A REBEL CAME HOME
Portrait of Thomas Green Clemson as a young man

John Calhoun Clemson and Floride Clemson with their mother, Anna Calhoun Clemson
A REBEL CAME HOME

The diary of Floride Clemson tells of her wartime adventures in Yankeeland, 1863-64, her trip home to South Carolina, and life in the South during the last few months of the Civil War and the year following.

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ILLUSTRATOR
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Floride C'emon
at age fifteen

Calhoun Clemson, sixteen years old
A Clemson College
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This page (above) is typical of Floride Clemson's diary. The prescription (right) is one of several items pasted in the journal.
To A. C. Holmes and J. C. Littlejohn
Calhoun Clemson served as a lieutenant in the Confederate Army.
of this. The place itself is quite a pretty one, but from what I heard there is little of interest in the vicinity. The surrounding country is not uncommonly beautiful, as far as I can see. There was a hop here last night which I looked at till closing.

The ladies boys scarcely any hope "small quarrels are all the fault, some had none, my others still wore ordinary ones. The hair is on our side, high in front then going for down behind thus.

Floride wrote this letter to her family from Saratoga Springs.

VI
CONTENTS

FAMILY TREE............................................................................................................... x

PREFACE ...................................................................................................................... xi

FOOTNOTE ABBREVIATIONS ....................................................................................... xiv

PROLOGUE ................................................................................................................... 1

THE DIARY OF FLORIDE CLEMSON ................................................................. 25
  I Bladensburg, Maryland, 1863-64 ............................................................... 27
  II Beltsville, Maryland, 1864 ........................................................................... 53
  III Pendleton, South Carolina, 1865 ............................................................ 71
  IV Pendleton, South Carolina, 1866 .............................................................. 98

EPILOGUE .................................................................................................................. 117

APPENDIXES ............................................................................................................. 121

INDEX .......................................................................................................................... 139
"Mi Casa"

Pendleton, South Carolina
ILLUSTRATIONS

Floride Clemson .......................................................... frontispiece
Portait of Thomas Green Clemson ......................... I
John Calhoun, Floride, and
Anna Calhoun Clemson ............................................. I
Floride Clemson at age fifteen .............................. II
Calhoun Clemson, sixteen years old ....................... II
Typical page and prescription from the diary ............ III
Calhoun Clemson in Confederate uniform ................ IV
“Fort Hill,” Clemson, South Carolina ....................... V
Letter written by Floride Clemson in Saratoga ........ VI
“Mi Casa,” Pendleton, South Carolina ..................... VII
St. Paul’s Episcopal Church, Pendleton .................. VIII
Floride Clemson Lee as a young woman ................. IX
The Clemson family after the war ......................... X
Floride Isabella Lee as a child .............................. XI
Floride Isabella Lee as a young woman ................. XII
Children of Floride Isabella Lee and
Andrew Pickens Calhoun, II .............................. XII

MAPS

Bladensburg-Beltsville area .................................. 26
The Clemsons’ trip South .................................. 69
Pendleton area .................................................. 70

ix
St. Paul's Episcopal Church
Pendleton, South Carolina
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN</th>
<th>FLORIDE BONNEAU CALHOUN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Mar. 18, 1782-Mar. 31, 1850)</td>
<td>(Feb. 15, 1792-July 25, 1866)</td>
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<td>m.</td>
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<td>Andrew Pickens Calhoun</td>
<td>Martha Cornelia Calhoun</td>
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<td>(Oct. 15, 1811-Mar. 16, 1865)</td>
<td>(Apr. 22, 1824-May 2, 1857)</td>
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<td>m.</td>
<td>(died unmarried)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(1) Eugenia Chappell</td>
<td>John Caldwell Calhoun</td>
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<td>(died without issue Feb. 8, 1834)</td>
<td>(May 17, 1823-July 31, 1855)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2) Margaret Green</td>
<td>William Lowndes Calhoun</td>
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<tr>
<td>a. Duff Green Calhoun</td>
<td>(1) Annie Adams</td>
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<tr>
<td>b. John C. Calhoun</td>
<td>(Feb. 10, 1822-Sept. 15, 1850)</td>
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<td>c. Margaret Maria Calhoun</td>
<td>(died without issue)</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. Andrew Pickens Calhoun</td>
<td>(2) Kate Kirby Putnam</td>
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<td>e. James Edward Calhoun</td>
<td>(Jan. 1, 1831-May 4, 1866)</td>
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<td>f. Patrick Calhoun</td>
<td>issue:</td>
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<tr>
<td>g. Mary Lucretia Calhoun</td>
<td>a. William Lowndes Calhoun</td>
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<td>b. Benjamin F. Calhoun</td>
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<tr>
<td>a. Duff Green Calhoun</td>
<td>c. Floride Elizabeth Clemson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Beasley</td>
<td>Gideon Lee</td>
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<td>(d. Sept. 27, 1894)</td>
<td>(Mar. 28, 1824-Apr. 22, 1894)</td>
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<td>issue:</td>
<td>issue:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Pickens Calhoun, II</td>
<td>m. Floride Isabella Lee</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Apr. 10, 1872-Oct. 6, 1942)</td>
<td>(May 15, 1870-June 4, 1935)</td>
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<td>Margaret M. Calhoun (July 6, 1896-Jan. 12, 1959)</td>
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<td>Gideon Lee Calhoun (Aug. 28, 1897-Dec. 19, 1897)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Patrick Calhoun, III (Aug. 19, 1899-Feb. 25, 1946)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Creighton Lee Calhoun (Oct. 31, 1901-Jan. 17, 1940)</td>
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* Three children died in infancy.
Route of the Clemsons' trip South
PREFACE

Floride Clemson kept her diary in a ruled journal with hard covers reinforced with leather at the corners and on the spine. It consists of one hundred twenty-two manuscript pages on which neither the black ink she used nor the handwriting vary very much. The pages measure 7¼ by 10½ inches and usually have thirty-three lines of script per page. There are no voided pages and only one flyleaf, at the beginning. On the lining paper of the front cover Floride wrote

Floride Clemson,
Diary begun
1863
"The Home"

Neither right nor left margin is observed, pages 116 and 117 are blank, page 121 is blank except for the two prescriptions pasted thereon, page 122 is only one-fourth filled, and the lining paper of the back cover is blank.

Before Clemson College obtained possession of the diary, it was the property of Floride Clemson’s granddaughter, Miss Margaret Calhoun of Atlanta, Georgia, who gave it to the late A. G. Holmes, Professor of History, Clemson College, and his wife, Lila S. Holmes.

The diary covers the period from January 1, 1863, through October 24, 1866, sporadically. Fragmentary notes and extraneous material, copied in the journal after 1866, are included in this book as Appendix I. The diary contains three sustained narratives: Floride’s trip to Niagara in the summer of 1863; the journey from Beltsville, Maryland, to Pendleton, South Carolina, that she and her mother made in the last days of 1864; and the final illness of Floride’s grandmother, Mrs. John C. Calhoun, in July, 1866. The fluency of the whole diary perhaps stems from Floride’s habit of copious letter writing and certainly belies the fact that she had only two years of formal schooling, which ended at age fifteen. Like most diaries it has tantalizing enigmas, such as the hieroglyphics on page four of the manuscript (see Plate III) and this reference to Thomas Green Clemson: ‘‘Father has been in a bad humor ever since he came from Abbeville but I really do not wish to remember
A Rebel Came Home

why, as it is by no means to his credit." There is also unintentional humor: "Matters are pretty quiet now except casual disturbances, thefts & murders."

The diary presents few textual problems, for Floride's hand is unusually legible and the manuscript is in an excellent state of preservation. The original spelling has been reproduced and editing kept to a minimum. In a few instances, however, we have taken liberties with the original punctuation for the sake of clarity. In our footnotes we have followed the practice of identifying, in so far as possible, persons, places, and events at first reference. A complete index will enable the reader to locate references and notes pertaining to any particular person or place.

The information in the "Prologue" was taken entirely from correspondence and papers in the Clemson Collection of the Clemson College Library. Catalogues of letters to and from Floride Clemson are included as Appendixes V and VI.

The editors are grateful to those who have assisted them. We wish to thank Dr. Robert C. Edwards, president of Clemson College, for permission to publish the diary; Dr. J. K. Williams, Dean of Clemson College, for arranging financial assistance for its publication; Mr. J. W. Gordon Gourlay, director of the Clemson College Library, for his complete cooperation in this project; Mrs. Betty Bartlett Davis, Clemson College Library, for arranging inter-library loans of books and microfilm; Mr. B. Gaillard Hunter and Miss Louise Hunter, Pendleton, S. C., for giving us information about early Pendleton history and genealogy; the Reverend Mr. Howard O. Bingley, Brewster, N. Y., for searching church registers and graveyard records in Carmel, N. Y.; Mr. Horace E. Hillery, Putnam County Historian, Patterson, N. Y., for information on the Lee family; Miss Valeria L. Chisolm, Charleston, S. C., for information about the North family; Mrs. Mary Mills Ritchie, Clemson, and Mrs. Margaret S. Palmer, Custodian of the Calhoun Mansion, for Calhoun and Clemson genealogy; Dr. George H. Calcott, Department of History, University of Maryland, for information about Maryland Agricultural College personnel and students; Mr. J. P. Burns, Clemson, for photographic work; and Mrs. Vivian H. Lewis, Clemson, for typing the manuscript. For additional biographical information we also wish to thank Mrs. Louise McCeney Malone,
Floride Clemson Lee in her second-day dress
Preface

Silver Spring, Md.; Mrs. Florence Dundas Roller, Staunton, Va.; Mr. G. Glenn Clift, Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, Ky.; Mrs. Virginia R. Onderdonk, Baltimore, Md.; Mr. Archibald Rutledge, McClellanville, S. C.; and Miss Elaine Schaap, Clemson College Library.

C. M. M., Jr. and E. M. L., Jr.
Floride

Calhoun

Thomas Green

Anna Calhoun

THE CLEMSON FAMILY
FOOTNOTE ABBREVIATIONS


MS. Census 1860—Eighth Census, 1860, Free Inhabitants (MSS. in National Archives).

MS. Census 1870—Ninth Census, 1870, Population (MSS. in National Archives).

SCHGM—South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine.


xiv
Floride Isabella Lee, Floride Clemson's only child
Prologue

Thursday, December 29, 1842, "at 4½ o'clock P. M. Anna gave birth to a fine little girl": thus Thomas Green Clemson chronicled the arrival of his third child in a little more than four years of marriage to Anna Maria Calhoun, favorite child of John C. Calhoun. This child was named Elizabeth Floride for her grandmothers: Elizabeth for Clemson's mother and Floride for Floride Bonneau Colhoun Calhoun, Anna's mother. As far as name was concerned, the maternal influence was stronger, for her grandfather Calhoun immediately referred to her as Floride Elizabeth, as she later referred to herself, and when she was baptized on August 24, 1863, she dropped the Elizabeth entirely. In a family adept at using sobriquets (for example, "the Old Gentleman" for her father, "Sonny" for John Calhoun Clemson, her brother), Floride was always called by her first name. A few of her female friends occasionally in letters addressed her as "Floy," but none of her gentlemen admirers ever called her anything but Floride, and they usually prefixed it with a respectful "Miss," a custom not peculiar to the traditions of the ante-bellum South.

Senator John Caldwell Calhoun, Floride's grandfather, did not see her until she was about three months old. He returned to "Fort Hill" sometime in March, 1843, for what he thought was retirement from public life. Before his arrival he had had several pieces of disquieting news from home: an earthquake was felt at Fort Hill on the evening of January 4, and the house had caught fire soon after Thomas G. Clemson's return from Calhoun's gold mine in Dahlonega, Georgia, on January 29. Calhoun was particularly concerned over Anna's exposure and fright during the fire, for she was still confined. He was also in the middle of a running quarrel between his son-in-law and his eldest son Andrew over sums advanced by Clemson to Andrew to buy a place in Alabama. Clemson needed the money to pay for the 1,050-acre "Canebrake" plantation on Little Saluda River in Edgefield District, which he had agreed to purchase. The Clemsons' move to Canebrake was postponed until January, 1844, and Floride spent her first year at Fort Hill. Her grandfather was engrossed in writing and planting during the
Floride Isabella Lee (right) married a distant cousin, Andrew Pickens Calhoun, II, and they had four children. The second, Gideon Lee, lived only six months; pictured below are (left to right) Creighton Lee, Margaret M., and Patrick Calhoun, III.
A Rebel Came Home

spring and summer of 1843, but by fall he was deep in politics again, seeking the presidential nomination. By December, however, he had decided not to allow his name to be placed before the Baltimore Convention. Meanwhile, Floride's father had made another trip to the gold mine (in April) and had been "at the North" during the early summer, but all the Clemsons were at Fort Hill in October when Andrew came to make a financial agreement with his father and Clemson. Floride spent her first Christmas at Fort Hill, and surprisingly enough, so did her grandfather; though he had lived at Fort Hill since 1826, he had never been at home for Christmas.

In the second year of Floride's life the Clemsons moved twice: first to Canebrake (Clemson had received title to it in November, 1843); then, to Brussels, Belgium, where Clemson was chargé d'affaires. The Clemsons (Thomas Green at age thirty-six; Anna, almost twenty-seven; John Calhoun, two and a half; and Floride, one year) left Fort Hill, their home for almost two years, for Canebrake in the latter part of January, 1844. Calhoun's slaves Tom and Bill accompanied them to their new home, described by Anna as a dilapidated place—a "barn" in which the children were in remarkably good health considering their exposure—in a cotton country where no milk cows or supplies were for sale. They had been at Canebrake a little more than a month when an explosion aboard the warship "Princeton" killed Judge Abel Upshur, then Secretary of State, and John C. Calhoun was drawn back into the political maelstrom as his successor.

One of Calhoun's first official acts was to make Clemson chargé d'affaires in Belgium—with an annual stipend of $4,500 and an "outfit" of like amount. He apparently wanted to get the Clemsons away from the miasmal Canebrake, and who was more suited to the Belgian post than his French-speaking, imposing looking son-in-law? Going to Belgium presented some problems, but they were certainly not irresolvable. Canebrake was left under the care of Mr. Mobley, a neighbor; a nurse was hired to help with the children on the journey; Anna overcame her aversion to returning to society.

Clemson was nominated to the post on June 17 and confirmed the same day; the appointment was to be effective after August 1 with salary for the month prior to appointment. By July 22 the entire Clemson entourage, including a nurse and a male slave, were
Prologue

in Washington for eight or ten days while the new chargé read the correspondence of the Belgian Mission. They left Washington before August 2, stopped by Philadelphia to see Clemson’s mother and Catharine North, his sister, and were in New York in time to sail on August 8. They arrived in Brussels, having gone by way of Paris, on October 4, 1844.

In Brussels, Clemson took a furnished house for seventy dollars a month, hired two house servants, rented a coach—an unforeseen expense—and outfitted himself with an official court uniform, which he found “quite stiff” and Anna found quite laughable. By October 21, moreover, the new American chargé was officially in residence, for on that date the King of the Belgians received him for the first time. Clemson was everywhere complimented on his French, which he considered a sine qua non for diplomatic service.

