To the memory of Stephen Harris, a native of Boston, Mass., but for the last 36 years previous to his death a citizen of this Borough.'4 Despite the failure of busi-

³ On the rise of grain production in Virginia, see David Charles Klingman, 'The Development of Virginia's Coastwise and Grain Trade in the Late Colonial Period,' Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Virginia, 1967, and, by the same author, 'The Development of the Coastwise Trade of Virginia in the Late Colonial Period,' *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 77(1969):3–21. On the role of Norfolk and other Virginia ports in the Virginia republicans' schemes for building a modern economy, see Drew McCoy, 'The Virginia Port Bill of 1784,' *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 83 (1975): 288–303.

⁴ Stephen Harris's epitaph is in 'Inscriptions at Norfolk, Virginia,' *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 48(1894):17. Subsequent directories for Norfolk list the ship-bread baker Stephen Harris, but none of the other business partners mentioned by Ruth Henshaw in the diary.

ness, and the agonies of the Civil War, by 1862 Charles still wrote to inquire 'how all the Dennys & Wards & Henshaws &c get along.'⁵

The New England presence in Virginia clearly did not last, nor did it provide any long-term basis for trans-sectional understanding between North and South. In 1800, however, the presence of the Yankees and the commercial interests of Norfolk both help to explain why the borough of Norfolk voted 118 to 113 for Federalist John Adams while Norfolk County overwhelmingly supported Republican Thomas Jefferson 241 to 30.⁶ In the Henshaw-Bascom, Denny, and Ward Papers of the American Antiquarian Society there may well lie the data needed for a fresh look at the town of Norfolk, the nature of the coastal grain trade, and the nature of business, cultural, and political interaction between northern and southern merchants in the young republic. The diary, among its other important facets, reveals the presence of this connection.

At the time, however, Ruth Henshaw was not as interested in commenting explicitly about business matters as entering her observations about Virginia culture in general. To be sure, her shrewd Yankee eye never failed to note the value of the dollar, and she could not avoid a censorious, if terse, note on occasion when she thought prices high, or money ill spent. Ever a good New England Congregationalist, Henshaw kept up her practice of taking notes on sermons heard and texts explicated at Sabbath meetings. In this context, she frowned on the rather more lax Sunday social habits of Virginians, but

⁵ Charles Harris to Sarah Henshaw Ward Putnam, Jan. 1, 1862, Ward Family Papers, Family Correspondence, 1811–1864, Manuscripts Department, American Antiquarian Society.

⁶ On the election results, see *Norfolk Herald*, July 8, 1800, p. 5. Town and country splits over economic, social, and political issues reflected the tensions of a society firmly rooted in an agrarian past, but striving to develop internal resources and a merchant community. On the legal aspects of these trends in Norfolk, see E. Lee Shepard, 'The Administration of Justice in Revolutionary Virginia: The Norfolk Courts, 1770–1790,' M.A. thesis, Univ. of Virginia, 1974; on these tensions in the Tidewater as a whole, see A. G. Roeber, 'Faithful Magistrates and Republican Lawyers: The Transformation of Virginia's Justices of the Peace, 1705–1805,' Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1977.

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revealed as well her own delight in Sunday drives, visits to Norfolk gardens and places of amusement, and the novel celebration of Christmas by Virginia's black slaves. Clearly disturbed by the spectacle of buying and selling human beings, Henshaw nonetheless quickly fell into the habit of referring to Harris's 'people' as 'our' slaves, much as Virginia whites had been doing for generations. And, like white Virginians, she was alarmed at the events surrounding the abortive 'Easter Rebellion' in Norfolk, all the more disturbing since it followed so soon on the heels of the Gabriel Prosser Plot shortly before.⁷

In the end, however, despite her obvious delight in the milder Virginia climate, Ruth Henshaw was firmly convinced of the superiority and tried values of her native New England. She and her fellow Yankees kept up Massachusetts customs such as the celebration of Thanksgiving Day in November, and the baking of an Election Day cake. And, upon returning to Attleborough, Massachusetts, in July 1802 on her way home to Leicester, Ruth expressed her relief about being able to eat New England cuisine in a heartfelt sigh still audible after 177 years: 'Had an excellent supper—tea & chocolate, beef & what-not—and brown bread & cyder which I have not seen for seven months.'⁸

EXCERPTS FROM THE DIARY OF RUTH HENSHAW BASCOM

[November, 1801]

19 Thursday. Clear & cold, & windy. Mrs Harris and I eat breakfast on deck. Hove in sight of Norfolk sooner than we expected, and at noon went ashore accompanied by Capt. Daf-

⁷ On the Easter conspiracy to set fire to the town of Norfolk, see Wertenbaker, *Norfolk*, pp. 139–40. The literature on slavery in the antebellum period is enormous; on Virginia, a starting point is Robert McColley, *Slavery and Jeffersonian Virginia* (Urbana, Ill., 1964), and, most recently, John Chester Miller, *The Wolf by the Ears: Thomas Jefferson and Slavery* (New York, 1977), on Gabriel's Conspiracy, pp. 126–29. ⁸ Diary, July 5, 1802.

ter bidding a good morning to our fellow passengers, who were a Mr. Johnson & his lady of Stratford (Con.) (bound to Fayettville, N. Carolina)—a Mrs Norton from Baltimore to Norfolk, a Mr Posey of Norfolk, a Mr Banister of Ditto, Newman of Ditto a frenchman and a (supposed) Methodist preacher —came ashore on County wharf & walk'd to Mr Harris', where we were received with a cordial welcome. Found cousin I. Denny there and a Mr Munroe of Concord (Mass) who came in company with him & arrived about a month since. Capt Nye spent evening here, we sang songs &c accompanied by Mr Munroe's violin.

20 Friday. Pleasant & much warmer than yesterday. Went to Fiskes store⁹ (Market Square) with Mr Denny and bought straw colored kid shoes 2 dols. 25 cents—Mr B. Watson formerly of N. Braintree (Massachusetts) call'd here to see Mr Denny.

21 Saturday. Fair. Sew'd. Evening went a shopping with Mr Denny, Mrs Harris, & Mr Watson. Mrs Harris bought cup & saucers.

22 Sabbath. Pleasant, but cold. Went to no meeting. Drest us & sung psalms. Towards night took a walk with Mr & Mrs Harris & Mr Munroe our boarder. Walked thro Concord, Freemason, & down Main Street &c &c. Mr Watson spent evening here, after which I wrote to Mrs Wheeler to send by Mr Denny.

23 Monday. Fair. I sewed. Mr Watson came here to write for Mr Harris as a Clark. Capt. Deagle here.

24 Tuesday. Made a cambrick handk [erchief] and wrote to Mrs Darnell of Baltimore. Capt. Mendall here.

25 Wednesday. Pleasant. Mrs Harris and I made some arrangements for Thanksgiving.

26 Thursday. (Thanksgiving at Massachusetts—) very pleasant day—We supp'd or dined at 4 P.M. on roast Turkey, fowls, plumb pudding, pies &c &c—evening sung songs and

⁹ Martin Fisk, grocer at 16 and 19 Market Square.

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MAP OF NORFOLK IN 1802

- 1 United States Custom House 6 Christ Episcopal Church 10 Work House
- 2 Market House
- 3 County Dock
- 4 Town Hall
- 5 Catholic Church
- 7 Norfolk Academy
- 8 Old Borough Church
 - and Graveyard
- 9 Methodist Church
- 11 Presbyterian Church
- 12 United States Bank
- 13 The Magazine
- 14 Bermuda Street

Traced from the George Nicholson map of 1802. Reproduced, with permission, from Norfolk: Historic Southern Port by Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, copyright 1931 by Duke University Press.

danc'd &c—Sent for Mr Merriam, who was not yet arrived from the West Indies. Our party consisted of Mr and Mrs Harris, Mr Denny, Watson, Munroe, &c—all yankies.

27 Friday. Very pleasant. Made two cambrick handkerchiefs. In forenoon went a shopping with Mrs Harris—and bought us a cambrick muslin gown 7/8 payd; 1 paper needles /9 &c &c— Afternoon went over to Portsmouth in a ferry-boat with Mr Munroe to see a singular tomb or graves in the garden of a widow Wilson. Took a view of the frigate Chesapeake—a 44 of guns, lying at Gosport. Returned after sunset. Evening played 'high low'¹⁰ with Munroe.

28 Saturday. Fair & very warm. Had the windows open all day. Cloudy by turns. Evening, rainy & thundered—this day made my gown sleeves larger, hem'd black silk peticoat, made cambrick handk[erchief]. Marked & wrote letters; also Mrs Harris.

29 Sabbath. Very warm & pleasant. Forenoon went to Methodist meeting with Mr Munroe. Had a very good sermon on the various duties incumbent on Mankind. Evening wrote to B. Henshaw.

30 Monday. Pleasant. Assisted in making my cambrick gown after getting another piece of cambrick $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ yd. Mr Denny & Watson hired a shop at the corner of Commerce & Water Streets. We played cards with M.

December 1, 1801 Tuesday Rather cold. Mr Watson went away. Evening watched the spyglass with Munroe & play'd cards.

2 Wednesday. Warm & plesant forenoon, cloudy afternoon. Mr Denny adjusting his store, and writing home. Mr & Mrs Harris also wrote to send by Mr Munroe. Mr H. had a letter from Lamb and Goddard on the subject of employing them.

¹⁰ Probably 'high-low-jack,' a card game where, according to *Webster's Seventb New Collegiate Dictionary*, 'scores are made by winning the highest trump, the lowest trump, the jack of trumps, and either the ten of trumps or the most points.'

Mr H. concluded in the negative. Evening I wrote & Munroe wrote to his friend.

3 Thursday. Shiny & cloudy by turns. I had the head-ache all day.

4 [Friday]. Pleasant. I finished my cambrick gown & mended silk st[ockings]. Evening played [*cards*, crossed out] checkers & watched the spyglass till 12. Made a cap for Mrs Harris.

⁵ Saturday. Very pleasant. I went to Market in morning for fun. Afternoon took a walk in the Old fields with Munroe. Went to Merrik's¹¹—bought Geography dictionary—Evening studied Geography with Munroe. I closed my letters at midnight to send to New England, viz. to F. Nichols, Caty H[enshaw], Phebe Denny, Mrs Wheeler, C Wheeler & B. Henshaw.

6 Sunday. Clear, cold and windy. Munroe disappointed of sailing—wind ahead. At 3 we had a beautiful ride 4 miles on the east side of Chesapeak-bay accompanied by Mr & Mrs Harris—rode in gigs with no tops. Called at Crosley's,¹² drank brandy & gin & returned. Evening read geography. I. Denny supped here after which we sang psalms. The sailors fought in the street, the horn sounded, the watch came & made peace at last.

7 Monday. Fair & warmer. Today made me a pair of cambrick slippers & knitted. Evening play'd morris, fox & geese & cards¹³ with Munroe & came off conquerer. I. Denny opened or fill'd his store.

¹¹ Edward Mirik, stationer and proprietor of a circulating library at 33 Main Street. A former Bostonian.

¹² Lindsay's Gardens, one of Norfolk's amusement gardens, opened in 1800 by Thomas Crossley. See *Norfolk Herald*, May 17, 1800, and Wertenbaker, *Norfolk*, pp. 183–38, on these places of recreation.

¹³ Probably 'nine-men's-morris,' according to Funk and Wagnall's *New Standard Dictionary of the English Language*, 'a game played on a diagram marked out on the ground, or on a board marked with three concentric squares crossed by lines at the corners and in the middle of each side, making twenty-four points or stations. Each player, having five, nine, or twelve (according to the number playing) counters or pieces, endeavors to place three of them in a row, upon which he takes any one of his

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8 Tuesday. Calm day, cloudy afternoon and rainy evening. Early in morning Munroe bid us adieu & sail'd for New England. Today we baked a loaf of wheat & indian bread for a change, being tired of baker's bread. Capt. Webb here to breakfast. I made pair cambrick slippers for Mrs Harris. Evening, Mr Harris went to the raffle & lost his hop'd for prize, Viz. a pair of very elegant looking glasses. His ticket 7 dols.

9 Wednesday. Shiny, cloudy, shiny, sprinkly like April instead of December. I made 10 yards factory cotton fringe for curtains. Began to keep the tally papers from 5th September;¹⁴ had an indian pudding for one dish at dinner. Mr Harris went to the bank with 6 hundred dols. & evening he settled with Mr Lesley.¹⁵ We sat without a fire all this evening.

10 Thursday. Warm, muggy morning and cold, cold afternoon. I [torn, *altered*?] two gowns. Old Dill¹⁶ went away. Good riddance to the noisy, conceited boatswain. I wrote in Tally book and evening J. Henderson also.

11 Friday. Fine clear day and coldish. Went into the bake house for the first time and paid $(13\frac{1}{2})$ for the sight as strangers are wont to do. Mrs Harris went a shopping and bought carpet 33 dols. & sundrys in all 48 dols. I went at 5 & bought cambrick for mits & sheer muslin for handk[erchiefs] at Mr Andrews's¹⁷—We went to see cousin Isaac & Co. Found them at supper. Staid but 10 minutes. Drank cherry bonner (or cherry rum) and returned after being introduced to Mr Shaw,

¹⁵ John Leslie, shopkeeper at 6 Bank Street.

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opponent's. The game . . . ends when one player has lost all his counters.' Fox and Geese: 'A game played with 14 to 18 men (checkers or the like) on a board marked in squares. The central man (the fox) endeavors to capture the others (geese) and the geese endeavor to shut in the fox.'

¹⁴ Ruth was evidently given a job of keeping some of the accounts of Stephen Harris's bakeries. Harris baked bread for ships putting in to Norfolk, as well as for exporting to Boston. He had a dwelling at 1 Brewer Street, bakeries at 1 Kelly Street and 4 Commerce Street, and hired, or leased, others. There were evidently four bakehouses in operation during the time Ruth Henshaw was in Norfolk. See below.

¹⁶ Dill was probably one of the workmen at the bakery; he was later rehired. See below.

¹⁷ Jeremiah Andrews, storekeeper at 23 Market Square.

Isaac & Watson's partner in trade. Evening. Cut out my mits & watched the spyglass, &c.

12 Saturday. Fair. Wrote [torn] in tally paper & made two tablecloths out of the new diaper.¹⁸ Evening. I watch'd & made a cambrick mittin &c. Mr H. paid Old Betty (the cook's) monthly wages 6 dols. to Mrs Morfitt.

13 Sabbath. Warm & fair. Read geography & a play call'd 'Indigence and Nobleness of Mind,' the best books I could find. Isaac din'd here.

14 Monday. Fair morning, rainy afternoon and evening. I brought up the tally paper to this date. Mrs Harris to market in morning. The wood man here. Mrs Williams¹⁹ who owed Mr Harris 17 dols. mov'd out of the vicinity last night to who knows where?

15 Tuesday. Rainy morning, cloudy day & rainy night. I mark'd the diaper. Mr Wm. Smith here—Kelly, the bitter, chunked, cowardly Irishman went away, because he did not wish to stay for fear his comrades would not deal fair play.

16 Wednesday. Snowed and rained April-like all day. I mended gown. Evening, made me a pair of nankeen mittens²⁰ to wear in the house. Had the headache evening.

17 Thursday. Clear & cold. Had letters from Mrs Harris²¹ of Wilmington & Mrs Darnell of Baltimore. [illegible] sewed on Mrs Harris spriged muslin long short.²² Heard a hand organ in the street Tuesday evening for the first time.

18 Friday. Clear & warm for the season. Mr Smith here. Mr

 18 A diaper; white cotton or linen usually used for tablecloths or towels; very soft, hence the more commonly-understood usage.

¹⁹ Possibly Frances Williams, a widow of Queen Street.

 20 Nanking mittens: mittens made of 'a durable brownish yellow cotton fabric orig. loomed by hand in China' (*Webster's*).

²¹ On the trip south, Ruth had stayed with Eliza Conklin Harris of Wilmington, and her friend Mrs Darnell. She kept up a correspondence with Mrs. Harris until, on October 26, 1802, she noted in her diary 'the death of Mrs. Eliza Harris (once El. Conklin of Leicester) wife of Wm. S. Harris (at Norfolk, Virginia).'

22 Long-short: a short skirt worn while doing housework (Funk & Wagnall's).

Wm. Shaw paid 60 dols. Mr Coll²³ 50 dol. & Mrs Williams came to light.

19 Saturday. Cold night last, clear & cool today. McKinsie came to work. Mr Harris went to bank 279 dols. I finish'd Mrs Harris' sprig'd long short or [illegible] & bound my pink silk glove with white sattin ribbon. O how gay. Mr Harris paid Mr Blythe a yankee 8 dols for glazing broken windows & swore he never would employ him more. I. Denny²⁴ dined here. Organ played 9 & 11 evening.

20 Sabbath. Clear and cool. I read Baltimore magazine and went in to I. Denny's at night. Watson returned with me. I wrote to Wm Harris' wife. Mr H. Made his new tallys.

21 Monday. Very pleasant. Mr Harris bought a pane of Russia sheeting.²⁵ I sent Mrs Harris' letter to Post office. Leah sick. Shaw paid 100 dols. The masons began to plaister chamber. We began to drink chocolate for supper instead of tea by vote of the company.

22 Tuesday. Calm & cloudy. Mrs Harris sewed on sheeting. She made a bed tick. Mr Harris lent Shaw 50 \$ instead of recovering 226 which he owed him. Masons finished one coat of plastering of one chamber. I slept in east chamber for first time. Was disturbed and entertained at midnight by the neighbours in a back street's quareling and calling a constable to make peace, which took place after making themselves hoarse with swearing & cursing, wrangling & jangling.—Mr Hunter (a Scotchman) came to write as a Clerk. A Paterson here in evening to be hired. A negro cooper stole a shirt from Jacob (one of our negro boys) and was seized, by the workmen, bound, threatened and imprison'd; all which made a great uproar. I

²³ William Colls of 42 Water Street.

²⁴ The 'yankee' Blythe was one of the owners of Blythe & Hathaway, painters and glaziers, at 6 Newton's Wharf. The 'I. Denny' who came to the Harris house regularly is Isaac (1765–1813), Ruth's cousin, the son of Col. Samuel Denny and Elizabeth Henshaw.

²⁵ Probably 'Russia-crash': 'a stout unbleached linen fabric, used for toweling, etc.' (*Funk & Wagnall's*).

made tufting fringe. Mr Harris settled with Mrs Mills & Mrs Fults for rolling bread.

23 Wednesday. Very rainy night last. Warm this morning 'till ten, then very rainy & windy till two P.M. and very pleasant. Calm P.M. & evening. I made two Russia duck shirts & evening a pair of nankeen mittins. Isaac Denny supped here on Chocolate. Mr Colls here. The workmen came from Calverts Lane-bake house to work here. Mr H. spent evening at Coffee House.

24 Thursday. Calm & warm. We made apple pies for Christmas & other nicknacks—gave 1/6 per dozen for apples; 1/6per pound butter; 2/3 for eggs. I had a letter from Mrs Harris of Wilmington. $1 . . . 1\frac{1}{2}$ —guns fired incessantly from 4 oClock P.M. 'till midnight, to usher in Christmas. Mrs Harris finished making 2 bedticks.

25 Friday. Calm & very pleasant like September—The streets all day mostly filled with negroes [drest in their boliday cloths, crossed out] of all ages & sizes & figures, drest in their best, playing, dancing, shaking hands &c (some crying shoe black, shoe black while brushing boots.) This and the five following days being the negro's holidays, during which time, their time is their own and on the first day of January is a kind of market day for slavery on which they are hired & let, bought & sold like the herds in the stalls.—A few guns heard today but the rage seems to be over. Isaac Denny din'd here. Evening spent with Mrs Harris alone. We played cards a little.

26 Saturday. Warm & plesant. We finished making russia sheets 3 pairs. Mr and Mrs Harris went a shopping. Mr Harris had his hogs kill'd at the other bake house.

27 Sabbath. Pleasant & airy forenoon, cloudy at 3, rainy evening & night. A.M. I had a letter from Dr. Flint per mail, and with it the melancholy news of the death of cousin Fanny Henshaw, who died 2 of this month of a nervous putrid fever.

28 Monday. Very rainy, windy day. Mr Harris to bank. Wm Shaw here. Mrs H & I made sausages after our own fashion. In evening I wrote to Dr. Flint of Leicester. 29 Tuesday. Clear and cold; a little snow fell last night. I marked the boys sheets &c—

30 Wednesday. Fair and cool. I marked linen. I went to Mr Denny's but found him not a home. Mr Harris sold 40 b[ushels, or barrels] ship stuff to Mr Wm Shaw.

31 Thursday. Very pleasant. At 4 P.M. went a shopping with Mr Harris & bought 7 yards diaper, 26 yards chinse for curtains, 1 gr. paper & 3 yards binding for carpet at 4½ per yard, and other articles. Mr Harris joined the library for one year (6 dols.) owned by Mr Mirick (formerly of Boston) which contains several thousand volumes in every branch of useful & polite literature. We cannot want amusement while we have this privilege.

> And can this year be done?! Farwel then short liv'd 1801.

Norfolk, Virginia, January 1st, 1802

1 Friday. Calm and pleasant. Sat with the windows open, half the forenoon, or rather stood at the window and listened to a vendue which took place near the door. I marked linen and evening read in 'Eviline,' a book I got at the library yesterday. Mr Shaw and [illegible] here at dark. The ladies seen walking out at all times this day without cloaks or even fine shawls.

2 Saturday. Very warm & calm. Had the windows wide open all day. Hynes whitewashed the parlour & yesterday he finished plastering the new parlour above stairs. Shaw here in morn. Mr Harris went to the bank and evening at the Coffee house. Mrs H. & I sat up and read 'Evaline,' &c.

3 Sabbath. Little cloudy morn, warm & fair day. Ladies all appeared as they have all this winter, without cloaks—and some with parasolls. Had letters from Mrs Miles (Grafton). Mr Denny supp'd & spent evening here. I spent this day in reading Evangelical Repository, Geography, newspaper & looking at the vessels thro the spy glass &c!

4 Monday. Fair morning, cloudy and rain by turns. Rainy,

windy evening—cleared off cold and windy at 8 P.M. Mrs Harris unwell with cold. Dr Whitehead²⁶ came and bled her. Paterson came here to live as a Clerk. Mrs Fults bought a Bushel apples for us—4 d[ollars] 50 cents. Mr H. sold 500 Dol. worth ship Bread. At 6 Mr Woodward²⁷ & Shaw here. Evening I read in 'Eviline;' began 2d volume.

5 Tuesday. Clear and somewhat colder. Mrs Harris sat up but little. Dr. Selden here. Mr Harris sent the last of 24.00 dollar's worth of bread to Mr Thorberry's vessel. Shaw here to buy flour. The Old Cat injured the looking glass (by breaking off some of the gilt Ornaments) which was bought last week. Cost 25 dol.

6 Wednesday. Fair, cloudy by turns. Misty evening & night. I had letters from Home—Caty, Linda, & Phebe Denny &c Dated 23 Dec., all well. They received my letter dated Nov. 21, the 10 December. They informed of the death of Tho. Lynde 17 Nov. in the West Indies.