Soon after their arrival Clemson suggested to his father-in-law that his son Patrick Calhoun, an army captain, might take leave and be sent to Belgium as a dispatch bearer and that once there he could be made secretary of the legation. Calhoun refused to consider such a plan.

After John C. Calhoun left the State Department in March of 1845, Clemson remained in Belgium under the sponsorship of James Buchanan, Calhoun’s successor. Anna studied French so that she could aid her husband in his official duties and teach the language to her children, Floride and Calhoun. She considered royal etiquette ridiculous nonsense; Belgian society she found better educated, more stupid, and twice as ugly as that of America. In his official duties Clemson met Sir Hamilton Seymour of the British Legation in Brussels, whose son was a frequent visitor at the Clemson home in Maryland twenty years later. Besides the routine duties of his office, Clemson was able to conclude a treaty of navigation and commerce with Belgium which the Senate ratified in March, 1846.

By the summer of 1848 the Clemsons wanted to return to the United States for a visit—Thomas to see about disposing of Canebrake and Anna to be near her illustrious, aging father. Accompanied by a fat Belgian nurse named Mimi, they sailed from Antwerp on October 4, 1848. After a stormy passage they arrived in New York on November 5, journeyed to Philadelphia for a brief visit with the Clemson relatives, and then set out for Canebrake.
Towards the end of November the Clemson ménage was installed in the new home at Canebrake. Mrs. John C. Calhoun had met Anna, the children, and Mimi at Aiken, and Senator Calhoun stopped by for a short visit on his way to Washington; relatives converged on the place until by Christmas there was a houseful. Mrs. Calhoun was the official chatelaine, while Anna did the logistics and worked at making the big old house comfortable. Little Calhoun and Floride enjoyed the bucolic existence after being pent up in the Brussels house which had no garden. There young Calhoun learned to ride horseback.

Several things tended to mar the happiness of the Clemsons’ visit home. Anna was alarmed over her father’s failing health and disappointed that she could not spend more time with him in Washington. Clemson was unable to sell Canebrake and reinvest the proceeds in something more profitable. To increase his income he wanted his chargé post raised to that of minister resident with a doubling in salary, but his father-in-law advised against making such a request. In any event he was forced to wait until after President Zachary Taylor took office in March, 1849, to learn whether his present position was secure.

Clemson retained his chargé post, and by April 15 he and his family and nurse Mimi were in Philadelphia making preparations to return to Belgium. While they were there, the Eeckhout paintings of Anna, Floride, and Calhoun were opened and hung in a Philadelphia art gallery before being shipped to Fort Hill. The paintings of the children were prophetic: Floride the loquacious is depicted with a large cockatoo perched on her finger and Calhoun the hunter has a dog beside him.

Delayed by the hope that Canebrake could be sold to a promising prospect, the Clemson party did not leave New York until May 24, aboard the sailing packet “Northumberland.” They docked in England on June 26, and on July 9 were back in Brussels, where they took a furnished house for two months. Then they frugally decided to take a smaller unfurnished house, which Anna undertook to furnish tastefully but economically. Another retrenchment was dis-

1 These three paintings, rather too stylized and ornate for modern taste, today hang in the Clemson Room at Fort Hill. For a contemporary opinion of them, see John C. Calhoun to Anna C. Clemson, December 31, 1849, and Henry Gourdin to Thomas G. Clemson, August 26, 1852 (Clemson Papers).
pensing with the carriage, which Clemson thought a necessity when he first arrived in 1844.

The autumn of 1849 was a happy time for the Clemson family. The children were healthy and growing, Floride was almost as tall as her brother, and Anna reported both as being fat. They were taking lessons in dancing and gymnastics, in addition to regular schooling which their parents conducted at home. Anna classified the Americans she met abroad as either contemptible renegades who completely disavowed their native land, or brash protagonists who derided the stagnation of Europe. She confided to her father that she was unable to understand European politics, though she was wise enough to keep her opinions to herself. As the winter came in, the climatic gloom was heightened by Anna’s increased concern over her father’s health and by Clemson’s inability to reach a decision with his agent, F. W. Pickens, about the sale of Canebrake. Anna also worried about her son’s persistent cough. Both children were losing baby teeth, which Anna considered disfiguring. About Floride, now seven and “uncommonly well,” she wrote her father in these unqualified terms: “For Floride, she is one of the very smartest, & most practical little bodies you ever saw. No danger of her. She will always be able to take care of herself I assure you.”

The year 1850 was a momentous one for Floride and her family. John C. Calhoun died in March, and thereafter any political pre- ferment her father received would depend upon merit. It is interesting to note that he was summoned home in December, 1850; perhaps President Taylor’s death in July was also a contributing factor in his recall. Just before Clemson’s recall Colonel Pickens sold Canebrake plantation, stock and slaves, for $39,900, for a profit of over twenty thousand dollars. Clemson later accused Pickens, who had served as agent without a commission, of defrauding him. The death of John C. Calhoun and the sale of Canebrake were determining considerations in the Clemsons’ decision not to return to the South to live.

The Clemson family, with nurse Mimi, left Brussels on April 9, 1851, and after an adventurous passage from Liverpool, arrived in Philadelphia on May 5. They saw their Clemson kin and, if they followed Mrs. Calhoun’s suggestion, set out for Fort Hill without unpacking. They spent the summer at Fort Hill, the fall and early
winter in Philadelphia, and from January, 1852, until August, 1853, they lived successively at Trenton, N. J.; Glen Cove, Long Island; Dosoris Island, near Glen Cove; and the Relay House, just outside Baltimore. While at Dosoris and the Relay House Clemson spent most of his time on the publication of the Calhoun works, which with Richard K. Crallé as editor and D. Appleton as publisher was successfully concluded in January, 1853. Over the objection of some of his friends Clemson decided to take up permanent residence in Maryland, and on June 8, 1853, he purchased 100% acres² about a mile from Bladensburg, Prince Georges County, from N. C. Stephens, trustee for Ann S. Hickman. The $6,725.00 property, part of an estate known as “Chillum Castle Manor,” was called “The Home” by the Clemsons. In their nomadic wanderings they had gravitated toward Washington, where Clemson hoped to obtain government employment suited to his talents—in the attainment of which he was to be singularly unsuccessful. At Bladensburg he became a gentleman planter and supplemented his income by importing Belgian furniture, guns, and articles of virtù for friends and relatives.

Floride’s Grandmother Calhoun lived at Fort Hill from her husband’s death in 1850 until 1854, when she decided to sell it to her son Andrew because the place was falling into disrepair. She arranged with him for quarters for herself and her afflicted daughter Cornelia at Fort Hill. She and Andrew quarrelled and Mrs. Calhoun removed to Pendleton. She took all her possessions with her, including the slaves reserved to her in the settlement at the sale of Fort Hill. Slave Nelly and her child, “little Andy,” she willed to Floride. Andy eventually was taken to Bladensburg after Nelly died. Mrs. Calhoun, who often inquired after the Clemson children’s studies, was glad to hear of the arrival sometime in 1854 of Leopold Reis, who tutored Floride and Calhoun and helped Clemson on the farm after school hours. Floride later had a dog named Leo, probably in Reis’s honor.

About the middle of April, 1855, when Floride was twelve, she paid her first visit without her parents. Her father took her to Philadelphia to visit his sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Barton, who had a daughter Kate several years Floride’s senior. Her mother gave her forty

² This property Clemson never disposed of and it became part of his bequest to found Clemson College.
dollars for the trip and much advice on behavior. At that time her Grandmother Clemson was staying with her Aunt Barton. Floride had such a good time that she did not want to come home. In Philadelphia she went to a May party, had a daguerreotype taken in her May-party dress for her Grandmother Calhoun, and met her numerous cousins North, children of Clemson's sister Catharine North. Her mother was alarmed to learn that she was not eating properly and as a consequence was looking "delicate," and that she had had some sick headaches. Anna exhorted her to avoid extremes in eating and to take Lady Webster's pills for the headaches. "Papa says you had better bring a $1 worth when you come . . . they are his stand by," her mother added. Floride was also told to stop by Uncle John Baker Clemson's on her way home, if only for a few days and if they wanted her. Uncle Baker, an Episcopal clergyman at Claymont, Delaware, had a large family and ran a school to supplement the stipend from his benefice.

While Floride was enjoying herself in Philadelphia, life went on at The Home in a much more serious vein. In late April Anna heard from her sister Cornelia in Pendleton of the death of their sister-in-law Margaret, the wife of John C. Calhoun's youngest son, William Lowndes. Mimi, who had been with the Clemson family since the early days in Belgium, quarrelled with the other servants and had to be discharged. To add to Anna's troubles Calhoun was sick and Clemson had a case of the blues—but no more than was necessary for his existence, she confided to her daughter. Clemson was a chronic worrier, and as it turned out, he had good reason to be despondent: in March and April, 1855, he had sent his brother-in-law, James Edward Calhoun, in San Francisco, more than ten thousand dollars (to be invested in that city at 2½% per month), none of which he ever recovered, for James died a pauper there on November 29, 1861. This was the second sour deal he had made with brothers-in-law. In business matters he was impetuous, too trusting, and suspicious too late. Something else, Anna must have told him about this time that she was sure that he was soon to be a father again.

Because of Anna's pregnancy she and Floride could not visit Mrs. Calhoun and Cornelia, happily ensconced in their rented house in Pendleton. Perhaps it was just as well, for their visit would have been saddened by the death on July 31, 1855, of Anna's broth-
er Dr. John C. Calhoun, at age thirty-two. His was the first death among the Calhoun children who reached maturity; however, within the next seven years four more died. Soon after John's death Mrs. Calhoun and Cornelia went to The Home to be with Anna during her confinement. Cornelia ("Nina") Clemson was born on October 3, 1855.

Soon after Nina's birth, Mrs. Calhoun, who dreaded the winters "at the North," and Cornelia returned South, accompanied by Calhoun Clemson and the schoolmaster Reis. En route to Pendleton they stopped in Abbeville District to visit Mrs. Calhoun's brother James Edward Colhoun at "Millwood" and her son William Lowndes ("Willie") Calhoun at "Brier Thicket," about five miles from Millwood. Bad weather detained the travelers in Abbeville District for several weeks, and Calhoun became homesick. In a pathetic letter he implored Floride to write him all the home and farm news, for he had heard nothing for more than three weeks and was beginning to feel "ankseous." Once, when he had a sore finger, he wrote a letter which his grandmother thought was so poor she threw it in the fire. Sometime in February or March, 1856, the travelers arrived in Pendleton, where Calhoun and Reis remained until late March. During their absence, Floride had a long holiday from school, but meanwhile she was developing into a prolific correspondent. Her Aunt Cornelia remarked on the fact that her first letter from Floride had arrived December 29, 1855, Floride's thirteenth birthday. In reply the aunt prophesied: "I suppose [you] begin to feel quite like a woman, now that you have entered on your teens, & it wont be very long before you are one."

During the summer of 1856 the Clemsons decided to send Floride to a Miss English's boarding school in Georgetown, D. C., which was near enough for her to be at The Home on weekends. They thought Floride was becoming sensitive about her height and awkwardness and needed the association of girls of her own age and station. When they heard that Mrs. Barton, Clemson's sister, was opening a school in Philadelphia, they decided to send Floride to her aunt's instead of Miss English's. School began for her on September 9, 1856, and ran until late in June, 1857. The time away from home did much to give Floride maturity, but more important it increased the bond of love and understanding between mother and daughter. At times Anna's letters bear the tone of the admon-
Prologue

ishing, entreating mother to erring daughter, but more often the tenor is one of woman-to-woman equality.

When Floride went to school she and her mother agreed to write each other at least once a week, and Anna kept faithfully to the bargain, writing mainly of farm and family, friends, dressmaking and styles, and monitory lectures on behavior. When the rooster "Clemson" pecked Nina, Floride heard of it. She was apprised of the behavior of the stupid Augusta as well as that of the amenable and diligent Babette, servants acquired since Mimi left. She was kept informed of progress made on the new house Clemson was building on the place. He first offered it to Mrs. Barton and his mother, and when they refused it, to Mrs. Calhoun, whose excuse in refusing was that she did not like to live at the North.

Floride was glad to hear the family news, for the Clemsons were a loyal, affectionate family. Nina's antics, her unusual intelligence, her every illness were reported by a fond mother. Anna was extremely concerned about Calhoun's health. He had been suffering from a spinal ailment all summer and returned home with his father in November, 1858, after a protracted stay in Florence, Massachusetts, where he had taken the "water cure" treatment of a Dr. Mundé, whom Clemson had known in Belgium. Clemson had also taken the treatment, observed the technique, and continued the therapy for Calhoun. Calhoun called it the "water torture," whereas Anna characterized it as a nuisance which messed up two rooms and lasted from five in the morning till noon. Just before Calhoun's return from Florence schoolmaster Reis left for Pendleton where he was to be employed by the Van Wycks. Thus Calhoun's education was temporarily suspended pending his regaining his health. However, there were nightly sessions with his father on scientific subjects. Anna probably correctly diagnosed her son's trouble as a nervous "affection."

Anna was very frank and specific with her darling daughter about matters of health, particularly regarding stubborn coughs and colds. She admonished her to be ladylike and to eschew such schoolgirl antics as waving corsets and eating chalk. She deprecated her contumacy in refusing to obey her aunt's request to speak French throughout the day. She implored her to be obedient, to

*The chalk-eating episode was reported to Anna by credulous Calhoun, who had been duped by his sister.
A Rebel Came Home

sit still in the classroom, to be respectful, in short, not to hide her noble qualities under the rubbish of bad habits. She chided her about her spelling ("to think of a French scholar spelling bouquets, 'boucays'"), which seemed to be a congenital fault. Anna urged Floride to write her father occasionally; she told her that her father really loved her and that his love was more evident now that she was no longer at home to irritate him. The worst news Floride received the fall of 1856 was that she could not come home for Christmas because there was no one to come to escort her. If she had been at The Home then, she would have met G. H. Dunscomb, "Calhoun's friend from the water cure," who was to play an important part in the Clemson affairs for the next ten years. Dunscomb, a bachelor merchant from New York who had taken a fancy to Calhoun, brought him a cornelian ring for Christmas. As a consolation for not being allowed to come home Floride received five dollars from her father in addition to her other gifts. This gift was indeed a concession from Clemson, who because of expense had earlier vetoed Floride's taking calisthenics and her purchase of a cloak.

On her own initiative Floride arranged to spend Christmas and her birthday at her Uncle Baker Clemson's in Claymont where the atmosphere was less austere, less dominical. When she wrote her mother of her gay good time there, her mother replied that she was happy she had enjoyed herself but that she hoped her daughter had the good sense not to develop into that object of her abhorrence, "a mere giggling school girl."

At fourteen Floride, now somewhat too slim for her mother's taste in the female figure, was making progress in her education. She was reading Harper's Weekly, exchanging letters in German with Babette Sauer, sending home some of her drawings to her artist father and enchanted mother, and, to the gratification of both parents, was becoming very prudent in expenditures. Her progress, however, was not without exception, and her mother was not one to temper the wind of her displeasure. "Now I must scold you a little," she said, and then she catalogued the peccadilloes and solecisms reported by her Aunt Barton. Her mother deprecated her sitting and standing crooked, lounging, face picking, nail biting, and refusing to speak French. In asking her to mend her faults Anna told Floride how much pain she was causing her and con-
cluded with the platitude that "there is no higher pleasure than the feeling of having conquered ourselves."