[The pages of the diary covering January 7 to January 13 are lost]

12 January [fragment].... arrived from the West Indies, and made us a visit at sun set. [Undoubtedly Stephen Harris's brother, William.] Evening I wrote to Leicester people.

13 Wednesday. Pleasant day & night. Mrs Harris & I made new carpet 33 dollars—had the side board moved up stairs & furnished. Put up the window curtains yesterday, with Sharrad Harris' assistance. Evening wrote home. Negroes quarreled before the house. Mr Harris went to Portsmouth to See his Brother in evening. I retired at 2.

14 Thursday. Warm & pleasant. At 1 I went to the Library, carried British Album & got 8 vol Spect[ator]. Went to Bras & got 2 yd copperplate, to match the curtains. Took a walk

²⁶ Dr. Alexander Whitehead, of Selden & Whitehead, physicians, of 4 Market Square, not to be confused with the Reverend James Whitehead, the clergyman. Dr. Whitehead is of 10 Main Street.

²⁷ James Woodward, cabinetmaker and undertaker, of 61 Main Street.

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round the square up Bank Street & down Concord Street. Ladies appeared with parasolls & no cloaks. Very pleasant eve. Sharrad Harris came in evening & tarried all night. Mrs Miller & [*Totts*?] here. We sent letter to Mrs Miles & Caty &c &c to Post office. Retired at 12—Yesterday, Black Sh[illegible] washed here.

15 Friday. Pleasant and warm. Ironed. Wm S. Harris spent the day & night here. Retired in the new parlour. Read & chatted till 12. Had a present of 'Seneca's Morals' from WSH.

16 Saturday. Pleasant & warm. Shaw, Gray, &c here. Mrs Harris indisposed. Mr Brown din'd here. Wm. Harris spent day & night here. I mark'd & mended for Wm. Yesterday Mr Harris paid for furniture—tonight at Vendue.

17 Sabbath. Fair, cooler, but still warm for the season. I read 'Spectator' & 'Seneca's Morals.' W. S. Harris here. He & Stephen settled. Evening Wm. met [Luke?] Cotton, one of his creditors, who received him kindly.

18 Monday. Very pleasant day & night. W. S. Harris here. I. Denny spent evening here. Retired 11.

19 Tuesday. Fine & pleasant like Sept. W. S. Harris sail'd at 10 for Wilmington and left a letter with me for Dr. Flint. I fringed table cloth, & marked. Mr Harris out evening.

20 Wednesday. Clear & cooler. I wrote in Tally paper, neglected since 1 Jan. I. Denny here 1 hour A.M. and informed us of his having received letters from his family in New Braintree which gave the news of the Death of Dr. Spencer Fisk of Oakham, a very agreeable and useful man. Cloudy eve. Retired 12.

21 Thursday. Calm, rainy day. Cleared off in evening, cool. Finished fringing & marking diaper. Mr Harris to Bank. Evening Mrs H. & I made a countarpin.²⁸ Watch began to call every hour instead of every other.

22 Friday. Cloudy morning, clear, cool day. A Mr Smith came here to live [illegible.] Oyer drank tea here. Mr Harris

²⁸ A counterpane.

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out eve. I had a letter from E. Harris (Wilmington)—sent home 8 vol. 'Spectator' & took 'Ladies' Library' 3 Vols.

23 [Saturday]. Fair & cool. Mr Shaw here twice. I made Jim a Shirt. Evening made pies. Jess' and Sandy's master here. I read the paper—first play advertized to be perform'd next Monday night. Also Mr Sully's performance at Vauxhall Garden.²⁹ Last night drempt of P. Warren.

24 Sunday. Clear and pritty cold for Norfolk, equal to common first of November at Leicester. Read 2 vol. 'Ladies Library' containing the duty of daughters, wives, mothers, Mistresses, widows, &c—At 4 P.M. went into Mr Denny's and Chatted half an hour with Mr Denny & Watson. Evening Mr Harris play'd on flute, sung &c.

25 Monday. Cloudy and calm & cold. Signs of snow—but all signs fail in a dry time. Clear'd off at dark. The play postpon'd till Thursday. Willis came here to live. Mr Denny drank tea here & spent evening. We play'd 'high low' till 8—& Mrs H. & I ironed till 10. I read in 3d vol. of 'L. Library' and wrote in Journal at 11—good night.

26 Tuesday. Very pleasant day. I wrote in Tally paper. A ball at the Exchange Coffee House. Mr Harris out evening.

27 Wednesday. Very pleasant. Mr Denny spent evening here and lodged. We play'd checkers. I went a shopping afternoon. Bought black morrocan shoes, 7/6 for myself—& 6 yd. dimity³⁰—6 yd. india cotton for Mrs Harris.

28 Thursday. Very warm but airy. Kept the windows open all day and no fires. Saw one or two fans carried by the Ladies —for parasolls. Began to dress for the play & heard it was postponed till Monday next. Mr Denny drank tea & lodged here. I sent letter to Mrs Darnell, Baltimore.

29 Friday. Very warm. Kept windows open & no fire till 3

²⁹ Vauxhall Gardens & Baths, one of the recreational gardens in Norfolk, on Fen Church Street.

 $^{^{30}}$ Dimity: 'a sheer usu. corded cotton fabric of plain weave in checks or stripes' (Webster's).

P.M. when the wind shifted from South to North, cold & windy. Evening cloudy & a few sprinkles of rain & snow mixed, hardly perceivable. At Six went to the long room in Vauxhall Gardens with Mr Harris & Mr Oyer to see the wonderful feats performed by Mr Robertson & Sully. Mr Oyer drank tea here at 9 o Clock.

30 Saturday. Rainy from 9 A.M. Leah laid up with a lame finger. Mr Denny spent the day here. Smith the head Baker went away yesterday. Frank Harvey went away—Evening I played checkers with Mrs Harris.

31 Sabbath. Foul morning but fair day. Muddy. I received a letter from Fanny Nichols of New Braintree from Post Office. 50 cents. Read newspaper & 'Seneca's Morals.' Mr Denny here. McKensy dismissed from service. Mr H. settled with Gosling, who owed him 19\$.

February 1, 1802 Monday. Cloudy & calm. Mr Shaw & many others here—Mr Denny set out a second time to go up the river after his Partner, Mr Shaw who has been gone four weeks & nothing heard of him. Last night at 3 we were alarmed with the cry of fire, ringing of the bells, &c. Mr Harris went found it in Church Street, the house of a Frenchman, which was stopt after burning a bed, some furniture. Supposed to be set on fire by some evil-minded persons or, rather, Devils. The Play postponed. Mr Harris raffled at the Burrough Tavern and lost his anticipated luck. Mr Oyer not here.

2 Tuesday. Cloudy day, rainy evening. I marked new india cotton pillow case and we ironed up chamber. Oyer returned. Evening we had a fine batch of minced pies baked. I wrote & read 'Sailor Boy.' Mr Harris at the Exchange evening.

3 Wednesday. Cloudyish, shineyish, windyish, calmish. Mr Harris lent money to Mr Shaw & Company. I mended stocking &c. Evening write to [illegible]: disans'd [i.e., disanswered] a second time. I brought up the Tally paper from 25 Jan.

4 Thursday. Clear & cool. I finished my stocking began at

Baltimore 14 Nov., and began another. Mended some, and evening posted off some of my journal kept on my journey hither. In morning sent Wm Harris's letter to Dr Flint, to the Post office by Leah, when she went over the bridge after water 1/2 a mile. Mr Harris received letter from his brother Wm. at Wilmington—all well. Mr Over supp'd here.

5 Friday. Cold & airy last night and today clear & the coldest day we have had this winter—like Leicester November. Saw some ice in the stand, the first since middle of December. Hannah came & washed. We returned 'Sailor Boy' to Library. At night Mr Wm. Harris came here in a vessel 7 days from Wilmington. I began to work a cap for Mrs Harris.

6 Saturday. Clear & cold. Mrs Harris unwell with headache. Mr Harris hired a new baker. Wm. Harris spent day & night here. I took 'Pleasures of Memory' out of the Library by Jacob, & returned 'Sailor Boy.' Mr S. Harris to the Exchange. Began to drink tea at night instead of chocolate.

7 Sabbath. Rainy morning & cloudy day and eve. I read 'Pleasures of Memory' &c. Mr John Merriam formerly of Grafton made us a visit at 1 P.M. Mrs Harris sent letter to P. office for Mrs Ward. Wm. S. Harris still here. Mr H. hired a new baker.

8 Monday. Rained at 9½ hour; but very pleasant warm day. Evening cooler. T. Low sick. Dr Whitehead to visit him. Afternoon Mr Oyer (our Danish Clerk) absent. Mr Miller here & Mr Shaw's partner after money. I ironed, read, &c.

9 Tuesday. Very pleasant 7 warm day & night. Mr Harris (William) wrote to his wife. We took 'Sentimental Journey through Spain' out of the library by Leah.

10 [the following crossed out: Wednesday. Warm & pleasant. Mr S. Harris paid another note at the bank]. 700 dols. Oyer absent. Low much better. Mrs Harris read 'Journey through Spain.' I spent the day in upper parlour. Had the pleasure of seeing the celebrated commodore Truxtun.³¹

³¹ Commodore Thomas Truxtun (1775–1822), the famous naval commander given

11 Thursday. Fair morning, cloudy day, sprinkle of rain P.M., colder P.M. At 6 to the Theatre with Mr Harris—Saw the Comedy called 'Blue Beard' performed and a Farce called 'The Merry Mourners.' Principal actors, Mr Sully, Perkins, J. West, McKinsie, &c. Mrs West, Miss Correy, Sully, Mrs Perkins, Hopkins, &c, &c. Very well entertained. Returned at 11 o Clock fatigued. Cloudy &c Morning. This day took 'Julia, or the Illuminated Baron' a novel, out of the Library. Heard Mr Wm Harris read it half thru Mr. Harris hired a Mr I don't know who [name added above: *McGuire*] to Superintend his bread loft.

12 Friday. Pleasant. Mr W Harris read & finished reading 'Julia.' I finished working Mrs Harris' cap. Began 5 mitts. Evening Mrs Harris read 'Julia.' Retired 10. Mr Oyer or Hoyer here 2 hours.

13 Saturday. Pleasant. Cloudy evening. We took 'Ladies Miscellany' from Library evening, read in it, found it instructive and entertaining. Mr Wm Harris wrote to his wife. Mr Stephen Harris absent evening.

14 Sabbath. Dull morning, fair afternoon, rainy in night, last night. Spent the day in upper parlour. Read 'Ladies Miscellany.' WSH here also. Evening I took a walk up Church Street & round down Bank Street &c with Mr Harris the younger (Stephen). Very pleasant evening.

15 Monday. Dull morning, pleasant, warm day. Mr S. Harris went to see the play called 'Speed the Plough.' Pleasant eve. Spent the day in new parlour hearing Mr W. Harris read muddy streets to day. W. S. Harris gave me 'Birons Travels.' Hannah washed.

16 Tuesday. Warm & pleasant, fans & parasolls saved the Ladies from the scorching heat of a February sun. We changed

the ship *Chesapeake* at Norfolk in the spring of 1801 against Tripoli following his exploits in the naval war with France. The Republicans refused Truxtun a captain for his flagship and engineered his resignation from the navy shortly after Henshaw wrote. See *Directory of American Biography* s.v. 'Truxton, Thomas.'

library book, took 'Man of the World.' Evening, very pleasant. Din'd roast chickens, 5/0 pr pair, plumb pudding. Took a long walk through Main Street &c with Wm S. Harris who still continues with us. Mr S. Harris absent evening.

17 Wednesday. Very pleasant. Went to market. Mr W. Harris read to us in upper parlour. Dined on fresh fish. Afternoon I took a walk to the stores of little errands & bought 16 yds copperplate for easy chair and counterpin. I went to Post Office first time. No letters. Evening I took a walk up Church Street, Main & Water Street with WSH &c. Very pleasant evening. Blew up cold & windy at 11 in evening.