The spring of 1857 was a busy one at The Home, and Floride was kept advised of happenings there through her mother's Sunday letters. Calhoun attended the inauguration of President Buchanan with his cousin Tom Clemson. Another cousin, George North, was near him in the crowd, but the press was so great that neither saw the other. Soon after the inauguration George returned to his home in Philadelphia with five dollars for Floride, which her mother asked her not to acknowledge because her father read her letters.

About a month after the inauguration Clemson thought he might return to public life and government service as Minister to Belgium. According to Mr. Bosch, the Belgian Minister to the United States, the King had requested Clemson's appointment. As soon as Anna heard that her husband might be nominated to the Belgian position, she happily wrote Floride of it, adjuring her of course not to spread the news until it was confirmed. Her plan was to sell The Home, take a house in Philadelphia for herself, Floride, and Nina, and send Calhoun to his Uncle Baker's school, instead of again accompanying her husband. For six weeks Clemson thought he might succeed in obtaining preferment, but after his return from New York in late May the matter was rarely mentioned again. Buchanan had yielded to political expediency at the very beginning of his term.

Anna was not happy over her husband's failure to gain political preferment; she was no more pleased over the hasty and "indecent" behavior of her brother William Lowndes Calhoun in marrying Kate Putnam Calhoun, the widow of his brother John, about a year and a half after John's death. But there were compensations: Augusta returned after being away for three months, and Nina, who was eighteen months old and had eight teeth, was finally weaned.

Floride spent part of her Easter vacation in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and the rest of it with her Aunt North in Philadelphia. She had returned to school when her Grandmother Clemson died on April 17, 1857, at age eighty-three. Not long after her grandmother's death, she heard of the death of her Aunt Cornelia on May 2 at Brier Thicket, her Uncle Willie's Abbeville District plantation where her Grandmother Calhoun and her Aunt Cornelia had
A Rebel Came Home

spent most of the winter. In direct contrast to this somber news, her mother wrote of her father’s pulling six of Babette’s teeth at one time. Indeed Clemson’s talents were varied: earlier that year, when Callhoun had cut his knee with a hatchet, his father had sewed it up.

Floride’s mother was amused at her daughter’s reaction to a visit to a lunatic asylum just before she returned home from school. Anna remarked that an asylum was the last place she should go for amusement. She was not amused, however, by the report that Floride was still biting her nails. This is what Anna wrote her about that heinous practice:

Don’t come home with it. It is a filthy and disfiguring habit, & makes me so nervous that I could never bear to be in the same room with a person who has it. Have the courage to make yourself strong mits, & tie them on at the wrists, & whenever you study, or sit doing nothing with your hands, put them on. . . . If necessary sleep in them but cure yourself before you come home. (Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, May 31, 1857)

In early June Anna was counting the days till Floride’s homecoming. The daughter had several commissions to execute for her mother before she returned, among them the purchase of hoops, which Anna thought disfiguring and giving equality to good and bad figures alike. Anna also wondered whether she could get into her favorite green chair with hoops on. Floride completed her first year of school at her Aunt Barton’s the last week in June, 1857, and Babette stopped off for her on her way home from a visit to Newark.

Mrs. Barton came to The Home in early September, 1857, to accompany Floride to Philadelphia. Anna decided to return Floride to school the second year even though she had some misgivings about her health and even though Clemson said he could not afford it. If necessary Anna planned to borrow the tuition money from her brother Patrick. The ensuing family quarrel was described by Anna for Floride in these words:

That thunderstorm the day you left seems, if not to have cleared the air, at least to have left no material for further explosions. I keep as much as possible to myself, & all goes quietly, & that is all that can be expected, for he [Clemson] has put it out of my power to make any advances, & he will never make any.

(Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, September 20, 1857)
PROLOGUE

Anna sent Floride’s spending money that fall in five-dollar installments in her weekly letters. Floride was to acknowledge receipt of the money by saying, “Your letter came safe,” a strategem which was necessary because Clemson did not know of the hundred dollars his wife had received in the trunk of her sister Cornelia’s things sent by Mrs. Calhoun. Anna also suggested that Mrs. Barton render accounts quarterly so that the schooling expense would not seem so large to Floride’s father.

Floride’s second year at her Aunt Barton’s school on Chestnut Street in Philadelphia was one of progress for her and consequent pride for her mother. Her improvement in composition—an essay on dreams Anna found to be particularly good, the slight improvement in spelling in her letters home, her willingness to practice on the piano, reports of Floride’s developing a really fine singing voice, and her learning to sew, all brought joy to her mother’s heart. Her father was also proud of Floride, but he was extremely reticent, and she was to know of it only through her mother.

Though Floride progressed, there were still faults enough for her mother to utter unhushed strictures about. For a while—doubtless through restraint—her conduct was exemplary, but in early December her Aunt Barton commented on her stubbornness and reported that Floride shouted out three or four times at the top of her lungs when her teacher was out of the classroom. When taxed about her behavior by her aunt, she said, “I don’t care, there must always be a black sheep in every school, & I will be that here.” Another time, Floride withdrew twenty dollars from her aunt instead of the usual five. When her father heard of this misfeasance, he declared that he would not pay the money back. Anna sent Floride the money to repay her aunt, but not without chiding and reproof of carelessness and extravagance.*

Anna was also disturbed when she discovered that Floride was beginning to withhold information about sickness. In the spring of 1858, after Floride had reported herself well, Anna learned through Floride’s uncles, William and Baker Clemson, that she had had pneumonia and that her lungs were left inflamed. “I am losing your

* Unusual family expenses always excited and irritated Clemson, who was convinced he would be sold out and die in the poorhouse, though he had a cash balance on deposit with Charles M. Leupp & Co. of New York of $19,419.83 on February 1, 1858.
confidence and the greatest charm of your character, beautiful truthfulness,” Anna wrote in connection with her daughter’s reticence about her health. On another occasion Anna had cause to reprove Floride for bigotry. When she wrote that she did not like a Dr. Pittman because he was too fat, her mother excoriated her with these words in reply: “Now aint you ashamed with such a fat mother of your own to give that as a reason for disliking a person? Take care that you are not fat yourself one of these days, Miss Fastidious.”

Once again Anna reproved Floride when she became ill at the Badgar’s party in late February: Anna divined that Floride was “dressed too tight.” She urged her daughter to wear her clothes loose: “A dress that you cannot fasten easily yourself, if open before, or another cannot, without an effort, if behind, is too tight ... as to your corsets, & under clothing you certainly would not have the folly, I might say wickedness, to draw them too tight.” Another admonition dealt with the practice of borrowing clothes from her classmates: “What clothes you have not & cannot afford to have, do without. A lady considers herself better dressed in a calico of her own than the richest dress of another.” That year at school Floride at least seems to have overcome biting her nails. In spite of all her mother’s animadversions Floride loved her very much and had occasion to write just before she returned from school that she would not exchange Anna for any other mother in the world, to which tribute Anna replied that her vanity was gratified but that she had not gone far wrong in doing her duty.

Anna at age forty-one and Floride at fifteen were not completely absorbed in character molding and dressmaking. Both had a very strong family sensibility and consequently much of their correspondence was concerned with family affairs and news. Augusta left The Home for good, Anna thought, to be replaced in the fall of 1857 by Mrs. Lisette Daub, Mina Daub, her four-year-old daughter, and Mr. Daub, a farmer. Mrs. Daub was to prove probably the best servant the Clemsons ever had, certainly the best cook. Farmer Daub, by contrast at least, was a severe disappointment.

There were also physical changes in The Home during Floride’s second year away. Two new piazzas were added and a new chimney was constructed for the parlor. Blair and Logan were the new horses to pull the new carriage, which had to be especially built
to accommodate Clemson’s arms and legs. It also pleased Anna, for she found the old one high and difficult of access for one of her bulk. Calhoun, subject to headaches and psychosomatic ills as long as he associated with his father, was sent to his Uncle Baker Clemson’s school at Claymont from November, 1857, till the ten-day Easter vacation at the end of March. For the remainder of the school year he attended a Mr. Hallowell’s school in Alexandria. He boarded at a widow’s near the school and came home on weekends. While he was at his Uncle Baker’s school Floride went to see him occasionally so that she could report to Anna on his progress at school and on his personal appearance. Her mother urged her not to embarrass him in any way because of his backwardness, of which he was all too sensitive.

In Philadelphia, Floride received news of the Calhouns in Carolina, either relayed through Anna or directly from her grandmother in Pendleton. Soon after Mrs. Calhoun bought “Mi Casa” in the fall of 1857, she left Pendleton with Kate Putnam Calhoun, her daughter-in-law, for St. Augustine, Florida. They were delayed three weeks in Charleston when Kate gave birth to a premature son, William Lowndes Calhoun, Junior, in late November. Mrs. Calhoun was proud of herself when she was summoned peremptorily to act the part of midwife. Soon after her arrival in Florida, she suspected from Anna’s letters that she would be needed in like capacity at The Home, and consequently wrote her son Patrick, the army captain, to come to Florida to escort her to Washington. Soon after Patrick arrived, Mrs. Calhoun learned that her services were not needed in Bladensburg, and with the advent of warm weather she became anxious to return to South Carolina. Patrick, suffering from tuberculosis and other ailments, was not well enough to escort her; in fact, he himself had to be escorted by his brother Willie to Charleston for medical attention. There he remained in precarious condition until Mrs. Calhoun arrived, unescorted, and decided to take him to Pendleton, where he died on June 1, 1858, three days after arriving there.

When Floride heard of her uncle’s death, she and her mother had already made plans for her homecoming. These were changed several times, but she finally left Philadelphia on June 25, 1858, accompanied only by her cousin Mattie Clemson as far as Baltimore, where her father came to escort them to Washington and
home. She brought all her things from her Aunt Barton's because Anna could not bear parting with her for another year. Her education was to be continued through a judicious course of reading at home and study with voice and piano teachers in Washington, for her mother did not intend to "bring her out" until later. She was to come home, her mother adjured her, determined to do her part to maintain peace with her father and brother. "Never think the wrong doing of others is an excuse for us," Anna said, to conclude the lecture.

The two years following Floride's second year of formal schooling were spent in visiting and in entertaining visitors at The Home. Her grandmother in Pendleton wanted her to come there immediately from school, but her mother was not willing to part with her so soon. About July 29, 1858, however, she left home with her father for a visit to the C. M. Leupps in New York and thence to Newport. Her grandmother suggested she take the health baths in Newport and also learn to be at ease in society. Bathing was on Anna's mind also, for while Floride was away, Anna wrote this to her:

I bought a bath tub & Friday Calhoun with the help of George & Eugene Calvert, who came over with their mother, floored the spring house... which looks as neat as a new pin, & this morning, Nina & I had a most delicious bath. I have the iron pot down there, & early this morning Babette made a fire under it, which gave us hot water, & if I only had another woman, we might bathe at least twice a week, without any trouble.

(Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, August 1, 1858)

Her mother told her that she would be vexed with her if she let trifles prevent her from enjoying the pleasure and excitement of traveling. Floride returned about August 20 suffering from a boil on the end of her spine, which was to cause her pain and embarrassment later. As soon as she arrived home, her grandmother again begged her to come for a visit, offering to pay her expenses to Pendleton and return. Floride was planning to go and her mother was getting her ready for the trip, when Nina Clemson died. Her mother and father, the latter particularly, were prostrated by the loss of their favorite child on December 20, 1858, after only a few days illness. Mrs. Calhoun was afraid that Clemson might do vio-

* See Appendix III.
Prologue

ience to himself, and she advised constant employment, calm, and Divine guidance to ease his sorrow. She spoke from experience, for her youngest son, William Lowndes, had died suddenly on September 19, 1858, probably from a heart attack.

In the months following Nina’s death, Mrs. Calhoun’s concern increased. Not only were the parents inconsolable, the other children were sick: Calhoun returned home ill after a short stay at St. John’s College in Annapolis and Floride had a cough which persisted into the spring. Therefore, on April 28, 1859, Mrs. Calhoun, overcoming her antipathy to travel, left Pendleton for Washington accompanied by William Van Wyck, a Pendleton lawyer, who was escorting his daughter Zeruah to school in New York. Mrs. Daniel Pike, her factotum, was left in charge of Mi Casa; Mrs. Putnam, Kate Calhoun, twice widowed by Calhoun scions, and two of her children were also there. At The Home Mrs. Calhoun had the pleasure of meeting the petite, witty, vivacious, and well-read Miss Laura S. Leupp, daughter of Clemson’s friend, Charles M. Leupp. When Mrs. Calhoun left by boat after a month’s visit—an unconscionably short one for those times—she wanted to take Floride with her, but Floride could not go because Laura had decided to extend her visit. Floride and her cousin Mattie Clemson left about August 1 to visit their Aunt Louisa Washington in Harewood, [West] Virginia. They had a pleasant visit as evidenced by their amusing letters, but toward the end, Floride suffered a recrudescence of the “lump on her backbone.” When her mother heard of it, she urged her daughter to put aside all modesty and be examined by a physician; she chided her for concealing anything relative to her health. Her Uncle William Clemson, currently visiting The Home, appended a humorous postscript in pencil to temper the tone of her mother’s letter by referring to her “latter end.” After he left his brother’s home, he extended his original humor by inquiring thus after his niece:

Say to Floride that I hope that the caudal extenuation of her spinal continuation is in a perfect state of salubrity and that I beseech her as one of her dearest relatives who has her interest very much at heart to be “careful of her latter end.” May she be like a noble ship with lofty top hamper, splendid presence, great speed, sound bottom, and may she never spring a leak.
A REBEL CAME HOME

The boil broke and she and her cousin Kate C. Barton were able to leave for Bladensburg on August 29.

Several days before her return her father had taken Calhoun to the Virginia Military Institute in Lexington, where Calhoun was to remain about a month before again returning home sick. As soon as her grandmother heard of Calhoun’s return, she extended the invitation to come South to him also, if his lungs really were affected. Originally the invitation had included only Floride and her mother, who no longer had the presence of Kate Calhoun at Mi Casa to use as a pretext for refusing to come, for Kate had left in July, 1859. Mrs. Calhoun decried Anna’s antipathy to Kate: Anna had not acknowledged Kate’s letter of sympathy after Nina’s death; she never sent her love to Kate in her letters to Mi Casa when she knew Kate was there, and she wrote one letter about Kate’s character which Mrs. Calhoun found so offensive and groundless that it was immediately burned.

Before Floride returned from Harewood her father had agreed without demur to her trip to her grandmother’s. She spent September and October getting ready so that she could leave with William Van Wyck and his son Augustus (“Gussy”) by the end of October. Earlier that month she and her whole family were shocked and grieved over the tragic death by suicide of Charles M. Leupp.