18 Thursday. Windy night last, clear & cold to day, umbrellas changed for muffs & tippets. Gentlemen wear mittins today and take the quick step. Mr Denny returned from the little voyage after Mr Shaw, and spent the day and night here. We took the 'Musical Miscellany' from the Library. Finished 'Man of the World' today. W. S. Harris read ship of the day, & sent his letter to Charleston, after a trunk of his. I ironed &c. Evening Mr Harris absent. Cold night. Mr Harris settled with frigate Chesapeak which is indebted 200 dols. in 2 weeks. Evening finished Leah's loose gown.

19 [Friday]. Clear day & pleasant after a cold morning. I went to market for an airing—several Gents here to see Mr Denny & Mr Harris. Mr Denny here to day, also W. S. Harris & Mr Harris. Went to Borough Tavern to a raffle, which was postponed till tomorrow evening. Evening made a batch of custards. Din'd on chickens 1 dol. pr. pair.

20 Saturday. Dry streets & calm weather. We took 'Edwardine' a novel out of the library. W. S. Harris read in evening with same. Mr Denny set out for Hampton to see Shaw. Evening Mr Harris went to the raffle but missed of the good luck he hoped for of winning a very elegant gigg valued at 200 Dols. & tickets a Guinea. We supped on osters, which was a new dish to me and rather an indifferent one—At 7 o Clock evening walked half an hour through several streets with W. S. Harris incog. Dined roast beef, osters, savery, celery, &c.

21 Sabbath. Calm, warm, & misty. Evening read & heard read 'Edwardine.' Rainy evening and some in daytime. We dined on large Turkey, osters, savery, cellery, custard, wine &c. P.M. The noted frigate Chesapeak, Commanded by Commodore Truxtun sail about 2; later P.M. Mr Harris had letter from Mrs Miller.

22 Monday. Rainy, windy A.M. after a warm muggy morning. Afternoon very cold, cloudy & windy. We took 'Man of Feeling' out of the library. W. S. Harris read to us in it. Dined at two without company for a rarity on Turkey, celery, custard &c which finished our batch. Baked pudyings.

23 Tuesday. Clear, cold & windy, the evening calm & rather moderate. Mr W. S. Harris read geography to us, newspaper &c &c. I received a letter from Dr Flint, which informed that our friends are all well at the northern except my mother, who has had a very ill turn, but adds the pleasing intelligence, that she is about recovered. Also writes that the winter in New England has been remarkably warm—had no sleighing &c &c which account I have compared with my journals kept in Norfolk Virginia and find it agrees in general, but not in particular. Evening Mr Harris abroad. Had some young hyson³² tea & loaf of sugar bought. Mr Harris's second Bakehouse idel workmen otherways engaged. Mr Harris pays 400 dols. this day.

24 Wednesday. Clear & something cloudy. Din'd at 3, boil'd & broil'd. W. S. Harris went out evening. I sewed & knit. Retired early to bed.

25 Thursday. Something cloudy. Mr WSH read in 'The Gleanor,' which we took out of the library, 3 vols., much pleased with it. Had pleasant afternoon. Mr S. Harris went to the play called the 'Manger.' Dined beef & osters.

26 Friday. Fair, calm & smoky. Mr Denny returned from

 32 Hyson: 'a Chinese green tea made from thinly rolled and twisted leaves' (Webster's).

back river, after having been cast ashore in the gale on Monday night last and received much damage therefrom. Dined beef, fish & osters. Play cards & backgammon with WH, Mrs H.

27 Saturday. Cloudy day & night, coldish. Mr W. S. Harris sent letters to his wife, written last week. This evening & last evening Mr Denny & I learnt to play backgammon of Wm. S. Harris. I beat him first game last night & tonight was unluckey. Mr Stephen Harris out last night and to night gone to bed indisposed with headach & sore shin. Sally or Mrs Harris read the 'Gleanor' this evening. Dined today half past 2, turk., beef roast & osters.

28 Sabbath. Cloudy & rainy. Mr Denny & Wm. S. Harris here as usual, each read to himself. Dined on boil'd salt beef, osters, & plumb pudding. Mr Denny & Wm S. Harris conversed on their intended partners.

March 1, 1802 [Monday] – Dull misty or rainy. Hannah came & washed. Mr Denny & Mr Wm. Harris here, dined at 3 roast beef, hashed meet, salary, &c. Mr S. Harris almost confined with a 'game leg.' Evening played backgammon with Mr Denny.

2 Tuesday. Dull morning, pleasant day. Mr Denny went to Hampton after his schooner & stores. I received a letter from Eliza Harris—Wilmington /13. Evening I ironed W. S. Harris clothes. Both Mr Harrises went to the wharf in evening & spoke passage for Wm. to Baltimore. Sails tomorrow morning.

3 Wednesday. Very warm & pleasant, no fire all day. WSH bade us adieu went on board and returned to dinner, which consisted of roast beef & fresh fish (boil). At 4 he went aboard again, hoisted sails—the wind ceased & he returned here to lodge. Afternoon Mrs Harris & I covered the easy chair with Copperplate.

4 Thursday. Fair & pleasant wind N.W. and W. S. Harris spent this day & night here waiting for a Southardly wind. I ironed up stairs. J. Henderson, an old school mate of Williams' spent evening with him. I play'd cards & backgammon with Wm, after seeing him & Stephen play 2 games. Wm. H. had a letter from his wife. This day we dressed up one of the black boys to wait in the parlour &c name Willis.

5 [Friday]. Calm & pleasant, wind southardly and Nm. Harris sailed for Baltimore at 9 A.M. Leah & Willis scoured the best chamber, Alias, new parlour, the stairs, passages, &c &c. P.M. Willis began to have the fever & ague. Evening Mr Harris absent, Mrs Harris unwell & I went to bed at the early hour of 7 with a cold, slept soundly till 7 again.

6 Saturday. Little cloudy and airy, wind S. West. I made copperplate counterpin, and some pound cake. Mrs Harris began to reside again in her chamber, which has been given up for a month past to Wm. S. Harris. We play'd backgammon with Mrs Harris. Dr Whitehead call'd here. Mr Harris out evening.

March 7 Sabbath, clear, cold & windy. Read the 'Gleaner' wrote some &c &c. Had roast veal for dinner. Mr Harris whip'd a hired man for striking Jim, one of the negro boys. Eve. Mr H. to Semans.³³

8 Monday. Fair; but something cloudyish. Mr Denny returned from Hampton, did not tarry all night. Mr Harris slept all evening. Mrs Harris & I play'd backgammon, 2 games she hit & I gammon'd. Mr Harris bought 300 bsls. flour & hir'd a loaf bread baker from Alexandria. Mr Shaw paid 80 dols. lent money. Mr H. to Bank. Dr Whitehead call'd here.

9 Tuesday. Calm, moderate, little cloudy & smokey weather. Mr Harris lent Mr Shaw money and hired a French baker, and had a letter from New York, and spent the eve. abroad. Evening I made a fine plumb cake, & wrote in my journal & went to bed at 1 A.M.

10 Wednesday. Warm & calm morning. Grew colder and airy at 10 in forenoon. Very pleasant, warm evening. Mr Harris at the Exchange Coffee House evening. In evening we

³³ Thomas Seaman, watchmaker at 11 Water Street?

300

baked the plumb cake which was made last evening. Veal for dinner.

March 11 [Thursday]. A dead calm morning & clear, little cloudy day. Rainy evening and night. I slept in lower parlour & Mr Harris in my chamber. I sat up till 2 o Clock writing letters from 10 'till 2 and seeing that the negroes brought or toated up the water as it fell, for Hannah to wash tomorrow. Mr Denny spent the evening here, had cake, 2 [illegible] & toddy. This afternoon & evening made cotton fringe for chair & counterpin. A Boston & a Providence sea Captain here. Mr Denny also here forenoon. I barber qu'd his hair—O what a mess of trumpery my journal is. Din'd on Salmon. Mrs Harris returned the 'Gleaners' & took 'Hist. Lucy Wellers.'

12 Friday. Rainy night last and cloudy day to day. Cleared before night. A.M. I finished the fringe and afternoon trimed the easy chair & counterpin, and evening write till 12 letters to send to New England. Mr Harris retired early, slept above. Afternoon the bakers disagreed, & McGuire a clerk & Goslin a baker bon'd it a little. Din'd at 2 on Salmon, horseradish, & osters.

13 Saturday. Very pleasant day. At 10 evening blew up cold. Evening made current cake. Mr Harris home half past ten. Din'd on roast pork, cranberry sauce, celery, horseradish.

March 14 Sabbath. Clear & coldish. Dr Whitehead preached in the new presbyterian meeting house. I read 'Seneca's Morals.' Mr Denny & a Captain somebody here. Din'd on roast fowls.

15 Monday. Clear & calm & chilly. I wrote to sister Denny, and closed the whole packet to send to Leicester. Wrote also to Fanny Nichols—and Mr Denny set sail for Massachusetts at 5 P.M. Din'd on salmon—very pleasant evening.

16 Tuesday. Very warm & pleasant. I Iron'd and began to alter my plad callico. Mrs Harris bought her two pair of elegant silk gloves for 16/6 of a French negro. Evening I play'd backgammon with Mrs Harris & with Mr Harris for first time. Retired at 10. To day had boil'd ham & Salmon for dinner.

17 [Wednesday]. Pleasant & more airy. St. Patrick's Day or the Irishmen's holiday. Many Gentlemen had a public dinner at Linsey's Garden. Evening Mrs Harris & I play'd backgammon. A French Gentleman drank tea here. Mr Harris discharged the Alexandria baker.

March 18 Thursday. Warm & pleasant. Had no fires all day & evening. Mrs harris unwell. Betsy Cross din'd here. Evening Mr Harris went to the Concert at the Exchange Coffee House. I bought a pair of flash adorned silk gloves of Sophia, a French negro girl for 6/3. The masons worked on the house adjoining & hid Mr Wheeler's door. Din'd roast beef.

19 Friday. Very, very warm. Mr Harris paid one hundred dollars for a pew in the new presbyterian meeting house & sent 12 blls. bread to the Chesapeak. The hand organ, constantly heard at 7 & 11 in evening ceased last week. Leah sick this day & did nothing, had Willis as usual to toat &c. Had roast fowls, hs.raddish. I knit & made a little knotting.³⁴ Yesterday sent the 'History of Lucy Wellers' to Library & took out the 'Gleaner' for 3d time.

20 Saturday. Fair, airy & dusky. Din'd on roast pork.

21 Sabbath. Fair & cool. Dined on roast fowls. Betty Cross lodged here.

22 Monday. Pleasant day, cloudy evening and little rain. Betty Cross spent the day & night here.

23 Tuesday. Calm & little cloudy. B. Cross went away in morn. and returned at noon—call'd away at night & returned at 10. Mrs Miller spent evening here. Saw a building moved by men from Broad Water Street to Little Water Street or [blank] lane. Dr Seldon here & bled Mrs Harris.

24 Wednesday. Cloudy & calm. Mrs Miller took an early breakfast and went home. I spent the day upstairs with Mrs Harris and her little daughter. Din'd on roast turkey & fowl, workmen on roast geese.

³⁴ Knotting: 'to knit knots for lace or trimming' (Webster's).

25 Thursday. Clear, cool & calm. Mr Harris had a letter from N. York. I read in the Norfolk Herald an account of three vessels being lost near Boston. Also read a London paper.

26 Friday. Pleasant, warm forenoon & cold, windy, cloudy afternoon, rainy night. I wrote to Mrs Miles in evening. B. Cross here. Mrs Harris sat up $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour.