When her Uncle Andrew Calhoun heard she had arrived in Pendleton on about November 2, he and his whole family immediately came to see her. Andrew and his wife Margaret were particularly impressed with her height and coloring. They spent the night with Mrs. Calhoun and persuaded her to let Floride go with them to the Columbia Fair “on the cars” which left at three o’clock in the morning. Since Clemson read Floride’s letters to her mother, Anna asked her in the future never to mention her Uncle Andrew Calhoun in any of them because Clemson despised him. Any reference to Andrew should be made on a separate slip of paper and enclosed with the letter, she suggested.

Her first visit alone to her grandmother was indeed a success for Mrs. Calhoun and Floride: for Mrs. Calhoun because she was proud to show off her pretty, talented granddaughter and for Floride because she was shown so much attention. She went visiting with her grandmother, she rode horseback with “Gussy” Van Wyck, and she attended a Christmas dance—at which she reported
that she danced three times with young William Van Wyck, home for the holidays from Chapel Hill, and refused to dance with a Mr. Orr. When her mother heard of this contretemps she admonished her daughter that such behavior often fomented duels among young gentlemen, that once a young lady had refused a young gentleman, she danced no more that evening, and that three dances with one young gentleman would cause talk.

During her six months in Pendleton her health was unusually good. Her grandmother guarded her against imprudences and was always ready with the physic bottle when she thought Floride needed it. Her color was so high that her grandmother on one occasion thought she might be developing erysipelas. Floride completely captivated her grandmother. She practiced on the piano several hours every day, she sang for her, she kept her room tidy, and she kept up with her correspondence. Her mother was not so enchanted: she was especially irked by Floride’s shilly-shallying about a proposed trip to Charleston for the Saint Cecilia Ball and the races in February. Anna wanted to know something definite so that she could get the proper clothes made up and sent to her in Charleston. In the end the trip failed to materialize because of the lack of a suitable escort.

While Floride was enjoying herself in Pendleton, The Home was more pleasant and peaceful than at any time since Nina’s death. Calhoun had left with G. H. Duscomb on November 19, 1859, for Enterprise, Florida, “far South” of Jacksonville on the Saint John’s River, for four months of hunting, fishing, and camping out. Floride received this letter from him in January, 1860:

I received your letter yesterday evening and as you see answer it immediatly. You ask how I am, I am not well at all I am sory to say but hope I soon will be. I was stung by a scorpion last week he got up my draws a stung me twise before I could get him out; it was dread full. I have some very pretty stones and shells for you which I will keep til I see you. Tel grand mother if she wants any thing from this part of the world I wil bring it to her. Give her my love and tel her also I am saving her some beautyfool flower seeds. I have killed 4 deer some turkeys 1 wild cat an otter 90 ducks partridges snipe and 5 alli-gaters.

I must stop for the end of my finger is very soar I cut it and it has not heal up.

Write soon your devoted B
A REBEL CAME HOME

N B remember never to show my letters or I will never write you again.

During the absence of both children Anna noted that her husband was always more pleasant and amiable when they were away. Also, after February 6, 1860, when he was appointed head of the Agricultural Department of the Patent Office, his time was constantly employed and he was always happier under such circumstances. Among the competitors for appointment to the position in the Patent Office was Clemson’s brother William, who wrote Floride about it in this ironic vein, “I hear that the office I was talking about for myself your generous hearted papa has procured for himself and that he is now . . . distributor of seeds and plants.” In spite of the tranquility at home, Anna began to miss her children and at one time planned to go to Pendleton with Laura Leupp to fetch Floride. Her plan went awry because of several unforeseen events, the most important of which was her miscarriage in early March, 1860. During Anna’s convalescence she wrote Floride, “Your father is as kind as he knows how. He was terribly frightened and stranger still very much disappointed.”

Meanwhile Calhoun had left Dunscomb in Florida and journeyed to Pendleton; on April 24, he, Floride, Mrs. Calhoun, and Floride’s young slave Andy departed for Maryland. When they arrived at The Home, Laura Leupp was already a visitor there. Mrs. Clemson noticed that Laura was quieter and that much of her former sharpness had been mitigated by her father’s recent death. Calhoun immediately became involved in farm business and Floride had a good deal of company: Sallie Harris, a school friend from Columbia whose mother was Anna’s good friend (“Sarah Jeter that was”), her Aunt Barton, and Kate Barton. In July or August, Clemson went to Europe to purchase seeds and cuttings for the Agricultural Department. Before he left he wrote exasperating letters to his brother-in-law James Calhoun in San Francisco when James could not return the money Clemson had sent him to lend. In the same tenor he wrote a memorandum to Calhoun about his sister (Calhoun’s aunt)

*At this time Anna recorded in her album a vision in which her father, dead ten years that month, spoke to her. After her death in 1875, Clemson, long interested in spiritualism, wrote Dr. John J. F. Gray in New York for an explanation of it. For Dr. Gray’s reply see his letter to Clemson, December 28, 1875, in the Clemson Papers. See Appendix IV.
Louisa Washington and her son George L. Washington concerning money he had advanced for the purchase of the General Washington medal and other sums he had lent his sister when he was a student in Belgium thirty years before. While Clemson was in Europe his wife and both children wrote to him, but the only letter that survives, ironically enough, is one from his son Calhoun, legibly illiterate as usual, concerned with farm news and a fabulous hunt he had had in "Mugomiy Couty" [Montgomery County, Md.].

In early October the guests began leaving The Home, and on October 8 Floride, escorted by Billy Dundas, left for New York to visit Laura Leupp. As soon as Mrs. Calhoun, who had been in Bladensburg almost six months, received the purchases Floride made for her in New York, she was anxious to get home and escape the damp, cold Washington climate. In late October she and Calhoun, happy to be her escort, left for South Carolina.

On October 31, 1860, Clemson arrived home from Europe in great good humor and bearing gifts—a saddle for Floride and pop-lin for her and her mother—and advice from his physician to be tranquil. Anna archly suggested that if Clemson continued in his good humor and amiability, she and Floride should raise a monument to the physician who had given the advice. In a more practical vein she exhorted her daughter to do nothing to irritate her father, to come home determined to do her utmost not to worry him. Anna herself resolved to be circumspect in expressing her political views so that if Clemson lost his position, he could not reproach her for causing it. Floride stayed with the Leupps until past the middle of November when she returned at her mother's request. Anna wanted her at home so that she could begin to introduce her to Washington society during the Buchanan administration. The Clemsons were on familiar terms with the President and his niece, Miss Harriet Lane, who served as his official hostess. Floride attended small dinner parties, large official functions, receptions, and her first levee at the White House during the final uncomfortable months of Buchanan's term of office.

In early January of 1861, after South Carolina had seceded, Anna heard rumors that all Southern sympathizers would be arrested and

*Billy was Calhoun's friend and had just begun to visit The Home after a year's absence. His calls had ceased the preceding fall when he had accidentally discharged an uncapped gun, and narrowly missed shooting Calhoun.
A Rebel Came Home

their property sequestered. In her trouble she turned to D. W. Lee, a New York attorney associated with the C. M. Leupp Company. Although he admitted that his sympathies politically were all with the Union, his personal feelings were with her. He advised her to take the oath of allegiance to prevent arrest and reiterated that proof of hostile acts against the Union in a court of law before a jury would be necessary before confiscation. Anna, in correspondence with Lee, signed herself "Mrs. Lisette Daub Washington," a strategem which indicated that Clemson, in whose name the property stood, was afraid that letter writing might be considered a hostile act. At least one event served to brighten those dark days—Lisette Daub returned to the Clemson household after more than a year's absence.

In early March, 1861, Calhoun, who had been at Millwood under the tutelage of his great-uncle James since the preceding November, was ordered home. He went to Pendleton to see his grandmother and to get her to advance the twenty-six dollars travel money he said he needed. When he arrived at The Home, he found he was to be the man of the house for his sister Floride and his Aunt Barton while his father and mother visited South Carolina during March and April. The manner of the Clemsons' departure is intriguing—they did not leave their home or the Washington depot together. Calhoun escorted his mother to the depot, where after waiting an hour they took an omnibus to the boat; there they met Clemson on his horse Logan. The boat took Anna and her husband to Aquia Creek; there they took the train South, arriving about March 21 in Columbia, where friends met them. Again they separated, Anna to go to Pendleton and Clemson, after several days in Columbia, to go with a party of Columbians to a political rally in Charleston. Anna arrived at Mi Casa unannounced and almost convulsed her ecstatic mother, who had celebrated her sixty-ninth birthday in February. The Clemsons returned to Bladensburg before the end of April.

The rest of 1861 at The Home was filled with arrivals and departures and fitting into the pattern of the civil rebellion. Calhoun and his father were busily engaged in farm pursuits throughout most of May. Soon thereafter, on either June 8 or 9, they left Bladensburg for South Carolina, Calhoun to enlist in the army of the Confederacy on July 20, 1861, and Clemson to engage in unknown
activities. The women held the fort through July, when the Bartons, frequent visitors, left. Mrs. Barton for Lancaster, and her daughter Kate for Claymont. (On the train from Baltimore to Claymont Kate discouraged the attentions of a masher in the seat behind her with the conventional hatpin technique.) D. W. Lee played friend to Anna and Floride's need on several occasions in the summer and autumn of 1861, and was later referred to as "The Gallant Defender." He advised them to stay on their property as long as possible and to demand evaluation and payment in case the house was torn down for fortifications. (In spite of their close association and kindnesses, Floride was highly incensed when he kissed her goodbye on his departure in late October, and subsequently she received turgid and gallant apologies from him for an act so unpremeditated that it had happened almost spontaneously.) Lee later advised Anna not to transfer her property to him to protect herself against confiscation and not to apply to General George McClellan for a safeguard since the one she held, issued by General Winfield Scott, was valid unless specifically revoked by General McClellan. Both acts, he thought, would be suspicious.

Clemson returned North in time for a quiet wartime Christmas at home with his wife and his sister, Elizabeth Barton. Floride spent Christmas week at the neighboring home of Mrs. Elizabeth Wood, who had three teen-age daughters in her large family. Although quiet, the yule season was busy for Anna, temporarily without any kitchen help except an untidy Irish maid named Rosanna. "Little Andy," Nelly's child whom the Clemsons had brought to Maryland the previous April, was pleased with his Christmas present but "could not pass the day without a whipping, for stealing."

In 1862 the matriarchy became definitely established at The Home. Thomas G. Clemson left soon after Christmas and never returned to live in the North. Kate Barton and her mother remained with the Clemsons through the spring and left for Lancaster in early summer. The tranquility of the summer was interrupted by the appearance of Mrs. Daub's husband, who threatened to kill her and Mrs. Clemson. Anna found out that Daub was a Union soldier in a nearby camp and decided to have him arrested if possible. Daub did not return in August to torment them further as he had promised. D. W. Lee hoped for the Clemsons' sake that he would die by an enemy bullet; his niece Laura Leupp thought that the
loss of an arm or leg would be sufficient punishment. During the Daub interference Floride was visiting the John H. B. Latrobe family in Baltimore.

All during 1862 Anna and Floride kept in touch with the "travelers," Clemson and his son Calhoun. The latter, who had been at Castle Pinckney, the three-and-a-half-acre fortification in Charleston Harbor, since his enlistment, was promoted to second lieutenant on January 24, 1862, retroactive to December 16, 1861. Laura Leupp was amused when she heard of the beard Calhoun affected that year. He acted as official purveyor and provisioner of food and clothing for his grandmother, his great uncle James Edward Calhoun, and his father, whom he evidently saw quite frequently. When Calhoun wrote Floride in November, 1862, he addressed her as "Mrs. Lisette Daub," signed himself "J. C. Daub," and gave "J. B. Lafitte, Nassau, N. P. [New Providence]" as the return address.

After the Daub incident, affairs in the Clemson household were generally tranquil, although Mrs. Clemson was upset somewhat in late 1862 when she learned that the deeds to the real and personal property in Maryland might not be valid since they were drawn in South Carolina and acknowledged before a commissioner there. Life was so quiet, in fact, that Floride gladly accepted an invitation from the John H. B. Latrobes to spend Christmas and her twentieth birthday with them in Baltimore. During her visit Floride began the commendable practice of keeping a diary. On October 1, 1838, her mother had a similar urge and intention when she wrote:

... so here goes for Anna Calhoun’s diary & who knows but it may one day become as valuable as that which the old gos- sipper Pepys has left. Certainly if I had commenced earlier or if even now I only judiciously set down facts concerning the past or the future, in my old days it may be both valuable and amusing to me. (Anna C. Clemson’s unpublished album, Clemson Papers)

In diary-keeping the daughter proved superior to her mother, for Floride persisted until she filled up the whole diary of one hundred twenty-two pages. It presents, in graphic detail, events—and the reactions they provoked—in the life of an attractive, aristocratic young woman during the 1860’s.
The Diary
of
Floride Clemson
Jan. 1st 1863. I am now in Baltimore, where I have been ever since the Tuesday before Xmas. I am staying with John H. B. Latrobe’s\(^1\) family. The city is not very gay, but we have seen plenty of maskaraders. I have been invited out often & have made many friends. I have visited the cotton mills twice, & also an iron foundery. I enjoyed these vastly, as I am very fond of machinery. I have also been driven through the park, and to all the reservoirs. I am perfectly delighted with this city, its cleanliness, elegance, and Southernness, the beauty of its ladies, & its hospitality. Mrs. Latrobe\(^2\) has been kindness personified. I bought a braid at last today, which is a bad beginning for the new year, but I could not help it as, though my hair is quite thick, I can not make large enough plaits in front without taking too much of back hair, & no one thinks head dresses becoming to me. I was delighted to meet Maggie Bright (Sen B.’s\(^3\) daughter) here, also Lewis Washington\(^4\) daughters whom I used

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\(^1\) John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe (May 4, 1803-Sept. 11, 1891), a lawyer, inventor, public servant, and author. He was the son of Benjamin H. Latrobe, the famous architect. *DAB*, XI, 27-28.

\(^2\) Charlotte Virginia Claiborne Latrobe, second wife of John H. B. Latrobe (married Dec. 6, 1832), and daughter of Gen. Ferdinand L. Claiborne of Mississippi. The Latrobes were Confederate sympathizers, and their son Osmon was General Longstreet’s chief of staff. John E. Semmes, *John H. B. Latrobe and His Times, 1803-1891* (Baltimore: The Norman, Remington Co., 1917), pp. 240, 397-98, 577.

\(^3\) Jesse David Bright (Dec. 18, 1812-May 20, 1875), U. S. Senator from Indiana from 1845 to Feb. 5, 1862. He was expelled for his Confederate sympathies and moved to Kentucky in 1863. His daughter Margaret was 21 years old in 1860. *Biog. Dir. Cong.* p. 890; MS. Census 1860, First Ward, D. C.

\(^4\) Thomas G. Clemson’s sister Louisa married Samuel Washington, of Virginia. Alester G. Holmes and George R. Sherrill, *Thomas Green Clemson, His Life and His Work* (Richmond, Va.: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1937), p. 3. Undoubtedly, the Lewis Washingtons were relatives.
A Rebel Came Home

to know in Jefferson Co. Va. I was 20 last Monday, but do not feel quite so old. I do not think I look any worse for wear yet. My year old cough is better, & I look as well as I ever did. Last Xmas. was quiet. My only present was a pair of sleeve buttons from mother. My singing is much liked, especially in Southern songs. All are Southern here almost.

Jan. 8th. I got home to day after a delightful visit to Baltimore. The Hon. Henry May was my escort home. He is the most Southern of the members of Congress, & a nice man. I spent a few days with Mrs. John S. Gittings and was so pressed to stay longer I could hardly get away. The Ben Latrobese also wanted me to make them a visit but I could not. I found on my return that mother had had a slight attac of inflamation of the lungs, she is still not at all well. I am so worried about her. While I was away the battle of Murfreesboro7 in Tenn. took place—Bragg versus Rosecranz. I think it may be called a drawn battle with the advantages on our side. We took 8000 prisoners & about 40 cannon, although inferior in force. The Monitor® went down off the cost of North Carolina with all on board. She was going to Charleston S. C. I believe. We hear constantly from the South. All are well, everything dear, but little misery, considering. I am having all the music I bought & got last year bound.

Jan. 20th. Mr. Lee has been here just a week & I do not know how long he will remain. He is no longer in the army. Mother is

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6 Henry May (Feb. 16, 1816-Sept. 25, 1869), Democratic Congressman from Maryland, 1853-1855, 1861-1863. Biog. Dir. Cong., p. 1516. Floride wrote “Sen. May of Md.’s autograph with speech” across the top of page three of the diary and affixed a brown paper clipping which reads “Free

H. May

MC”


8 On December 31, 1862, General Braxton Bragg’s Confederate forces met General William S. Rosecrans’ Union army at Murfreesboro. It was a drawn battle with casualties about equal on both sides. For Bragg and Rosecrans see DAB, II, 585-87, XVI, 163-84.

9 During the night of December 30-31, 1862, while bound for Beaufort, N. C., the “Monitor” sank in a gale off Cape Hatteras. Some of the crew were saved.

D. Williamson Lee, brother of W. Creighton and Gideon Lee, and son of the late Gideon Lee, onetime mayor of New York City and U. S. Congressman.
little if any better, scarce able to get out of bed. Dr. Hall is to come out to day. (He did not) Last New Years Day Gen. McGruder presented Galveston Texas with six hundred prisoners, &c. to the Confederate government. He also took the Harriet Lane which I was on board of once, [when] I returned from my visit to the Great Eastern three years ago, in company with the Presidents party.\textsuperscript{10} She looked very little, by contrast I suppose. A new privateer, the "Retribution"\textsuperscript{11} has made its appearance. May she rival the world renowned, & glorious Alabamal

\textit{Feb. 1st.} I am just recovering from an attack of laryngitis or very bad sore throat. I have been the best part of this last week confined to my room & bed, & pretty sick. Dangerously so, they tell me.

\textit{Feb. 20th.} I have still a dreadful cough & pain in my side. It seems to me I get little or no better. We have just received a letter from foreign parts. Calhoun\textsuperscript{12} is now first lieutenant, & in command of Ft. Ripley\textsuperscript{13} in the Charleston harbor. F[ather]. writes, & says he is doing wonders, & is very steady. Weighs 185 lbs, is over 6 feet 3 in, gets $90 a month which keeps him, & has many children named after him; one girl, and one boy "Stonewall Jackson John Calhoun

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Letter from Mr. Horace E. Hillary, Patterson, N. Y., Dec. 22, 1959. T. G. Clemson had business dealings with the Lees, and in 1869 Floride married Gideon Lee. However, in 1869 and 1864 family letters reveal that Floride was infatuated with D. W. Lee, who obviously did not share her feeling.


\textsuperscript{11} The "Retribution," a privateer of 120 tons and five guns, ran the blockade in late 1862. In January and February, 1863, it destroyed three Union vessels, but the following September it was seized in New York as it attempted to enter the harbor disguised under another name. \textit{Baltimore Sun}, Sept. 5, 1863; J. Thomas Scharf, \textit{History of the Confederate Navy . . .} (Atlanta, Ga.: W. H. Shepard & Co., 1887), p. 818.

\textsuperscript{12} John Calhoun Clemson (b. July 17, 1841), Floride’s brother.

\textsuperscript{13} A relatively small fort in Charleston harbor, closer to land than Ft. Sumter.
A Rebel Came Home

C. (something) Hughes"14 Grandma14 & father are both well; so is Calhoun. F's last letter is most encouraging. He says that all are heros & none discouraged. Mother is well.

April 10th. I had a long ride with Henry Mcaceney15 to day (who is home for the Easter holidays) to Beltsville, in order to see Mrs. Sanders16 who has just moved there. I rode Mr. Onderdonk's17 horse which he had lent me while he was away, & came near breaking my leg. She fell with me three times, but did not throw me, for Henry managed to get me off. I have never yet been thrown, & am considered the best rider in the county, I hear on all sides. We have just rented our place out on shares to Mr. Harvey, & son in law of Yost's.18 I hope he will do well & give us no more trouble about the place. Mr. Lee is still here. I am very well. F wrote us a short time since that Calhoun had been promoted to first Lieutenant, & was in command of Ft. Ripley in Charleston harbor, which is a great compliment. He is very energetic, & attentive to his business, & quite steady. We have had an atrocious winter. Rain, snow, & sleet consecutively nearly all the time, but very little cold weather. We

14 Mrs. John C. Calhoun, then residing at "Mi Casa" in Pendleton, S. C.
16 Caroline C. Sanders (age 50) lived in District of Columbia with the family of Dr. John C. Fairfax. Her property was valued at $60,000. In 1870 the family's address was Buena Vista P.O., Prince Georges County, Md. MS. Census 1860, County of Wash., D. C.; MS. Census 1870, Prince Georges County, Md.
17 Henry Onderdonk was president of Maryland Agricultural College at Beltsville until his ousting in 1864 because of pronounced Confederate sympathies. Thereafter, he briefly operated a private school. In 1867 he reopened the St. James School, near Hagerstown, Md., and acted as headmaster until his death in 1896. Letter from Mrs. Virginia R. Onderdonk, Baltimore, Md., Aug. 25, 1959. See also Circular of the Maryland Agricultural College (1864-1865) (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1864).
18 Charles Harvey (age 27) married Emma (age 22), daughter of Benedict and Elizabeth Yost of the Bladensburg District. Yost was a blacksmith. MS. Census 1860, Prince Georges County, Md.; Ibid., 1870.
have not been able to get the ice house more than half full of poor ice. Every thing is beginning to bud out now, though spring plowing has not been started, on account of the wet weather. The roads have been all but impassable almost ever since Xmas. I had my teeth fixed last week. They needed but little, & are in good order. Though I have many plugs in my mouth, still I have never lost a tooth, & will probably loose none for some time, as they are quite good, & reckoned my best feature. I went for the first time to Dr. Gibbs. My teeth have heretofore been attended to by Drs. Maynard, & Cockerille.10 I went over to Dr. Dare's this week and much against my will over heard a most complimentary conversation between two young men about my self. My voice never was better than now, & I am almost quite well even of my throat.

April 20th. Mr. Lee took mother, & me to the opera, twice last week. We saw "Il Trovatore," & "Don Jovani." The stars were: Signoras Lorini, Morensi, & Mlle. Cordier. Brignoli, Susini, Amodio, Maccaferi, besides others of minor importance. The house was wretched, (Carousi's Hall)20 & the scenery worse. The singing very good. The roads were dreadful, & the nights dark. I enjoyed it exceedingly.

April 23rd. Last night I went to hear Norma with M. Lee & mother. It was well rendered by Siga. Lorini. Mlle Morensi, Maccaferi, & Susini. I have heard this opera twice before, but enjoyed it all the more this time. I have just received an invitation to Mme. Lisboa's.21 Her daughter has been married lately. Yesterday I took

10 Samuel T. Cockerille (age 28), Edward Maynard (age 47), James B. Gibbs (age 48) were all listed as dentists in 1860. MS. Census 1860, First Ward and County of Wash., D. C. However, Clemson paid a bill of $95, Feb. 7, 1861, to J. J. Cockerille for professional services to his daughter. Clemson Papers. Dr. Gibbs was a South Carolinian by birth.

20 Carusi's Hall, northeast corner of 11th and C streets and famous for several presidential inaugural balls between 1822 and 1857, was converted into a theatre during Buchanan's administration. It was named for Louis Carusi, who remodeled it from a partially burned theatre in 1822. WPA Federal Writers' Project, Washington: City and Capital (American Guide Series; Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 636.

21 Mme. Isabel Lisboa, wife of Miguel M. Lisboa, who was the Brazilian Minister to the United States. His eldest daughter (Eufaria?) married Mariano del Prado, First Secretary of the Spanish Legation on April 8, 1863. Washington Evening Star, April 9, 1863; MS. Census 1860, First and Second Wards, D. C.
A Rebel Came Home

a long walk, and gathered many wild flowers. Every thing begins to look most spring-like. But still rain! rain! & bad roads.

May 1st. Last week we went to the opera again, & heard the same troupe in Lucritzia Borgia & Lucia de Lamermoor. This latter was a failure as Mme. Lorini was sick, & it had to be cobbled up. A moon being being cut into the middle of a mountain in the senery thus: [drawing.] This is Friday; the monday & tuesday of this week I went with Mr. Lee to a concert given by Gotschalk,\textsuperscript{22} assisted by Mlle. Vivier (not much) & the brothers Bretto, 7 & 11 old. The oldest played the violin excellently, & the younger played quite well on the cornet a piston. I stayed these two days with Mrs. Dr. Stone,\textsuperscript{23} a most pleasant woman. The Friday & Saturday of last week we (Mother Mr. Lee & myself) spent at Brown Metropolitan hotel for the benefit of the opera. I am still very well. Poor Dr. Magruder\textsuperscript{24} died last night. I'm so sorry. We called up\textsuperscript{[on]} Dr. Morant's family this morning. I think they are pretty common; they have just bought Dr. Penn's (or McGills) place. \textit{Mr. Lee started on a visit to the Va. U. S. army today} [Editors' italics. This sentence was marked out by Floride Clemson] \textit{(Didn't)}\textsuperscript{26}

May 12th. Yesterday the thermometer stood at 92. And it bids fair to be as high today. We received a letter from F[ather]. today, dated 19th April. He is not well. C[alhoun]. has recruited near 400 men. Was in Castle Pinckney\textsuperscript{26} during the late engagement there,

\textsuperscript{22} Louis Moreau Gottschalk (May 8, 1829-Dec. 18, 1869) was a world-renowned pianist and composer, born in New Orleans. He once turned down a P. T. Barnum offer of $20,000 a year. DAB, VII, 441-42. He appeared in two concerts at Willard's Hall, April 27-28, with Louise Vivier, vocalist, and Bernard and Richard Bretto. Floride's appraisal agreed with that of a Washington music critic, who called the concert "a brilliant affair" while giving Mlle. Vivier only moderate praise. \textit{Washington Evening Star}, April 28, 1863.


\textsuperscript{24} Dr. Archibald S. Magruder (age 46) of Bladensburg. \textit{Washington Evening Star}, May 1, 1863.

\textsuperscript{26} D. W. Lee did not go, but on April 30, 1863, he had written Anna C. Clemson giving instructions to be executed by her in case he did not return from his trip, which he asked to be kept a secret from his family. Clemson Papers.

\textsuperscript{26} In Charleston Harbor, on the south side.
Bladensburg, Maryland 1863-64

& says no one was killed on our side, & the only woulds [wounds] were from the dismounting of a gun. Gen. Van Dorn has just been shot by a private enemy.

[Accounts of death of Stonewall Jackson taken from Philadelphia Press, May 13; Philadelphia Inquirer, May 13; Charleston Courier, May 11, were pasted in the diary here.] This is perhaps our greatest political misfortune. The victory was not worth it. Alas! I suppose these extracts are mainly true. Great, good man!

May 30th. Lizzie Robinson has just spent a couple of days with me. Next to Laura Leupp I love her best of all my friends. We hear pretty often & most encouragingly from the absentees. All are well & doing well. The letters breathe the most determined endurance, & heroism. We are just now much excited about Vicksburg. We believe all is going on well, but the Yankees are trying every thing against that devoted city. Every day or two we hear it is taken, which news is always contradicted before night fall. "Hope on, hope ever!"

June 1st. A day or two ago there was an order passed in Washington forbidding any groceries, or any thing of the sort, from being carried out of the city, unless the owners had a pass, which they can only obtain by proving themselves union! I don't know what we are to do. This is to prevent the contraband trade that is alleged to be carried on between this state & the South. Confiscation &c. is going on fast. Roses are just in bloom here, but we are late this year.

2nd. Eliza Bowie has just spent a night here, with her brother.

* Confederate General Earl Van Dorn (Sept. 17, 1820-May 8, 1863) was assassinated at his headquarters desk by a personal enemy. DAB, XIX, 185-86.
* These extracts from three newspapers were obviously reprints from Washington or Baltimore papers that Floride read.
* Conway Robinson (age 55) was a prosperous Virginia-born lawyer living near Bladensburg. Besides his wife Mary (age 43), his family included seven children, four of whom were Leigh (age 19), Elizabeth (18), Cary (16), and William (15). MS. Census 1860, County of Wash., D. C.
A Rebel Came Home


June 5th. Received two letters, dated May 6th & 3rd. C. & F. in Rd. [Richmond] on their way to Texas. The former has been transferred to a higher grade. They say all well at Mi Casa. The spirit of the news high, and hopeful, as ever. This date is to be remembered as an era on which a change has taken place. Erin Bu. Trans. Miss. How long will this last. Will it be fraught with danger to any one? Hope on, & trust; that's all!

June 10th. The whole country is parched with drought. I think it has not rained more than once, & that slightly for over a month. After the incessant rains of last winter & spring this is dreadful, for everything was planted late. Grant has not taken Vicksburg yet, but has met innumerable repulses. May this continue. The Yankees were also severely repulsed from Port Hudson [La.] I have planted many flowers, & made four flower beds this spring.

June 19th. Yesterday we had the first rain (not sprinkle) we have had for six weeks. Everything looked parched & dry, & there seemed no hope for crops. I hope the [rain] will save us from famine. There seems to be great activity among the armies of this state & Virginia. There have been rumors & statements for some days that the Southern army entire has passed the line of this state for Penn. It may be true, but it seems more than probable that it all arises from a cavalry raid of some two or three regiments to Chambersburg Penn. However there is great commotion, & anxiety. All (or many of) the horses have been seized in Baltimore, for cavalry service. So many rumors in short, are afloat, that I do not know what to think. Mary Latrobe has been with us over a week. I like her. She is about 5 or 6 years my senior. Father's first cousin Wash.

*Caroline T. Hickey (age 20) one of six children of William and Cecilia A. Hickey. William Hickey (age 57) was a clerk and farmer, whose property was valued at $44,000. MS. Census 1860, County of Wash., D. C.

**"Erin" is "Nitre" spelled backwards. Clemson was attached to the Confederate Nitre and Mining Bureau.

Baker, & Miss Giles whom he seems to be engaged to, spent a day or too with us. He is a fine man, & suits us in feeling.

Guv. Morris, Laura’s friend, spent a night here. Grandma well, on the 19th of May. All with her yet, will soon go, however.