27 March Saturday. Rain'd & snow'd together in morning & very rainy, windy night, too. Cleared before noon. Fair & warm afternoon. Mrs Harris had a bad head ache & kept her bed all day. Sent a letter to Mrs Miles. Mr Harris' new suit of clothes came home.

28 Sabbath. Very pleasant and airy. In evening cold & windy. Mr Harris rode out. Yesterday sent the 'Gleaner' to the library & took them again. B. Cross here.

29 Monday. Forenoon cold & clear, but afternoon calm and cloudy. Mrs Harris had rather a poor day.

3[0] Tuesday. Cloudy, foggy morning and very pleasant afternoon; Mrs Harris sat up half the afternoon. Betty Cross came here for the last visit. Mr Munroe arrived here at 2 P.M. from Concord Massachusetts, and was innoculated for the small Pox by Dr Seldon. At night he went to Mrs Hunts' to board. Chilly, foggy evening after a warm afternoon. Mr Harris bought an elegant new Bible—10\$.

31 Wednesday. Fair and warm. Mrs Harris set up half the day. Munroe spent the evening here, we play'd Backgammon. Mr Harris went to the play called 'Castle Spectre.' A Col. Hamilton from England & Mr Christe from Dedham disagreed & disturbed the play &c.³⁵

April 1, 1802 [Thursday]. Very warm, but a good air, Mr Hoyer din'd here. Munroe drank a cup of tea & spent evening here. Little Miss Harris very troublesome. Mr Harris absent in evening. I read the paper.

2 Friday. Very warm indeed. Much like a Northern July.

³⁵ James Christie, Sr., merchant of 4 Catherine Street.

Mrs Harris sat up chief of the day. Mr Harris slept all evening. Munroe & I play'd B. Gammon. This afternoon Mr Harris & Munroe rode out in Munroes chise. In evening black Jenny came to be offer'd for sale!!!

3 Saturday. Calm & very very warm till 11 in evening when the shift instantly from south to north thundered & lightned from half past 10 to 12. Cold, windy night. Mr Harris out in evening. Munroe here till 10, play'd B.gammon & cards.

April 4 Sabbath. Clear & something cold. Forenoon went to Church with Munroe. Heard Parson Whitehead preach at the large new church. Mr Harris' favorite horse received the second wound which prevented our riding out. Mr Harris had a letter from WSH written in Baltimore goal.

5 Monday. Fair, pleasant day & cold, windy night. Took 'Wind Unmasked' from library, returned 'Gleaner.' Mr Harris out in evening & to day hired a new loaf bread baker from Connecticut & engaged 600 bags of bread at 6 \$ pr bag to be delivered in one month. Mr Harris wrote to his brother at Baltimore goal.

6 Tuesday. Pleasant day, coldish morn, but grew warmer. Monseur M. arrive here afternoon & play'd on his violin. Sent to the post office but had no letters. Din'd on roast veal. Mr Harris out evening. Little miss Harris had a cross evening.

7 Wednesday. Pleasant, fine day, rather warm. A Yankee mason worked on back ovens, and Mr Harris began to use them & to bake 21 blls. flour into navy bread a day with 3 per ovens. Munroe here afternoon, complained of the headache & other symptoms of the small pox. Took 'Amusing Companion' from library.

April 8 Thursday. Pleasant & cool. Mr Harris sent money to bank by Maguire. I sent letter to Phebe Denny directed to her husband. Mrs Harris & I had letters from Mrs Miles of Grafton—all well. Mr Harris went to see John Miriam who is dangerously sick. I altred my white pett[icoats] by making them narrower. Mr Harris sent W. S. Harris' trunk of books

&c to Baltimore, which came here yesterday from Charleston, S. Carolina. Had salt shad & fresh fish for Dinner. P. Black (a Scotchman) dismissed; a faithful servant.

9 Friday. Pleasant. Mr H. had letter from his Brother Wm. at Baltimore goal. Mrs Harris wrote letter to Mrs Miles to send some time home. I made india cotton sma[llstuff?] Dined on roast beef & onion sauce, Mr H. on bacon. Mrs Harris went in to see Merriam at Mrs Hunts, who has the small pox. Mr H. out till 10. Mr Johnson one of the bakers, at midnight walk'd out of a door in the third story, on to the pavements in the back yard 25 feet mistaking it for the door that led down there. Sent for Dr Whitehead—no bones broken. Johnson refused to be bled—took an anodine & went to sleep. This day Mr Harris went to see John Merriam who is a little better. A Mr Rowsay kill'd this morning in a duel by Richard Archer 1½ mile.

10 Saturday. Cloudy early. Frost still shown at eight in morning & then a pleasant day, warm sun & cool air. Colder at 10 in evening. Dr W. came to Mr Johnson who is sensible; but much bruzed by his fall last evening; kept his bed all day. Merriam better. Munroe worse. Has 300 pustules. Sent him a bit of yankee bred in morning. Din'd on boil'd bacon & sallad [Liz? illegible] altr'd my blue muslin gown. Won a doller of Mr Harris at brakfast. Slept in lower parlour and Mr Harris began to sleep up stairs.

11 Sabbath. Clear & coldish. Before noon Mr Harris and Munroe rode out to Crossley's, 4 miles. At 3 P.M. I rode 5 or 6 miles towards the east with Mr Harris. Trees all in blossom perfumed the very air—had a fine ride. Mr Shaw here at 6 this afternoon. Mr Johnson who took the leap from the garret to the ground, walk'd downstairs with the staffs & back again after 2 hours visit. Mr Gale here in evening to see Mr Johnson.

12 Monday. Wind N.E. Cloudy & rain by turns. In morning we baked an indian & wheat loaf of bread & sent Munroe a piece—who is unwell with small pox. Pritty calm & rather cold. Hannah came & washed. We heard that Merriam is re306

covering of his fever. Mr Harris hir'd a little free negro boy nam'd Ned. Din'd on roast beef. This day heard of an intended insurrection among the blacks.

13 [Tuesday]. Very rainy morning, wind N.E. Afternoon, cloudy & calm. Johnson of Connecticut who fell from the garret walked down & went to an acquaintance of his to make a visit. Hannah came & finished her washing. Din'd on boiled bacon & raw sallad &c.

April 13th, in continuation—received letters from Leicester —from Dr Flint and my sisters &c. which informed me my friends are all well and of the death of Old Mr Joseph Sargent & Mr Jonas Bryant, that Thos. Denny Jr the 2d had changed his name to Nathaniel Paine Denny (by leave of the General Court) of a letter from Saml. Denny (Ohio). Also of the great & uncommon snow storm which happened there 22d Feb.—& lasted in some manner eight days, till the snow in many places was more than fifteen feet deep—and told of several cold, stormy or windy days there while (I find by my journal) we in Virginia were enjoying fine, calm, warm weather. Evening Mr Harris up to No. 2 bake ovens &c. I wrote in tally paper—my journal.

April 14 Wednesday. Calm & pleasant, with a sprinkle or two when the sun shone—April-like. The Clarks deliver'd Mr Gray's friend to the Vessel. Mr Gray here. The Ship 'President' —Commodore Dale—arrived here. Saw Commodore Truxtun stand at Mr Wheeler's door. Mr Harris had a letter from his Brother W.H. at Baltimore.

15 Thursday. A.M. coldish & little cloudy. P.M. pleasant. Din'd on roast fowls, sallad &c. I Iron'd upstairs. Leah scrub'd the lower parlour. Frank (the French baker) settled with Mr Harris & went away. I read the paper. The poetry on the death of Mr Rowsay republished. A new and singular academy advertized by Mr Mirrick.³⁶

³⁶ Unclear reference since the Norfolk Academy, founded in 1787 and incorporated in 1804, was run by James Whitehead. See Wertenbaker, *Norfolk*, pp. 150–51.

16 Friday. Very cold, clear & windy forenoon, calm & more moderate afternoon. The Town increased their number of guards at night and prepared in some measure to defend themselves against the blacks, who are thought to have an insurrection in contemplation. Mr Harris out in evening an hour or two patroling with many other citizens. This is called Good Friday, tho it bringheth not good news. We din'd on fresh rock fish. Mr Johnson here to settle with Mr Harris and return to Connecticut. Henderson over to sup.

17 Saturday. Fair & cool, cloudy eve. Some tippets to be seen on the ladies. Heard that the guard last night took up a white man & several negroes on suspicion that they were badly disposed. At night warmer. Dined on roast pork or shote.

18 Sabbath. Something cloudy morning, rainy & windy at 11 forenoon, fair calmer & warmer afternoon. Thundered & lightned at 9 when the wind shifted to the north. Cold night & rainy.

April 18 continued. Mr Harris went in a boat to the frigate Chesapeak four miles up the bay & returned before night. Din'd roast fowls. We had letters from Mrs Miles of Grafton —all well. J. Goslin & George Hardy quarelled with Betty the Cook.

19 Monday. Very rainy forenoon, cloudy afternoon & fair evening. Hannah wash'd here. Mr Harris paid his negroes for their day's work, it being a holiday, viz., 'Easter Monday.' Paterson stood upon guard in lieu of Mr Harris. Mrs Harris and I spent evening alone. Mr Harris out.

20 [Tuesday]. Clear, calm & cool day & night. Last night five or six negroe men taken up and confined in gaol. Mr Harris out till 11, I made plumb cake in evening—sat up till one. Lodged below.

April 21 Wednesday. Fair & warmer. Wind southardly till 9 in evening, then changed to the north & grew colder. The frigate Chesapeak sail'd from Gosport (in sight of here) for [blank.] Mrs Harris left her chamber to reside in the lower parlour. Mr Hoyer made us a short visit and several of the workmen & servants on the occasion. Mr Harris out. Last night, the guard took up a white man & black girl & conducted them to goal. Mr Kelley & several other gentlemen here. This afternoon saw two negro girls fight like sailors about their cakes & oranges.

22 Thursday. Fair, very windy & cold for the season. Leah scoured the upper parlour. Mr Harris absent. Capt. Clopper of Baltimore (last from Port Republican) din'd here. Wind changed at 9 last evening to the north & little rain after it. Had roast lamb for dinner & green pease.

April 23 Friday. Pleasant. Calm forenoon & airy afternoon. I had rather a sick day—sewed a little on new shirting. Mc-Guire sick—Leah sick. Mr Harris & Willis did the work. Had roast fowls for Dinner. Mrs Miller here. All retired to bed before 10. Paterson lodged with Jo. Henderson at No. 2.

24 Saturday. Very calm & pleasant. Little rain in evening. Last night the bakers slept till 3 instead of 11 in evening and spoil'd the bread. Of course every body is after bread to day. Wm Flora here—the beacon merchant. Mr Allen & forty eleven others. Capt Clopper call'd in evening & Mr Harris not at home, good night. Mr McGuire, black Leah & myself got so well as to eat our allowance to day.

25 April, Sabbath. Fine morning and some airy. Very warm afternoon & no air. Mr Munroe came in morning to see us after almost 3 weeks absence on account of the small pox. At ten oClock Mr & Mrs Harris rode to Crossley's 4 miles. A.M. Munroe went to meeting at Parson Whitehead's Church and at 4 we rode 5 miles east, found it an excellent road being wide and level, had a fine ride through the woods, gathered some flowers & beg'd some off (from a yard) call'd snow balls. Overtook a large party of negroes singing psalms & appeared to be going to meeting. On our return rode by Linsey's Gardens and saw great numbers of people of all ages, ranks and colours, sporting away the day—some playing ball, some rid-

ing the wooden horses (a sort of fandango) others drinking, smoaking &c. We returned at sunset home with a resolution not to ride out another Sunday. Munroe drank tea & spent evening here. Sung pslams &c.

April 26 Monday. Fair, calm, forenoon & more airy afternoon. The tailor took away Mrs Harris' coat. Mrs Harris went a shopping, bought blue shoes—dainty & various necessarys. Mr Shaw here. Mrs Latimore³⁷ came & took bags to make. Munroe spent the evening here. We play'd backgammon and Checkers. Mr Harris out evening. McGuire came down and staid part of the day. I wrote to Caty &c.

27 Tuesday. Cloudy morning, fair, cold & windy. More calm evening. Mr Harris out in evening [sent his flour aboard to go to Boston, crossed out] (to Bakehouse); hurt his leg P.M. which excused him from standing guard this night. Polly Latimore here to take more work. Mr Munroe here and spent the evening, played on his violin. McGuire sick at the bakehouse with the fever & ague. I sent a letter home by the mail.

28 Wednesday. Pleasant, but coldish North wind. Mrs Harris & I rode out 2 or 3 miles east & carried Eliza. Had a fine ride. Returned at 10. Mrs Latimore & Mrs King here all forenoon & took pr. overalls to make for the negroes. Afternoon warmer. Mr Harris ship'd 109 blls. flour to send to Boston. Munroe din'd & spent evening here. I iron'd sew'd &c.

29 Thursday. Cloudy, muggy forenoon & very little rain, & windy afternoon without any rain till evening. Mrs Harris & I both took a nap in afternoon. Today & some days back somewhat troubled with a strange dizziness in my head, owing it is thought to a change of climate. Capt. Clopper din'd here and spent the evening here, likewise Mr Munroe spent eve. here. We play'd whist in the upper parlour, and sung songs. Mrs Harris sent letter to Mrs Miles by the mail.

³⁷ Possibly the wife or daughter of Richard Lattimore, shoemaker at 121 Main Street.

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30 Friday. Cloudy forenoon, fair & calm P.M. & evening. Mrs King sent home the boys clothes. Mr and Mrs Harris went to the play ('Pizarro') returned at 11. Capt Clopper & Mr Munroe spent the evening here. Dark evening and rainy night last night forepart.

May 1, 1802 [Saturday]. Pleasant, clear & windy, wind north. Mrs Harris & I took a ride at 9 A.M. about 5 miles north, went to the edge of the water, too a view of the Bay & returned. Sat up very late with Mr Harris finishing the boys shirts & marking their trousers, in all 18 garments. Mr Harris settled with McGuire in full. The boys appeared in companies with their may poles & pine & other trees sat up at May doors, decorated with ribbons, bottles of wine, &c.

2 Sabbath. Clear, calm & cool. Mr & Mrs Harris rode 16 miles to the house of Mr Spencer & returned at 5 P.M. Afternoon went to the methodist meeting with Mr Munroe. Text in Hosea 14:7 'They that dwell under his shadow shall return, they shall revive as the corn, & grow as the vine, the scent thereof, shall be as the wine of Labanon.' Mr Whitehead preach'd. At the time of singing, the whole congregation rise & as many as are disposed join in the harmony. Munroe here in evening. Mr Harris wrote to Boston.

May 3 Monday. Fair & rather warm, wind south. I wrote in Tally paper. Eliza. unwell, sent to the Dr. & got Elixir asmatic &c. Evening we play'd whist till 12. Capt Clopper & Mrs Harris, Mr Munroe & myself the two latter conquered 4 in 5. I made cake at 7 evening. Mr Colls here P.M. Also, two yankee Captains at noon. Mr Harris made me a present of a blue & purple check'd silk hank'chief.

4 Tuesday. Fair & calm morning—rather cloudy day & a little rain. P.M. had some strawberry's; presented by Mrs Miller this morning. Munroe here in evening. Mr H. out, we all retir'd at 10. I finished writing in Tally paper.

5 Wednesday. Very pleasant. Ironed. Munroe here in eve-

ning & play'd on his violin. Mrs Harris retired early fatigued with the care of Eliza.

6 Thursday. Fair & warm till 11, then cloudy & windy till 3, then clear'd considerably & grew calmish. Mr Harris to Bank. Capt. Clopper & Munroe spent evening here. We play'd whist from 9 to 11. Capt. Clopper & myself, Mr Harris & Munroe. The former conquerers. At 10 A.M. went a shopping, bought green morroco shoes and thread, Tan at Mr Morris's at 3/ pr yard. Capt. Peirce here, a yankee Captain. Mr Harris sent from both bake houses 24 hundred dollars worth of bread to Mr Gray's vessels & sold 50 dols. worth to Cap. Peirce. Mr H. bought some cherries.

7 Friday. Fair & airy, wind north. Capt. Peirce drank tea here. Munroe here evening. Mr Harris abroad. Had some sherry bought this morning.

8 Saturday. Fair. Dr Selden came & inoculated Mary Eliza, for the Kine pox. Mr [illegible] drank tea & spent eve. here. We sung psalms. Din'd roast veal & green peas.

9 Sunday. Calm & warmish. Mr Harris went over to Portsmouth. Afternoon I went to meeting to the new methodist church with friend Munroe, who drank tea & spent evening here. After meeting we went to Pottersfield, a new burial ground half a mile north of the borough—saw nearly four hundred graves, all said to be strangers who died here last fall with the yellow fever & the fall before. On our return round by Church Street, saw the inhabitants employed as they usually are on Sundays, some taking the air in coaches, some playing at ball, at nine pines, marbles, and every kind of game, even horseracing. Din'd on roast veal & green peas. I received a letter from Home: all hearty.

May 10 Monday. Fair & warm, kept airy till sunset, when the wind shifted to the N. West and blew almost a hurricane with some rain in company for one hour then grew calm and at 9 pleasant & morn. shiny. Mr and Mrs Harris returned at 8. Nath. Munroe came in at 9 and returned at half past ten, which

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time we spent at the window lisning to some good musick & making observations on the inhabitants as they passed &c, &c. Hannah came this morning & washing. We began to sit in upper parlour afternoons having deserted it almost 3 weeks. Mr Harris bought a qt. of cherrys 1/6 which is the second we have had this year. Din'd on boil'd bacon, greens, sallad &c.

11 Tuesday. Pleasant A.M. Little cloudyish P.M. with a few drops of rain. In evening Mr Harris and Munroe play'd on their instruments of musick. Dr Selden in to see the babe and says the kine pox, with which she is inoculated has taken. Din'd on pudding & bacon.

12 [Wednesday]. Fair & windy A.M. Cloudy & some rain with wind at 3 P.M. then clear'd off calm, warm & pleasant. Din'd on stuff leg of veal. Mrs Harris received a letter from Mr & Mrs Ward. Mr Harris received Mr Thorburn's³⁸ note 700 & 50 Dols. In evening took a long walk over to the old Fields with Munroe, returned at haf past 9 & play'd a game of cards. Read in geography & retired at 11.

13 Thursday. Fair, cool & airy A.M. Something cloudy & little rain P.M. Clear'd at 6 P.M. calm & cool. I took a long walk at 6 in morning. Mended & knit a little &c. Mr H. & Munroe play'd marches. M. drk tea here. Din'd cold veal & pudding.

14 Friday. Fair and pleasant, weather warmer. Mr Harris went to Mr Andrews the jewelers & bought earings, rings, combs, &c 17 \$ 50 cents. Capt. Le Briton here. Saw the Dutch officers who belong to 3 ships of War anchor'd near here, to get provisioned. Some short gingerbread for tea. Munroe spent eve. here. We play'd cards. T. Low began to work again.

15 Saturday. Pleasant & cool. Yesterday the two negroes who were condemned to be executed the 14 received a reprieve from the Governour of this State till Friday 28 of this month. Capt. La Briton here. Munroe drank tea & spent evening here. Mr Harris heard that his brother was liberated from goal at Baltr.

³⁸ James Thorborn, merchant of No. 3 Main Street.
16 Sabbath. Pleasant forenoon. A little rain about noon, then pleasant & airy till 11 in evening and showery, rainy night with thunder & lightning. Mrs Harris & I walk to the upper end of Main Street at 4 P.M. to see a house Mr Harris has hired for the present year. Evening very shiny. At nine walk'd through the m[ain? torn] street from east to west with M. Returned at 10. Mr Merriam who was to dine here to day is dangerously sick.

17 Monday. Cold & rainy till 11, fair & cold, airy P.M. Clear, calm & cold eve. Mrs Harris & I knit. Hannah came & washed as usual. Mr Harris settled with Mr Forde a Frenchman. I bought up the tally paper from 8th. Evening play'd Morris with Munroe. Mr Harris abroad. Patterson watched with Merriam. Dr Selden here to see Eliza. I innoculated Nancy King with the Kine pox from Eliza's arm.

18 Tuesday. Very pleasant & cool. Mr Harris bought lamb for dinner &c &c., parcel of roses & pinks. р.м. Mr & Mrs Harris went a shopping & bought 7 bandanna handk., muslins, waistcoats, lace ribbon &c &c and a ring made at Mr Andrew's shop. Price: 6\$ 50 cents, beads &c &c. In evening I finished a cotton stocking began in Feb. and play'd cards with N. Munroe. Mr Harris had a letter from W. Harris at Baltimore.

19 Wednesday. Cool day & fair except little sprinklings of rain while the sun shin'd. Old Dill began to work with the baker's again, a noisy bombastical fellow, who Mr H. dismis'd from his service last Jan. 1. In evening Mr Harris met with the Free Masons for first time & was initiated into their lodge (call'd No. 1).³⁹ At 11 A.M. Mr Harris attended a vendue &

³⁹ Simmons's *Directory* for 1800 (pp. 85–86) lists three lodges in Norfolk: Lodge No. 1, headed by the Reverend James Whitehead, rector of Elizabeth River Parish, and the merchant Alexander Whitehead. An additional 209 members were claimed in this year, though, unfortunately, the *Directory* does not give their names. Lodge No. 56 of Naphtali claimed 120 members; the French Lodge of Truth listed only its 6 officers, with no indication of membership. By 1806 Lodge No. 1 where Stephen Harris enjoyed membership had fallen to 88 members, among them the accountant Francis H. Hoyer who had worked for Harris, and was now secretary of his masonic lodge. Naphtali Lodge claimed 131 members. 'The Grand United Chapter of Royal Arch excellent,

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bought 400 blls. of damag'd flour at 38/75 cts a bll. & had it dray'd home except 100, which Nim and Bill watch'd with at the wharf all night. Wm Flora here & bought 30 dls. worth of bred. Mr Munroe drank tea here, mended his violin & played all the evening. This morning had some fine strawberrys, din'd on roast mutton & a new kind of peas, boil'd pod & all. I made & marked my handk. presented by Mr Haris—ironed, &c.

20 Thursday. Very pleasant, calm & cool. Mr —, a Frenchman and Foster feted here. Mr Bell din'd here on boiled eggs, bacon, sallad &c &c. I wound cotton for fringe and evening play'd backgammon with M. on a new & elegant board—price 5 \$. Mr Harris this day sent 300 bags of bread to Mr Gray's vessel at $5\frac{1}{2}$ \$ pr bag, & employ'd 4 negroes, who added to his former number makes 30 in the Kitchin family. Munroe brought his spyglass, thermometer &c bought at auction & left them here.

21 Friday. Fair till 11 A.M. then showery till 2 P.M. Some thunder & lightning. I made a fringe (white cotton) for stripped curtains, and at sunset walk'd 3/4 of a mile to the N.W. with Mrs Harris only. Eliza better of the kine pox & slept very much all this day. Mr Harris hir'd the 4th bakehouse & set the masons to work on the ovens. Evening run my stocking [illegible] & play'd cds with Munroe. The Thermometer was this morning 67 deg. at noon 70, & at night 74.