June 28th. Sund. The night before last, I went to the Commencement ball, & to the commencement in the morning. I was dressed in a white spotted muslin, & danced every set. We got to bed at 5 o’clock in broad day-light! There were more than a hundred, at least. Mary Latrobe went with me, & we stayed all night at the Wharton’s.35 Mary returned home yesterday, with her father who spent the day here. Miss Giles goes South tomorrow, she & cousin W. Baker, were at the ball. They made me their confidential, & go-between. I am sorry for them. They are engaged.36 We spent Thursday evening at Mrs. Calvert’s, & Wednesday at Mrs. Merricks.37 The commencement exercises were very interesting. Charlie Calvert graduated, & Eugene spoke best of all. I am just now very well, except that I am much troubled by a nervous contraction of the muscles of the throat, which is very troublesome in swallowing, & sometimes nearly starves me by preventing my doing so altogether, without pain however. The Confederates are all in Penn. now. All about here are in a terrible state of fear, & excitement. Baltimore is barricaded with wagons & tobacco hogsheads. We are pretty uneasy. Well time will show. Uncle Elias38 is to come for me

**Dr. G. O. Wharton (age 55) and his children Elizabeth (21), Sarah (20), and William (16) lived at Beltsville in 1860. MS. Census 1860, Prince Georges County, Md.

**Lizzie Giles soon jilted Washington Baker for a General Quarles. Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, Aug. 9, 1863, Clemson Papers. Thomas G. Clemson’s mother was Elizabeth Baker.

**William Matthew Merrick (Sept. 1, 1818-Feb. 4, 1889) was Circuit Court justice in D. C., 1854-1863, and U. S. Congressman, 1871-1873. Biog. Dir. Cong., p. 1557. Charles Benedict Calvert (Aug. 23, 1808-May 12, 1864) of Bladensburg was a descendant of the original founders of Maryland. His wife was the former Charlotte Augusta Norris. The Calvert children’s ages in 1863 were as follows: Ella (23), George Henry (21), Charles Baltimore (20), William Norris (17), and Eugene Stier (16). John Bailey Calvert Nicklin, “The Calvert Family,” Maryland Historical Magazine, XVI (Sept., 1921), 316. Calvert’s property was listed at $240,000 in 1860. MS. Census 1860, Prince Georges County, Md.

**Elias Baker, a brother of Thomas G. Clemson’s mother, Elizabeth Baker Clemson.
to pay a visit to him in two week. If things are not settled by that
time of course I wont. Probably wont anyhow.

*June 30th.* The Confederate forces have reach Harrisburg, Penn., but last accounts said they had not taken it. Cavalry raids have come within 18 miles of here. No deprivations have been made. All is excitement. They have come to 7 miles of Baltimore, & have been at Laurel on this railroad. [Editors' italics. This clause was marked out by Floride Clemson.]

*July 5th.* Well, the news seems bad enough. The battle of Gettysburg has taken place and all the papers say (God grant it may not be true) that the Confederates have been defeated. It is hard not to believe the fabulous accounts that are given of our losses but we have had so many lessons as to how much men can lie, that we ought not to be down hearted yet. The battle lasted from the 1st. inst. to the 4th. (Sat.) I do not know when I have been so anxious before. Southern raids have come very near here. They have certainly been to Rockville & some say much nearer. Pickets have been placed so thickly about here, that it was not worth the trouble to go out at night. 5 between here & Bladensburg. Mr. Lee has been away in the city over a week. Last letter from grandma was dated June 12th. C. had left for Texas. Port Hudson, & Vicksburg still seem to hold their own firmly. The Southerners have nearly all Louisiana back again. I am very well. The Southern troops behaved so well in Penn. They committed no depredations, even their enemies have to own to their Christian, civilized, & grand conduct, & contrast it with their own.

*July 15th.* The news is very confusing. The Yankees say Vicksburg was taken on the 4th; yet no official report from Grant has been received, & the Southern accounts of a much later date do not mention it. Some do not believe it yet although semi official accounts of its capture have been given. They also talk of the taking of Port Hudson. Two or three days ago we had one of the most terrible falls of rain I ever heard of. It was continuously as hard as I ever saw water fall, for a day & night. Bladensburg was submerged so that the inhabitants had to be taken from their houses in boats. All Mr. Crawford's hay was carried off, our road nearly washed away,

*Samuel C. Crawford, a Bladensburg farmer who had frequent business dealings with the Clemsons. His property was valued at $24,000 in 1860. MS. Census 1860, Prince Georges County, Md.*
& every one has suffered severely. Bridges were carried away every where. The Wash. & Balt. rail road has been so damaged that trains have not run for two days. There is a fearful riot in New York about the draft. Houses have been burnt, & people killed in an unprecedented manner. Mr. Lee is still in the city. He brought Mr. Seymour out to see us, he belongs to the English legation, & mother knew his parents in Brussels. They say Gen. Lee has recrossed the Potomac with all his forces, stores, &c. It may be so. We have perhaps more company now than usual. I get plenty of chances to ride, & am therefor well.

*July 17th.* Today Calhoun is 22 years old. I wonder where he is? I will wish him here many happy returns as I can not do so in person. I went to St. Aloysious Catholic Church to hear Mozart's requiem for Bishop Kendrick of Baltimore. The voices were fine but too few for the organ & church. The sermon by [the Rev. Charles] Stonestreet, about the poorest I ever heard. I don't think the times ever looked so dark as they do now. Vickburg, Port Hudson, & rumor says Charleston too (God grant this be not true) are gone. Lee not conquered, but weakened, & Bragg retreating. I hope it may be true that darkness comes before day. The riot in New York is abating, but has been terrible. Took a pew at Rock Creek Church today. 15$ a year. To date from August 1st.

*July 18th.* Mrs. Dundas died last night of rheumatism & heart disease. Her daughters were all with her. Mrs. Oldham lost her baby only a week before.

*July 27th.* Left home this morning (Monday) at 7 o'clock for Altoona with Uncle Elias. Reached Philla the same afternoon, & went to see aunt North. The whole family except Walter were

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40 The "draft riots" took place on July 13-16, during which time possibly as many as 1,000 persons were killed. U. S. Army troops from Pennsylvania finally restored order.

41 "The Most Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, Archbishop of Baltimore," died July 7, 1863, age 76. He was a native of Ireland, but migrated early to the United States. *Baltimore Sun*, July 9, 1863. Also see *DAB*, X, 339-40.

42 St. Paul's Episcopal Church at Rock Creek still stands.

43 Mary Y. Dundas (age 56), wife of William H. Dundas (age 66), Assistant Postmaster General in 1860 and a native of Virginia. Their four children included William O. (age 17), a close friend of John Calhoun Clemson. MS. Census 1860, County of Wash., D. C.

44 Catharine Clemson, sister of Thomas G., married George W. North of Philadelphia.
away. Willie & Clem came home from a two months campaign with the army, this evening.

*Sep. 19th.* I got home this morning from my long trip north & visit to my uncle Elias. I had a delightful visit to his family. See my letters to mother for particulars. His house is of blocks of nearly white marble, & quite palatial. Situated among the mountains. Cousin Anna [Baker] is about 27 with a magnificent suit of hair, not very good looking or smart, but good, & kind. Auntie [Hettie Baker] is about 60 & looks no more than 40 & is refined & handsome. Has a great taste for flowers. Cousin Sylvester [Baker] is 38, red haired, & with regular features. He was very kind to me, & I liked him. He took me buggy driving to all the places of interest in the vicinity, & I was perfectly charmed by the mountains. The view from the Wopsenonock where Mr. Onderdonck accompanied me while he was at Altoona on a visit to *me*, was grand. I saw ore banks & furnaces, machine shops &c., without number. Altoona has some 5000 inhab's. I saw cousin Sarah [Baker] (Woods' wife) & Luly his daughter. The former is the best little woman I ever saw. The latter a sweet small child of 11. I was baptized on the 23rd Aug. by uncle Baker.46 Witnessed by cousins Mary & Sarah, Mary Clemson & Mattie, both paid a week’s visit at uncle Elias’ while I was there, with uncle Baker Clemson. Carrie McClelland47 my distant cousin & schoolmate is consumptive. I saw her a great deal. She had Lizzie McIlvain, & Kate Russell our other cousin staying with her. Saw Miss Jennie Cammeron.

*Thursday, Sep. 3d.* Started from Altoona, on my great trip North. There were six of us. Uncle Elias, cousins Anna & Sarah Baker, Luly, & Sadie Sterrett, aunt Hetty’s niece. Reached Pittsburgh Thursday noon, 117 miles. Saw glass blowing & pressing, cannon foundaries, & iron rolling, the semitary, &c. The town is too dirty to live in or look at. Started next day (Friday) at noon for Cleveland

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47 John Baker Clemson, an Episcopal minister and brother of Thomas G. The two Clemson brothers were not on intimate terms at this time, and later became bitter toward each other. Clemson Papers, *passim*. Mary and Mattie were daughters of John Baker Clemson.

47 Carrie McClelland and Lizzie McIlvain were schoolmates of Floride Clemson when she attended her Aunt Elizabeth Barton’s boarding school (Sept., 1856-June, 1858) in Philadelphia. See Floride Clemson to Anna Calhoun Clemson, Aug. 2, 1863, Clemson Papers.
Bladensburg, Maryland 1863-64

Ohio 150, & reached there after dark. Drove over it next morning, & thought it a the most beautiful city I ever saw. Lake Erie looked like a quiet sea. Ohio is too flat for anything, & too uninteresting. Started for Niagara at 11 o'clock, reached the Clifton house Canada, after dark Saturday 210 miles, very dusty & the country uninteresting. Saw Buffalo, a fine city, & Erie. Rested Sunday, & saw our trunks for the first time since we left Altoona. Monday did up the Canada side, whirlpool, burning spring, museum, suspension bridge, Lundies Lane, the rapids, & I went under the falls with a guide. [Floride elaborates thus in her letter of September 9, 1863, to her mother: “This last achievement I did much against the wishes of the rest of the party, but I knew it was not dangerous, as it was not, so I took off my hoops, & all above them, and put on a suitable oil cloth dress, & with a mulatto guide went under from the Canadian side, yesterday.”] Tuesday did the American side, rapids, Goat, & Lunar Islands, Terrapin Tower, Indian stores &c. Wednesday morning left. Saw plenty of Southerners & English, & found the falls above my highest expectations. Wednesday at 3 o'clock reached Syracuse, N. Y. 160 miles. Saw the salt works, Seline, & the city generally. Left about noon Thursday. Reached Saratoga Springs 145 miles after dark. Forgot to say we took the upper road by the canal, & did not pass by the lakes to Syracuse. All the ride through N. Y. was beautiful, but not striking till we reached the Mohawk, & mountains. I was sick at Saratoga, & was disgusted with the waters. We were not delighted there anyhow, & left Saturday morning, traveling down the railroad by the side of the Hudson, which was grand passed expression. Reached N. Y. 170 miles Saturday 4 o'clock. Went to the Metropolitan [Hotel]. See my letters to mother until Sunday 18th my last. Monday saw Laura [Leupp] who is engaged to Frank Marbury 5 years younger than herself & Zeruah Banks, & her father. Bought a black silk dress & did other shopping. Left N. Y. Tuesday morning. Reached Philla at noon, 90 miles.

A Rebel Came Home

Cousin Anna, Sadie, & myself, traveled this alone as uncle had to return for our trunks which he had forgotten, & Luly & cousin Sarah left us at N. Y. Stayed at the Girard. Left cousin Anna here, & Sadie left for home next morning early. Went out to aunt North, where Kate Barton came by appointment, saw aunt Sue, Mattie, Walter, Clarrie, Bessie, (14) Herbert, who is a large boy of 7, Willie, & aunt & uncle North.49 Neither of the latter were well. Next day saw cousin Tom C. Kate nearly had a fit, she was so glad to see me, indeed they all seemed to be. Wednesday evening at 4 left with uncle for Landcaster. Was sick there. The Russells where we stayed were very kind. Saw [great] aunt Kitty [Baker] Ikleberger where aunt Barton was paying a visit, whom I also saw (pshaw!) & cousin Hannah Giger who is partly paralized & blind. Spent most of the next day at Wheatlands50 with Miss Lane, who seemed overjoyed at seeing me, & looked fat & well. Mr. Buchanan was also hearty looking. They pressed me to stay with them a long time. There was a large democratic meeting in Landcaster, & when we got into the cars they were so full that we had to go into an emigrant car with no other lady, & more drunken men than I ever saw before. They sang such songs & swore so, that I was nearly wild. We reached Harrisburg about a hundred and twenty miles from Phila after a two hours' & a half ride at 10 P. M. where we stayed all night, as the Southerners had cut the branch railroad bridge from Landcaster to York, & we could not make the connection otherwise. Next morning (Friday) we started early, & got to Baltimore about noon some 80 miles, where I payed a visit to Mary Latrobe, & started for home at 5 P. M. There had been a bad freshet, which carried the rail road bridge at Laurel off again the same night we crossed it. We reached Hyattsville after dark. Mr. Lee met us. We got entangled in a stump at the first branch & had to wait an hour in the middle of that raging stream while Mr. Lee took out the horses & got a

49 Kate Barton was daughter of Elizabeth Clemson Barton; Aunt Sue, the wife of William, brother of Thomas G. Clemson; Mattie Clemson; the remainder were Norths. Anna Calhoun Clemson distrusted some of her husband’s relatives and advised Florida: “Do be cautious what you say to the Clemson’s, & Kate. Dont say anything about your aunt B[arton].—keep quiet, & be discreet. Dont make any visits, or promises to visit. Keep in the vague. . . . Dont be humbugged by professions, you have learnt the worth of them.” Aug. 23, 1863, Clemson Papers.

50 “Wheatland” was the home of President Buchanan near Lancaster, Pa.
wagon. The stream kept rising, into the carriage. With much difficulty we got across in the waggon & at the other stream which was dreadfully swollen nearly got drowned. The horses reared when they had to swim, & got into the bed of the stream, we nearly gave them up as lost, but cut them loose at last, & let them to the side of the waggon where I got on Logan, & swam out straddle. The waggon was carried off when uncle's weight got out of it. They say I behaved wonderfully well. We stayed in B. [Bladensburg] all night & next morning got home. Mr. Lee had painted all the inside of the house during my absense, & all looked very nicely. Mother was well. I am still quite sick from the over fatigue of my trip & the diorea which stuck to me during the whole of it & put me to bed several times during its continuence. If I had not been so sick, it would scarce have had a mar for the weather was charming, being only troubled by dust once, (between Cleveland & Niagara.) & not at all by rain, for the only that came was after we left Harrisburg so I did not mind. We had no accidents & the scenery was lovely most of the way. I think the finest was the Hudson river, & between Harrisburg & Pittsburgh, along the Susquehanna, & Juniata, never leaving mountains untill near Pittsburgh. That was the most grand near Altoona. No one troubled me about politics, & I spent my time delightfully, but want rest. I went in all about 1639 miles as near as I could estimate by the guide book we had.

October 4th Sunday. For the first week or ten days after I got home, I managed to keep from going to bed though I generally laid on the sofa but I was so weakened by having the diorea so long & traveling that I broke down & had to go to bed regularly last Monday, where I stayed, Dr. Wells attending me till the day before yesterday. I am now much better than I have been since my return & in a fair way of getting well. I have been so little bed ridden in my life, that it goes quite hard with me now. I have no cough at all. C. is now a prisoner it appears by the papers, but we do not know where, though we are trying hard to find out.\footnote{First Lt. John Calhoun Clemson, assigned to duty with the Nitre and Mining Bureau, May 7, 1863, was captured at Bolivar, Miss., Sept. 9, 1863, and imprisoned at Johnson's Island, Sandusky, Ohio, until June 11, 1865. F. de Sales Dundas, \textit{The Calhoun Settlement, District of Abbeville, South Carolina} (Staunton, Va.: F. de Sales Dundas, 1949), p. 18.} This account is from a letter from Cairo of Sep 19th in the Philla. Inquirer of the 25th.
We suppose he is at Sandusky or Chicago, out west. Calhoun was captured the 9th.

"Le général [Lewis] Cass est aujourd'hui âgé de 81 ans; il date de 1782. Dans la même année sont nés John C. Calhoun, Thomas H. Benton, Daniel Webster, et l'ex-président Martin Van Buren,—tous morts." [newspaper clipping pasted perpendicular to a cut-out portion of the diary page.] Mother went to Annapolis yesterday to see Mrs. Bourne who will take a trunk for her. She (Mrs. B.) is again a widow. She comes from England. She left her home near Grandma’s a year ago with her husband. She is in very bad health. Poor John Singleton was killed in Kentucky with Morgan, just before I left for Altoona in July. Charleston is still holding out so nobly. God protect her! All our folks well a month ago.

Octo. 7th Wednesday. Had Lizzie Ross staying with me two days & took her home yesterday. I spent the day, & night at Middleton’s returning this morning. I like them very much. No news yet from Calhoun, as to where he is, though every inquiry had been made. Poor fellow, I trust he is not suffering. A gentlemen told me he saw me mentioned in a New York Herald, last summer, as an active rebel, & secessionist, who ought to be watched, besides more he did not remember. So I have been in print anyhow! I wonder if they are right as to my sentiments? I am fast getting well, & strong again; & they say looking better than I ever did before, & handsomer!

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82 Elizabeth, daughter of Jacob and Sophia Fraser Warley of Pendleton, married C. J. Bourne, a civil engineer born in England. She did not remarry and died on Mar. 1, 1884, age 56. Simpson, Old Pendleton District, pp. 201-02; MS. Census 1860, Anderson Dist., S. C.; Register, St. Paul’s Episcopal Church, Pendleton, S. C.

83 First Lt. John W. Singleton, of Pickens, S. C., was with Gen. John Hunt Morgan during the latter’s ill-fated raid into Kentucky and Ohio in July, 1863. All but a few hundred of Morgan’s 2,500 men were killed or captured. A. S. Salley (comp.), South Carolina Troops in Confederate Service (3 vols., Columbia, S. C.: The R. L. Bryan Co. and The State Co., 1913-1930), II, 641. For Morgan see DAB., XIII, 174-75.

84 Probably the family of E. J. Middleton (age 56), Washington-born clerk whose property was valued at $50,000. The family included Ellen R. (age 41), Mary V (Virginia) (29), E. J. (15), and two elderly persons. These were the only Middletons living near Bladensburg that were listed in the 1860 census. MS. Census 1860. County of Wash., D. C.
Bladensburg, Maryland 1863-64

Octo. 10th Saturday. We found out that Calhoun was at St. John's Island Sandusky, Oo., last Thursday. Mother got Lincoln's permission to go to see him, next day but [Sec. of War] Stanton would not permit her on account he said of Northern ladies not being allowed to go from here South to see their husbands. This is very hard as mother has made all her arrangements to start for Sandusky the day after tomorrow, where she expected to spend a week or so. Stanton says that if any Northern ladies are allowed to visit the prisoners South, he will let her go. I was to spend my time among the neighbors during her absence. Mr. Lee is to start for home tomorrow morning, but expects to be back again this winter he says. He gave me a photograph album & left his horse [Bruno] & pistol for me to use. Mother had some excellent half length cartes [photographs] taken yesterday with her bonnet on. We can not get work men at all now & have the greatest trouble. Mr. Harvey who took the place on shares, turned out badly, & has left. Indeed it is great trouble. The house is all painted, but very badly. Everything is double price.

Octo. 12th. Just received at letter from Calhoun dated Sep. 25th saying he was captured two weeks before & wants to get transferred to some prison here or elsewhere. He is well. Mr. Lee left this morning, as he could not go yesterday.

Octo. 18th. Some of our chickens were stolen by a gang of some 20 run away negroes last night. Depredations are going on all through the country & we are in constant dread our horses will go. It is almost impossible to get servants, & our negro woman had to groom our horses & do all the man work for over a month. Calhoun writes he is well, but that Johnsons Is. is very cold. It is principally a prison for officers. He says he sleeps with 68 men in a room no larger than our dining room. We sent him a nice box of eatables &c. last week. Mother is so troubled with the place, which has to be kept up at a ruinous expense, that it almost makes her sick. I am fast getting well, I think. Lizzie Robinson spent some days last week with me. She is such a lovely girl. Billy D.s55 is a prisoner.

55 William O. Dundas, son of William H. Dundas, was a Confederate paymaster and also captured at Bolivar, Miss., about the same time Calhoun Clemson was taken prisoner. Dundas, The Calhoun Settlement, p. 18.
A Rebel Came Home

Tom King⁵⁶ is a companion of Calhoun’s at Sandusky. The balls from the surrounding forts fall into our enclosure constantly. Two trees in the wood below the stables have been struck, & one ball fell in the orchard. These are 32 lbers. We have now six or more which have fallen on or near this place. They whistle fearfully. Charleston still holds out wonderfully. I am so proud of my old city. God protect it. There appears to have been a great battle near Manassas again lately, but as they say so little about it I suppose we whipped as usual.

Octo. 29th. I have just planted out many roses, bulbs, & shrubs, & have trimmed the hedges &c. I also attend much to the horses. I am very busy. Calhoun got his box of comforts &c. Mother went to see Stanton herself to get permission to go to see him, but he would not grant it. We are well but have much trouble in getting hands to work. Hurrah for Charleston yet! I have had two more teeth filled.

Octo. 30th. Attended a debating (public) at the Agricultural college last evening. Subject: “Was the execution of Mary Queen of Scots justifiable or not?” Wm. & Dick Goldsborough spoke wonderfully well extemporaniously. George Calvert, & Davy Hall⁵⁷ spoke badly.

Nov. 1st. Sunday. I became a communicant to day, for the first time.

Nov. 5th. Mother has sold the carved furniture to Dr. Maynard. It goes to day. The price is $3,000. I am more grieved than enough. The bro[nn]ze horses went too. I could cry. Poor Willie Robinson was shot through the head, & killed on the 15th of last month. He was only 19. I liked him best of those boys. Mrs. Craig died the day before yesterday.

⁵⁶ T. M. King (age 19), born in Virginia, was son of U. S. Army surgeon Benjamin King (age 62). The family also included Virginia King (age 15). MS. Census 1860, County of Wash., D. C.

⁵⁷ William and Richard Goldsborough of Easton, Md.; S. D. Hall of Millersville, Md.; and George Calvert, of Riverdale. The latter, eldest son of Charles Benedict and Charlotte Augusta Norris Calvert, was not listed as a student at Maryland Agricultural College in 1863. Circular of the Maryland Agricultural College (1863-1864), pp. 5-6.
Bladensburg, Maryland 1863-64

Nov. 6th. I drove mother around visiting today, we went to see Mrs. Crawford, Dare, Hyatt, Calvert, Pinckney, & Chew. We got along nicely.

Nov. 8th. I stood Godmother for Willhelmina Floride Daub to day, with her mother. Mother went to Baltimore yesterday on account of a letter received from a lady who said she had something of importance to tell her. She expects to return tomorrow. (She came.)

Nov. 12th. I went to the wedding of two of the Miss Keeches. Kate to Barnard, Rose to a cousin Keech. Nora Latrobe came home with me. She will probably leave Tuesday this is Thursday. Tuesday she left.


Nov. 22nd. Took Lizzie Walker to church, & went to stay with Jennie King who has brought Gertrude Magoffin home from Ky. with her to spend the winter. We have no man again, & have lost our cows. Still no man to work.

Nov. 28. Found one cow. Stayed until Wednesday with Jennie King, brought her & Gertrude home, they went back Thursday. We

** Mrs. Sophia Chew (age 34), wife of John H. Chew (age 38), Episcopal minister; Mrs. S. C. Crawford; Mrs. Charles B. Calvert; Mrs. Elizabeth Pinckney (age 56), wife of William Pinckney; possibly Mrs. Frances Hyatt (age 38), wife of Christopher Hyatt (age 60), a merchant. MS. Census 1860, Prince Georges County, Md.; *ibid.*, 1870. All were listed near Bladensburg. William Pinckney, nephew of Maryland diplomat William Pinckney, was the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Maryland. Because of his Confederate sympathies and refusal to pray for a Union victory, he was barred from his Washington Church. *Washington: City and Capital*, pp. 617, 827.

** Mrs. Lisette Daub was a servant in the Clemson home. The daughter was called Mina.

** Kate Hope Keech married John J. Barnard of Georgetown, D. C.; Rose Keech married William S. Keech of Baltimore County, Md. The brides were daughters of Alexander Keech. Announcement in *Baltimore Sun*, Nov. 14, 1863.


** Elizabeth Walker (age 90), daughter of (widow?) Mary Walker (age 52), who farmed near Bladensburg. MS. Census 1860, County of Wash., D. C.

** Gertrude Magoffin, daughter of Kentucky Governor Beriah and Anna Nelson Shelby Magoffin, was born Mar. 4, 1845. Letter from G. Glenn Clift, Kentucky Historical Society, Aug. 15, 1959.
have a great deal of company for us lately, & I get many rides. We can not hear often from the south. Father is well, & at Shreveport. Complains of the people being lawless, but says the crops are good. Calhoun can not receive anything from us any more, as the war department has stopped everything of the kind. I am sorry, for the poor fellow is quite downhearted. I pray there may be an exchange of prisoners soon in spite of what they say. Sallie Harwood was married to a Babcock in the navy the day before yesterday. I could not go to the wedding. I think of beginning a Sunday school at the little school house near here tomorrow. We have no man yet. This country is heteful.

Dec. lst. John Morgan reached Toronto Canada Nov. 30th. I dont believe we were defeated so much at Chattanoga Tenn. Heard of Su Nott’s sister Mrs. Pennington today, in Baltimore. [Newspaper clipping recounting the escape of John Morgan from the Ohio Penitentiary was pasted in the diary here.]

Dec. 3rd. There was firering, & saluting all day yesterday in honor of the erection of the statue of Freedom on the dome of the Capitol at W. I suppose they make such a fuss over the semblance, because they have not the reality. There seems to be heavy fighting between Mead & Lee in Va.

Dec. 7th. Began my Sunday School yesterday. I think there will not be more than 15 schollars.

Dec. 28th. Monday. Returned yesterday from a visit to Lizzie Robinson. Went last Tuesday, & helped to dress the church with winter greens for Xmas, also practiced for that day, as I am just now, & indeed have been almost ever since the Woods left, the only passable voice in the choir. I had a very pleasant time, though there was not much gaiety. I received a brush & comb from mother, for

**Sarah A. (age 17), daughter of H. H. Harwood (age 56), Captain, U. S. Navy. MS. Census 1860, Prince Georges County, Md.**

**General John Morgan escaped from prison near Columbus, Ohio, on Nov. 26, 1863. He was subsequently killed in action at Greeneville, Tenn., Sept. 4, 1864. See note 53.**

**This was the battle of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, Nov. 23-25, in which Grant’s army shattered Bragg’s forces.**

**A nineteen-foot bronze statue of “Armed Freedom” was raised to the dome of the capitol amid much ceremony on Dec. 2, Baltimore Sun, Dec. 8, 1863; Margaret Leech, Reveille in Washington, 1860-1865 (New York: Harper & Bros., 1941), p. 279.**
a Xmas present, a bonbonière from Mr. Seymour, a little fancy wax match box from Lizzie R., Spencers “Faire Queen” from Mr. Onderdonk, & a book from Miss Lizzie Walker. Mr. Seymour, Mr. Henedge (both of the English legation) & Edgar & Henry McCeney dined here yesterday. I can not imagine why I receive so much more attention than I ever did before, but certain it is that I do. Ever since Mr. Lee left it seems to me I have been almost a bellesl Among my more constant visitors I may recon Edgar & Henry McCeney, Mr. Onderdonk, George & Charlie Calvert, Mr. Seymour, Jerry Berry, Johny Bowie (!), Dr. Eversfield, Mr. Lee (!) & some accidentals. Tomorrow is my 21st birthday. I have had a bad cold nearly a month now. Calhoun is well.

Dec. 29th. This is my 21st birth day, & I am of age. No great occasion in a womans life I do not think I feel over joyed at being so old. Mr. Onderdonk & the two McCeneys dined here. Mother gave me a pair of home knit red mits, & a collar. I have been drawing likenesses again, which are said to be quite good sketches.

Jan 1st 1864. Mayst thou have a happy New Year oh Floridel May thy shadow never be less. Mayst have many returns. Mayst always be better, more fortunate (if possible) & in short I wish thee all good wishes, & all bliss now & evermore! This morning was dark & lowering, but about ten it cleared & the rest of the day has been fine though windy. I was sick yesterday from a too long ride on a wretched horse of Mr. Crawford’s with Mr. Onderdonk, but am pretty well to day, & not much troubled with my old cough. Mother is well & full of her intended trip to Johnsons Island next month. Mr. Dunscomb, Calhouns Water cure & Florida friend, is in W. We expect him out. On the whole I am a happy fortunate girl. I suppose from what I hear pretty much at my best in looks, but I hope not in everything else. If this year ended in peace to this land, I should have little to wish for. “Thy will oh Lord, not mine be done.”

**Jerry Berry (age 20), son of Eliza (age 45) and William Berry (50), a planter whose property was valued at $173,000; probably John T. Eversfield (age 37), a physician whose property was valued at $50,000. MS. Census 1860, Prince Georges County, Md.**

**C. H. Dunscomb, a close family friend, accompanied young Calhoun Clemson to Enterprise, Fla., in November, 1859, to help him regain his health. He frequently signed his letters with “A. S. F.” (A Southern Friend?) Anna Calhoun Clemson to Floride, Nov. 13, Nov. 27, 1859, Clemson Papers.**
A Rebel Came Home

Jan. 4th. Mr. Dunscomb, Calhoun's friend has been here a day or two. It is snowing hard, & very cold. I took a walk to Hyattsville, then back by Dr. Dare, over the bridge home near 5 miles. The longest walk I ever took I think.

["Chronological Record of Engagements For The Year 1863. (From The Army and Navy Journal.)"—newspaper clippings. Also account from New York Times, Jan. 9, 1863, of death of William Makepeace Thackeray.]

1864.