22 Saturday. Fair forenoon and five showers between the hours of 1 & 4 P.M. with some thunder, lightning, wind & hail, then fair. Another shower at 10 in evening with thun. & lightning. I finished my fringe at 1 P.M. Evening I wrote in Tally paper and at ten copy'd off some of my journal kept on my journey from Leicester to Norfolk. Got as far as Newport (Delaware) and retired. I sent letters to Boston by Mr Mercy,

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and super-excellent Masons, of Norfolk, in Virginia' listed 14 officers and claimed 41 other members (Simmons, *Directory*, 1806, pp. 42–43). In addition, there was a French lodge in Portsmouth, the Lodge of Wisdom, No. 16. An investigation of these lodge memberships should reveal some of the commercial, social, and political networks of the town.

one to Betsy Bass & one home. Mr Harris received a letter of thanks from W. S. Shaw, confined in the goal for debt in this borough. Munroe here noon & eve. Thermometer this morn 71, noon 75, night 71 deg.

23 Sabbath. Pleasant & cool all day especially in morning— Thermometer 67, noon 74, night 69. Forenoon Mr and Mrs Harris went to methodist meeting. Mr Peirce of S. Dighton New England dined here. Mr Munroe din'd, drank tea & spent evening here (roast veal &c din.) At 5 P.M. took a long walk with Mrs Harris & Munroe up Concord Street—by the new Church & 'round Robin Hood's barn' and returned the same way. Evening sung psalms. Mr H. asleep at 5. Mr Munr. had letters from his friends.

24 Monday. Very pleasant. Morning 67, noon 73, evening 71 degrees by the Thermometer. I took a long walk to the N.W. point at 6 in morning. Wove 14 yds cotton fringe. Mr Bell⁴⁰ & Mr Hague drank tea here. Mr Harris hir'd men & began to bake in new hired bake house in Church Street. We wound cotton yarn, assisted by Munroe. Hannah came & washed.

25 Tuesday. Calm & pleasant. Pritty warm afternoon. Morn. 69, noon 75, night 72 degrees of heat. I made Mary Eliza a cap & Mrs Harris made one. Mr Gray here in morn to see about his bred as usual. Sandy came home or was brought home by his mother & had his dressing—ran away last Sunday with James. Peter got drunk and had his dressing. Evening i read in geography & made Election cake. Munroe here at 4 & 8. A little negroe girl here to be sold the property of Mr King. Dr Selden call'd here also. Dr Whitehead here & Mrs King. Roast veal for Dinr.

26 Wednesday. General Election at Boston. Fair & calm till 7 in morning, then cloudy all day and a little rain several times just so as to make people spread their umbrella's. I took a walk

⁴⁰ Edward Bell, ship carpenter of 80 Church Street? Also possibly (1806 *Directory*) John Bell, cooper of 11 Fayette, or James Bell, bricklayer of 86 Church Street. Hague unidentified.

at 6 in morning up Concord, & down Bank Street. Jim came home himself & escap'd a Whipping. Ran away last Sunday afternoon. Bak'd our Election cake A.M. Iron'd, & P.M. made Eliza's caps. Munr. spent eve. with us as usual. Mr Harris sent 6 bottles porter to Mr Shaw & others in goal for debt. Din'd roast veal, sallad &c. Morn 71 degrees, noon & night 72 heat. Bakers baked 30 blls. flour.

27 May Thursday. Pleasant but warm. Morn 71, night 75 degrees. Mrs Harris went a shopping, & bought cloth for Stephen's clothes, hat, &c. I altered Eliza's frock. Afternoon Mr Harris unwell with a cold &c and in evening sent for Dr Whitehead who came at nine, left pills, &c. We drank tea up chamber. Mr M. here evening. Today had salt beef, cabbage & carrots &c.

28 Friday. Very warm all day. Morning 73, noon & night 76. Some cloudy A.M. Fine showers in evening with thunder & sharp lightning. A shower at 2 without thunder. Dr Todd of Richmond din'd here, a four feet-& half-man. Mr Harris better & attended the execution of the two negro men who were condemned at the last court for being concerned in the late intended insurection. One of the men respited by the Governour 15 days longer, and Jeremiah suffered at 10 A.M. with a declaration of his innocence, leaving a wife and two children whom he took leave of at the gallows. This afternoon had a bad headache & kept house entirely. Mr Harris had a letter from his brother Ned Harris, with information that his property, which was sent the 2d May, arrived at Boston the Nineteenth. Made my dimity pet[ticoats] goreing⁴¹ to be in fashion. Wm. Flora here. Din'd on roast lamb, soup &c.

29 Saturday. Very cool & airy morning, 69 deg. Pleasant, calm day, warm at noon. Night 71½ deg. Mr Harris & myself unwell. I sew'd a little on Mrs Harris' new dimity. Had the hedache and bones ache all day. Din'd on lamb broath & plumb

⁴¹ Unclear. Possibly she means a gore: 'a tapering or triangular piece (as of cloth in a skirt)' (*Webster's*).

pudding. Mr Munr. drank tea here & had a letter from his brother yesterday.

30 Sabbath. Shiny & cloudy by turns. A fine shower at 4 afternoon with thunder & lightning. 69; 72 deg. Arose at 6 this morning weak and somewhat low-spirited, but drest at 10 and went to the new Presbyterian Church, which is the first time of the society's meeting. A Mr Speece⁴² preached an excellent sermon from Romans—14th & 17 verse: 'For the kingdom of Heaven is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the holy Ghost.' Afternoon we staid at home and Mr & Mrs Harris went to Church. N. Munroe drank tea & spent evening here.

31 Monday. Cool & pleasant morn, 69. Blew up at 6, cold with some thunder & lightning but no rain. At noon 73 degrees and at night 69. I arose at 5 oClock and walked up Bank Street over a foot bridge & down Concord street, returned half past 5. Made Mrs Harris a dimity loose gown & altered a peticoat goring for myself. Hannah came & washed. Mr H. offended with Henderson for neglect of duty, scolded at Paterson, whip'd Sandy for running away, threatened Bill, for letting his horse run away, cuff'd Ben for leaving his work, took Summers his Mason out of jail (put in last night by the watchmen) gave Mr Martin a check on the Bank & retir'd at 10 with headache &c. Mr Almond⁴³ spoke for 100 blls, of pilot bread to be call'd for in 3 or 4 days.

⁴² Undoubtedly Conrad Speece, born in Campbell County, Virginia, educated at New London Academy and Washington College in Lexington, from which he graduated in 1796. Licensed by the Hanover Presbytery after studying theology and working for a year as a tutor, Speece was later pastor of the Augusta church from 1813 to 1836. Awarded the degree Doctor of Divinity by Princeton College, he was author of the hymn 'Blest Jesus, when Thy Cross I View.' (Lyon G. Tyler, *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography* [New York, 1915], 5 vols., n, 247.) Speece must not have remained pastor of the Presbyterian meeting in Norfolk for long, despite his contract there. See text below. By 1806 Simmons's *Directory* lists only Baptist, Episcopal, Methodist, and Catholic churches in Norfolk. The Presbyterian Church referred to in the diary here may also have been at least in part the result of transplanted New Englanders; though differing in matters of polity from the Congregational 'Way' of New England, the Presbyterian meeting would naturally recommend itself to the Harris family over a Baptist, Episcopal, or Methodist church.

⁴³ Harrison Allmand, a partner in the firm of Allmand and Macgowan, merchants at No. 2 Market Square. June 1, 1802 [Tuesday]. Cool & pleasant, morning 67, noon 74, evening 72. I walk'd at 6 this morning to Boush Street & back the same way. Afternoon Mr Harris unwell & I had the headache which prevented our going to Vauxhall Gardens. Mr Bell here and took some bark in brandy [I took some —but, crossed out] Mr Gray here 3 or 4 times. Dr Whitehead call'd here & Dr Ward. Began to make a new piece of holland 7/6 pr yd. into shirts. Read the paper, which mentioned a great fire near the Ha[illegible]al & a small one in Boston.

2 Wednesday. Fair & very warm. Morn 71—at 3:00 82 at 10 in evening 76. Blew up cooler at sunset. Mr Harris sent for the Dr last night at 12 and today confined to his bed with a fever. Dr W. here & bled him, the barber here to shave him & Bell call'd him. Mr Harris gave his note to Mr Pennock.⁴⁴ P. Latimore & company here after bags, bags, bags. Mr Gray here, 200 bags of [illegible] sent to his vessel. I iron'd A.M. Henderson here to sup' & Hague & Paterson. Munroe here evening. Had a quart of fine Whortleberrys bought this morning and apples yesterday.

June 3 Thursday. Warm forenoon, morning & night 71, noon 81 degrees. A fine shower at 1 with lightning and hard thunder. Mr Harris better. Afternoon went down stairs. Dr Whitehead here morning & evening. Showery all the afternoon. Fair evening. Mr Munroe brought us apples almost ripe. Finished our Whortleberrys, bought yesterday. I went to market & bought beef & lamb for the bakers' breakfast. Mr Gray here, Maquoddy, Bagnall,⁴⁵ and who not. Nine sick yest. & today. Read the paper. Saw a vessel advertized to sail in 10 days for New York. Expect to go passenger in this same vessel, Argus (extra's [illegible]). The Theatre to open again

⁴⁴ William Pennock, merchant of 16 Main Street, also ran a counting house and a store at 10 and 15 Main.

⁴⁵ Richard Bagnall, accountant at 11 Catherine Street. John Gray, tin plateworker at 13 Calvert's Lane? Maquoddy unidentified.

Friday evening to begin with Mrs J. West's⁴⁶ benefit. Din'd soup & roast lamb.

4 June [Friday]. Very pleasant, cool for the season. Morn 68—76 night. Mr Harris caught a new cold and did but little business. Dr Whitehead here at sunset & Dr Nestle in afternoon. Mr Gray here. Mr Harris send his bread to the vessel. We sew'd on holland shirts. I had the headache all day, but went to lecture at the Presbyterian Church at 6 with Mr Munroe. Mr Speece preached from 1 Corinth 1:18 'For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish, foolishness, but unto us which are sav'd it is the power of God.' Sung 'Teach me the measure of my days,' &c (Suffield.) Went & came by Mrs Millers. M. spent eve. here. Mr Harris had a letter from his brother John of Boston, who writes he has be sick 5 months! All the rest well.

June 5 [Saturday]. Pleasant. At night 73 degrees. At 6 oClock in morn, took a long walk to Sprith's Point with Munroe who spent the evening here and assisted in transmiting accounts on the Tally paper. Mr King here. Mrs [blank] here P.M. Mr Bell here twice & eat bating⁴⁷ with us, also Mr Munroe. We sew'd a little on shirts. Mrs Jammy of Gosport here. Leah cleaned the West chamber. Evening Mrs H. made dough for cake. I read in the news paper this morning of the murder of a Mr [blank] by his brother in law a Mr Mason of Medfield (Massachusetts). No vessels in from New York or Providence. And the Argus which we expect to go in is now for sale, so, here we are for the present—for the future, time only can determine. Had a whortleberry pudding & roast lamb for Dinner.

June 6 Sabbath. Very warm, morn 74, noon & night 81 degrees. A fine shower at three with thunder &c. Forenoon I

⁴⁶ Margaretta West, manager of the theater at 60 Main Street. Her husband, John West, was the grocer and vintner at No. 57, corner of Main and Church Streets.

⁴⁷ Meaning obscure. Henshaw must be using a colloquial expression from the verb 'to batten,' or 'battening,' 'to feed gluttonously' (*Webster's*), here used as a noun.

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went to meeting with Mr Munroe. Mr Speece preached from 'And they all with one consent began to make an excuse.' Had a fine sermon. Afternoon staid at home & Mr & Mrs Harris went. Text in 103 psalm 13V 'Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him.' Sung Sherburn, Norwich, 34 psalm, &c. Evening we sung psalms. M-r here till 12.

7 Monday. Fair & warm morning. At 10 we went in Capt Armsteads schooner to see the Dutch Ships of War, at Hampton Roads twelve miles from Norfolk. Met the band of Musick belonging to ship Brutus and a boat to conduct us to the ship, which we went aboard of at 1 oClock just as it began to rain, thunder & lighten. Tarried there till three oClock, during which time were treated with every mark of Attention & politeness. The officers conducted us thro the several apartments which were in 3 different stories, elegantly finished & furnished, particularly the Admiral's room. The ships name Brutus is 180 feet long, 74 guns & 300 men-officers, soldiers, & sailors. Set off for Norfolk at 3 after being let down from the ship into the schooner in a chair covered with blue muslin and swung with ropes. Wind ahead. At 4 oClock, came up a severe shower of rain, wind, thunder, and lightning. Capt Armstead trim'd sails & came to anchor about 20 minutes when we got underway and sail'd in the course of a Virginia fence (the wind being still ahead, viz. S. East) till we came within 3 miles of Norfolk when we had a fine N. West breeze and came ashore before dark. With joy trudged home thro the mud. Had a fine dish of tea and retired rather fatigued. Pleasant moonlight evening. M. here. This day is a holiday call'd Whitsuntide.

8 Tuesday. Fair & warm—morn 77 & night 82 degrees. Mr Bell & Munroe here р.м. the latter till 12 & the former to tea. Dr Whitehead drank tea here and left a remedy for Mrs Harris' hands, which are very troublesome being attacked with a dehumour called a tetter.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Tetter: 'any of various vesicular skin diseases (as ringworm, eczema, and herpes)' (*Webster's*).

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9 Wednesday. Very warm. Morning 78 at 3 p.m. 83 degrees, a very severe shower at 3 oClock with usual thunder & lightning. Mr Bell din'd & drank tea here. Mr H. Bought $\frac{1}{2}$ doz cucumbers this morning 1/3. This morning finished the first of Mr Harris' shirts. This afternoon began a cotton stocking for myself. Retired at 10—M. at 9.

10 Thursday. Very, very warm. Morn 77, P.M. 84 deg. Afternoon thunder & cloud but no rain. Mr Bell here, also Mr Peirce & Munroe. Sat in the Piazza till in evening at half past took a walk with Munroe up Bank, & Freemason Street and went to the door of the new Methodist Church. Found our Presbyterian Minister Mr Speece preaching a lecture. Staid till the last singing, and arrived home at 10 oClock. Met some of the guard which is renewed probably by reason of to day's paper giving an account of an insurrection of the blacks in N. Carolina. Pleasant eve. To Day Mrs Harris sent a letter by mail to Mrs Miles. Din'd to day on boil'd bacon & greens &c. Mr Harris bought two new psalm books. Baked cake this morning for luncheons.

11 Friday. Fair, very warm, but a good air. Morning &. night 82. P.M. 87 degrees. Mr Bell & Munroe here to bating. Took a walk with the latter in evening to the Elizabeth River or the head of the Main Street. I sew'd on shirts, Mrs Harris began to sew a little. Began this morning to dip Eliza in cold water. Din'd at three on soup. Saw the troop ride by. Hannah took home some washing.

12 June Saturday. Very warm. P.M. 93 degrees by thermometer. In evening lightning & thunder but not rain. Took a long walk in evening with Mr & Mrs Harris & Mr Munroe. Went round by Vauxhall Gardens, and call'd at Mr Kings to view the house where Mr Harris is to live & move in 3 weeks. Went to the new gardens in main street. Returned at 10 and sat in the porch till 12. A French lady here P.M. name I forgot. Mrs Harris bought Cherries this morning.

13 Sabbath. Exceptionaly hot morning 86 & р.м. 96 de-

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grees. A good air. Forenoon Mr & Mrs Harris at Meeting. Mr Speece preached from 132 psalm 7 verse 'We will go into his tabernacles, we will worship at his footstool.' Even. drank tea in the porch. Munroe here, and sat there in evening after a long walk with Mr & Mrs Harris & Mr Munroe, with the latter walk'd at 9 by the new methodist Church, found Mr White. preaching an evening lector, heard the last of it also the prayer & singing and came home before ten. At 12 it clouded up & grew cooler. Lightned & thunder'd in evening but no rain. Mr Harris visited Mr Shaw at the gaol this evening & last. Din'd boil'd bacon & greens & cherry tart.

14 Monday. Cool & pleasant, some cloudy morning. Mrs Miller sent my money home. Mr Bell here A.M. and a young Dutch Officer with whom we became acquainted at the Ships we visited last Monday. Mr Harris to Society meeting—new church. Bell drank tea here & spent eve. M. here in evening this morning at 9, 79 degrees and P.M. 82. Din'd on roast &c. Black Betty went home to see her mistress, who sent for her with a billet to Mrs Harris. Calm, cold moonlight evening. Did not walk, but staid at home & knit a little.

15 June Tuesday. Very pleasant & cool. Morn & Night 75, P.M. 82. Altered my dark calico by putting in new sleeves & c & c. Mr Bell & M. here. Walk'd in evening with the latter up Church St. thro back Ch. St. & down Fen Church Street. Call'd at the Baptist Church door & heard part of a sermon. Got home half past 9 & retired half past 11. Mr Harris hired two new bakers by name of Peirce & [blank]. Read in the Herald an account of the negroes rising against the whites in several Counties in North Carolina.

16 Wednesday. Calm & pleasant, 76 to 83 degrees. Mr Bell & Munroe here at 11 A.M. & the latter in evening. I made netting in evening after 10 till 1 o Clock. Din'd mutton soup &c. Yesterday saw in the paper a vessel advertized for N. York but soon heard of its being bound for Fredericsburgh. Hannah brought home 2 doz clothes & I iron'd them. At 5 P.M. Mrs Miller here. Paterson tend'd the Ch. St. bake house & Hague.

17 Thursday. Something cloudy & cool. A little sprinkling at night. Morn 76–81–78 degrees. Our daily visitors, Viz. Mr Bell & Munroe at 1 oClock afternoon, the latter went to Portsmouth, & here in evening. Hannah brought home 6 doz. clothes, I folded them in evening and wrote in my journal. McCabe returned to work (dismis'd last week). No baking at C[alvert's?] Lane B. house, 5 or 6 hand unwell. Dined to day on soup & boiled shad. Mr Munroe brought us black cherries and Mr Harris ripe pears.

18 June Friday. Rainy night last & this morning till 7. Fair day, morn 76—P.M. 80 degrees. Mr [blank] a Frenchman here. Mr Harris settled with Maj. Vermonate, who removes next week with his family to the West Indies (Cape Francis.) Mr Bell drank tea here. Dinner, shad. Mrs Harris & I took a little walk in evening. Had Charles for Gal; who brought home Mrs Miller's parrot to spend a day or two. Staid at Mr Millers 14 minutes. Mr Vaughn came in here A.M. quite delirious. Conway & Hardy & Lois walk'd over here almost recovered. This morning Mr Munroe found a vessel, a packet bound to New York to sail in 3 days. A.M. I ironed in lower parlour. Leah better—so as to toat my flat irons. Mr Wheeler moved to Mr Browns main street. Mr Harris went a shopping, got slaves-shawl, stuff for bonnet &c.

19 Saturday. Fair with a little north air. Morn 78. р.м. 84 degrees. A Mr Adams⁴⁹ (a yankee here) Mrs Miller here and many others, black, white, brown, & speckled. Mrs Harris had a bonnet made at Mrs Ferguson's (white cambrick). Paterson sick; Dr Whitehead call'd at evening. Mr Munroe spoke our

⁴⁹ Possibly James Adam, who established (by 1806) James Adam & Co., a dry goods store at 34 Church Street. The census of 1800 gave the population of Norfolk as 6,926 souls, 3,850 of whom were whites. Of those 3,850, Ruth Henshaw's diary names at least 20 men who were transplanted New Englanders, and the occupations and business associations of several more point to an even larger contingent. If these men were married and had children, the size of the Yankee community of Norfolk may have been near 5 percent of the white population.

passage to N. York in the Schooner John; to sail next Tuesday. Mrs H. & I finished little Stephen's shirts. Evening I made knotting fringe.

20 Sabbath. Fair and very warm. In forenoon Mr, Mrs Harris and myself went to meeting to the new meetinghouse. Mr Speece preach'd an excellent sermon as usual. Afternoon I staid at home. Mr John Merriam here and continues to be very feeble. Mr and Mrs Harris went to meeting afternoon. Mr Munroe here afternoon and evening. Very warm day & night. This afternoon I began to pack some of my things, expecting to sail early Tuesday morning with Mrs Harris and Munroe. In placing my papers, accidentaly put this journal at the bottom of the trunk and found it not till a week after I had arrived in New England. Kept my journal on waste paper to copy. Monday the 15 Mr Harris attended the Society meeting for selling the pews and engageing Mr Speece to preach with them. Mr Harris gave 200 dols. for his pew & 40 for his choice being the third choice. Mrs Cox50 gave 250 dols. for the first choice & 250 for the pew, and chose the south West corner pew, the church fronting East. The society offer'd Mr Speece 1000 dols. a year and liberty to be absent during two of the sickly months, viz. August & Sept.

June 21 Monday. Fair and warm. Mrs Harris and I packed up our trunks to embark for N. England tomorrow (extras excepted). I missed my journal and take this piece of paper in lieu thereof. At noon Mr Harris went to Old Fields and hir'd a house for the summer, and Mrs Harris concluded to tarry at Norfolk the present year, with a promise of having Mr Harris company next summer. In evening we took a walk to see the new hired house, was pleased with the situation being on the east shore of Chesapeak bay 3/4 of a mile from the borough. We returned home at 10 fatigued, sat in the porch half an hour and retired. Night warm.

⁵⁰ Probably the spouse of William Cox, merchant of 6 Granby Street.

22 Tuesday. Fair, very warm, 86 degrees. Schooner John postponed sailing till Thursday, and Mr Munroe spoke our passage in a Brig to sail tomorrow for N. York. Mrs Harris went over to her new mansion in the chaise. Bill & Edenburgh dray'd the furniture. P.M. I baked cake &c &c. Mr Harris sold his horse & chaise for 250 dols. and went to the bank. Evening he went and staid at the new house with Mrs Harris. Mr M. here to tea and evening assisted me in packing Stephen's trunk, which I am to carry.

23 Wednesday. Fair & very warm, 91 degrees. At 11 I went over to see Mrs Harris, and found her comfortably situated in a healthy, cool part of the town, and her health better, which yesterday was very low. Took leave of her, little Eliza and all, and returned to the borough. Went a shopping, bought me striped muslin, fan, shoes, white sattin ribbon &c and at 4 sail'd for New England with Mr Munroe & others in the Brig Alexander bound to New York. Showery evening, which caused us to anchor in Hampton roads 12 miles from Norfolk.

24 Thursday. Pleasant & moderate, fair wind. Sat up on deck chief of the day. Morning trim'd my bonnet, which I had not time to do yesterday. Read in Gazeteer, but grew sick before we lost sight of Cape Henry. Showery evening. Had bacon & greens for dinner. Two Gents sick, viz. a Mr Gilbert of N. Haven & Mr Watt of N. York.⁵¹

⁵¹ Ruth Henshaw returned to New England by ship, first to New York, and then to Providence, Rhode Island, via Newport. From there she took a stage north through Attleborough and thence to Boston where she visited the relatives of Stephen Harris. While visiting in Grafton August 11, Ruth 'tarried at Deacon Merriam's' to see John Merriam, who had recently come home from Norfolk, and, on September 3, was reunited with 'Mr and Mrs Harris of Norfolk Virginia' who had fled from the 'sickly' month in Virginia to visit their New England families in Boston and Shrewsbury. Copyright of Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society is the property of American Antiquarian Society and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.