Jan. 8th. We have gathered our ice. It was about 4 in. thick. I think there will be a little more put in today, which will make the house fuller than it ever was before. Yesterday I returned from a visit to the Whartons'. The day before Dr. Eversfield drove the Wharton girls [Lizzie and Sarah], over to take me my first sleigh ride! We upset before we got out of the gate, but were not hurt. We had a break down also just before the Wharton’s gate, the runners running off & leaving us comfortably seated in the body of the sleigh. Yesterday I came home in a buggy. We did not have very good sleighing as the snow was too dry & shallow, but last night there fell two inches more, which will make it better. I had a right merry time at the W's. They will leave in a week or so, & intend giving up the house. When they return some time in the spring they intend trying to get board with the people who hire the house.

Jan. 18th. Monday. Last Friday morning uncle Elias Baker came down here with a Mr. Bartholomew, who has rented the place for one or five years. Uncle bought it this morning (the place) for 10,000. All agreements made on this subject, Mr. Stephens, Mr. Crawford, & I witnessed. Mother & I will probably leave the place in the spring. I really feel badly about it, for who knows how it may all end? Mother has given up going to Sandusky as the prisoners may soon be moved & the uncertainty too great.

Sat. Jan 23rd. Started for Baltimore on a visit to Mary Latrobe. Will probably be away a week. Was vaccinated yesterday. Am not very well but have no cold. Sick headaches again.

Sat. Feb. 6th. Returned from Baltimore to day after an exactly two weeks visit. I spent all my time with Mary Latrobe. Sally Ingham was there & I liked her very much. I went to two concerts (amateur) at one of which I sang in a chorus. Also to two of Van-
denhoff's readings (delightful) & to two parties, one at Mrs. Templeton's, & an other given to Sallie, & I by the family. My visit was delightful. I also heard some most excellent sermons from Drs. Hawks, & Schenck. I had a great many visitors. Among others Mrs. Thomas (the French lady—Zarvona's Mother.) Mary Washington, Jennie Smith, & I dont remember who all. The weather was delightful. I had my black silk made. I had an invitation to a large party at the Riggs in Washington but could not go. I was to stay with them. I saw Judge Merrick's brother Dick, & his bride Miss Maguire (that was.) Dined at Mrs. John Latrobe's. Had my share of admiration & attention, & "sang with unbounded applause." Spent $35 somehow partly on the making of a black silk dress. My measurements are now: Waist 28, [meaning 23 or 24 inches?] inches; Weight 168 lbs; Skirt 52 behind/in front 46. Around breast 35. Shoulders 42. Neck 16. Arm hole 15. Wrist 7. Sleeve 18 in front, 24 behind. Length of body: Front 13½; back 16. Shoulder 10 long. This is for dress making.

Feb. 17th. To day is by far the coldest of the year. The thermometer has steadily lowered from 18° this morning to 9° now (near sundown). This is the first day since last Wednesday I have been well enough to write. I had a return of my last summer's sickness, & was confined to the bed & sofa several days. I am not well yet. The prisoners have been moved from Johnsons Island (at least some of them) & we are most anxious to know where they are. Poor Calhoun where is he? We have heard from Shreveport. He [Clemson] is well but broke his left arm some time since during a wagon ride over the country. The vehicle was upset, & he had to

10 George Vandenhoff (b. Feb. 18, 1820), son of an English actor, migrated to America and obtained a reputation in New York as an actor and a teacher of elocution and as a writer of a volume of theatrical anecdotes. He gave three "dramatic entertainments" at the Odd Fellows' Hall on Feb. 1, 2, and 4. *Baltimore Sun*, Jan. 28, 1864. Also see *Dictionary of National Biography*, XX, 99.


12 The prominent banking family of George W. (age 48) and Janet Riggs (age 42). Riggs' personal and real property was valued at $500,000 in 1860. Floride was a friend of the Riggs daughters: Alice (age 18), Katherine (17), and Cecilia (16). MS. Census 1860, First Ward, D. C.

A Rebel Came Home

ride more than 20 miles before reaching medical aid. Grandma also writes she is well. Mr. Dunscomb has been here. He taught me the new [card] game of Bezique. I'm nearly frozen. Pshaw!

Feb. 24th. Mr. Dunscomb has been here ever since Saturday (today is Wednesday) On the 22nd I tried rifle shooting for the first time. Mr. D's rifle has a telescope sight & we (Mr. Onderdonk, Edgar McCeney, Mr. D & myself) shot at a mark of 3 inches at 104 yds. Edgar & I were the only ones hit the mark. I did the best shooting. Yesterday we shot without a rest, only leaning on one knees, Mr. D & I, & without the telescope, at 75 yds. with a 6 inch mark we fired 40 times. Only 14 (7 a peice) went outside of 2 in. out. 10 in the mark, 5 a peice. My shooting was best again. I have walked about 4 miles each day now. Last Sunday Miss Lizzie W[alker] Edith W[iltberger],* & myself (nearly) fainted. Lovely weather. Mrs. McCeney sick.

Sat. March 12th. Went into the city to day to stay with the Riggs'. Walked 7 miles in a day. Mr. Dunscomb went into the city too.

Sat. March 19th. Came back from the city sick. I have not been able to read for two months without pain. The Dr. Stone said I was threatened with amarosis* & forbids all use of my eyes, on pain of blindness. I have constant fainting fits & nervous chills & spasms. I am not at all strong or well. I had a photo taken. Mr. Dunscomb came back with me. He is very kind, & pleasant. I like him. He took me walking almost every day. The Riggs are a delightful family & I am much pleased with them. They have much company, principally among the foreigners. I saw many of these while there.

March 30th. Nina Burks** is staying with me. I dont know for how long. She is not well. I have spent a week in bed ever since

* Edith Wiltberger (age 18), most likely the daughter of John B. (age 38) and Mary E. Wiltberger (38) in the family of Charles H. (age 64) and Verlinda M. Wiltberger (59). Beside Edith, there were Emma (15) and three other children (ages 2½ to 12). MS. Census 1860, County of Wash., D. C.

** Amaurosis—a darkening, a total loss of vision without discoverable lesion in the eye structure or optic nerve. Steadman's Medical Dictionary, p. 55.

** Nina Burks (age 17) and Emily Burks (age 38) lived with the neighboring family of Elizabeth Wood in 1860. MS. Census 1860, County of Wash., D. C. Later Nina Burks lived at 710 Lansom St., Philadelphia. Nina Burks to Floride Clemson, Mar. 30, 1863, Clemson Papers.
my return, or rather on the sofa, with diorea, which I got last fall travelling.

_Sund._ April 3rd. Mary Latrobe & Mr. Onderdonck have been here since Friday, & left this morning. We had a merry time. I have been sick again.

April 12th. Nina Burks left today after a little more than a fortnight’s visit. She is staying at the Middleton’s. I can not use my eyes yet.

April 18th. Mother, & Mr. Dunscomb started this morning for Sandusky to see Calhoun. I am to stay with my friends. I am not very well.

April 26th. Mother & Mr. Dunscomb returned today from their trip to Sandusky having been away a week & a day. They saw Calhoun twice. He looks well & handsome they say. Mother got a pass from Gen. [H. D.] Terry who commands Johnson’s Is. without any difficulty & says he was treated with the greatest consideration by him & all his officers that she saw. Calhoun says he has nothing to complain of now & that he is well treated in any way. Mother was detained twice on the road by accidents. They stopped a day at uncle Elias Baker’s at Altoona. Calhoun gave her some rings he made & Mr. D. a stick of his cutting. I spent my time between Mrs. Calvert & Lizzie Robinson. Had my teeth fixed (three). My eyes are better, but I am still unable to read.

May 9th. Mr. Dunscomb left us today, after a visit of over two months. He was very kind & pleasant & took me walking &c. a great deal. I miss him a good deal. Lizzie Robinson has been staying with us. We are making every preparation to leave this place for Beltsville by the end of this month. It nearly breaks my heart for I do not want to go away or there either. The house begins already to look denuded. It is very hard! The place looks so lovely, all the lilacs in full bloom, for the weather has been exceedingly hot during the past few days. I am pretty well again, & eyes much better.

May 15th. Mr. Charles B. Calvert of Riversdale near here, died yesterday at about four o’clock, from a stroke of paralysis which took him Tuesday last. He never either spoke or rallied, & seemed unconscious. This neighborhood is completely broken up. Mr. John
A Rebel Came Home

C. Reives having died less than a month ago. We have all been in a state of anxiety, & excitement for the past week about the movements of the armies. There has been more terrible fighting in the Wilderness near the old Chancellorsville, & Fredrickburg battle fields. Thank God so far we seem to be successful, may we remain so! Banks' expedition towards Shreveport La. has proved a complete failure, & he is reported to have capitulated. The ram Alba-marle of N. C. has been fighting successfully. Charleston has been released from its unsuccessful seige. Everything looks bright & cheering. Uncle Elias Baker left this morning after a visit of two or three days. The dear old gentleman does not look well. Summer is nearly full.

May 17th. Leave home to day for Mrs. Middleton's.

May 21st. Leave Mrs. Middletons for Lizzie Robinsons. Had a very pleasant visit. Got bording for Mr. Seymour at the Magruders' near there. We had a serenade from the soldiers of the forts, which was beautiful. Went to Mrs. Hickeys' funeral. She died, the day Mr. Calvert was buried, of paralysis after 2 days illness.

** A former partner of Francis Preston Blair on The Globe, John C. Rives was once a member of President Jackson's "kitchen cabinet." In 1860 the property of Rives (age 62) was valued at $340,000. MS. Census 1860, Prince Georges County, Md.; Washington: City and Capital, p. 824.

** Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks (Jan. 30, 1816-Sept. 1, 1894), defeated by Confederate forces on April 9, was forced to give up his attack on Shreveport. DAB, I, 577-80.

May 26th. Went home again & stayed till Tuesday, May 31st. When I went back to Lizzie's. During this visit home saw many of our friends, & was almost broken hearted at seeing all the furniture &c. go to be stored & sold. Oh dear! Returned home again Friday, June 3rd & stayed till Tuesday June 7th, when I went back to Lizzie Robinson's & stayed till Tuesday, June 14th. When we all drove up to our new place near Betsville. Lizzie R., Jennie King, & myself in a buggy. Mr. & Mrs. King, Mrs. Robinson & a driver in the carriage. Mother joined us & we all spent the day at Mrs. Sander's about half a mile off. Mr. Seymour rode as far as Hyattsville with us. (I forgot to say mother moved here June 7th, Tuesday with all our goods & chattels, & the same day, Mr. Ed. Towers took possession of The Home on consideration of $40 a month for the house & lot. Our horses sold for $68 a peice, only).

June 19th. This house has but four rooms & a kitchen, low ceilings but of a good size, very common. The place is very pretty surrounded by trees, & a wood close by. One very fine oak tree before the door makes an out door parlour, where we have chairs & a hammock. We are about a mile from Betsville & nearly a half one from Mrs. Sanders. Mr. Ed. Herbert lives about the same distance off; all are very kind. I took a ride with Dr. Eversfield yesterday, & Henry McMeney has been here sleeping on the sofa ever since we came. Miss Curley Mrs. [J. C.] Fairfax sister is staying there [at the Fairfaxe's].

June 30th. Thursday. A week ago last Saturday I went with Mr. Onderdonk to the college to hear a Mr. Taverner read, & liked

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1 Edward Towers (age 47), warehouseman whose property was valued at $13,000 in 1860. MS. Census 1860, Fifth Ward, D. C.
A Rebel Came Home

him better than Vandenhoff whom I heard last winter in Baltimore. He read several of the Ingoldsby Legends, & Poe's "Bells," &c. most beautifully. It was a lovely moon light cool night, & I enjoyed it amazingly. Last Tuesday week we spent at Mrs. Conteé's, 2 Mrs. Sanders' sister, & met the two Miss Jenkens. The eldest Lizzie is very handsome & seems lovely; the other is a regular romp. Mrs. Herbert took me, & Mrs. Sanders mother. I spent the evening before with Mrs. Herbert whom I like very much. To day week I went to Mrs. John's at the college, & the same evening heard Dr. Johns deliver a lecture on "Literary Culture["] or something of the sort, awfully dull, & long, especially as the evening was very hot. Next day Friday was the commencement, which I enjoyed wonderfully. S. D. Hall, W. T. P. Turpin, & C. M. Newman graduated. There were nine original speaches. The best were; Wm. Goldsborough's poetical dream on the Development of the Present; Dick Goldsborough on the Sighning of the Magna Carter; L. Roberts on The Farmer; & best of all Richard Owens on the Heroes of the World, or Liberty as he made it. I should think this latter would make his mark in the world. After the exercises the band serenaded me, and I payed a visit to Sarah Wharton who now boards at her old house. Next day Mr. Onderdonk drove me to see Lizzie Robinson, & the Woods who have just returned from Paris, & were staying with the Middletons. They seemed delighted to see me, & I was to meet them again. They are much prettier and pleasenter than they were. Gertrude [Wood] is nearly & tall as I am & much larger, but not as pretty as I thought she would be. They had a delightful time in Paris, London, & the world in general, & come home determined to sell their place & return. They left Jefferson [Wood] in England. I returned with Dr. Eversfield Sunday, after a very hot, & pleasant visit, except that Mrs. & Dr. Johns raised a report that I was engaged to Mr. Onderdonk which was not pleasant. Dr. Eversfield

*Probably Mrs. Ann L. Conteé (age 60). Her property was valued at $65,000, and her family included Charles (age 28) and Elizabeth Conteé (19). MS. Census 1860, Prince Georges County, Md.


*The family of Elizabeth D. Wood (age 42), a farmer whose property was valued at $70,000 in 1860, had the following children: Emily (age 18), Virginia (16), Gertrude (12), and Jefferson (10).

54
Beltville, Maryland 1864

took me a nice long ride last evening & an other last week. Mr. Seymour was here the day before yesterday & Mr. Onderdonk *constantly*. I go up to see Mrs. Fairfax every day almost, & hear her sister read. I can not read yet. The day before yesterday Mr. Onderdonk took me to the city where we met Mr. Glover who showed, & explained us over the Patent Office, & Smithsonian. He is so well informed on most scientif subjects. I saw the librarian of the Smithsonian, Dr. Gill,* who explained me somethings most learnedly & unintelligibly. What I was most interested in was a fine collection of paintings &c. from Pompilien frescoes. I have just received a letter from Miss [Harriet] Lane saying she is not going to sea shore where I wished to accompany her, so I expect to go with Mrs. Herbert. We have heard from Grandma, & father; both well.

July 10th. I have at last found a party bound to the sea shore. Mr. & Mrs. Herbert, Mr. Onderdonk, myself & perhaps some others, will start for Squam Beach,⁶ N. J. on the 18th probably, for a two weeks tour. I am making my bathing dress which I got in Baltimore last week, of dark blue flannel trimmed with solfarino [fuchsia colored] braid. Miss Lane wrote me she did not intend to go to the sea shore this year, but wants me to join her at Bedford, but my eyes are no better & I must try what promises to do them most good. We have had some letters from Jefferson Co. Va. All are well, & cousin Annie W.? has gone to Claymont Del, to spend the summer with her father. The Confederates are again in Maryland, in Hagerstown & near Frederick, but no one seems to have any idea of their numbers. I wish JEB Stuart was still alive, to head this raid, if raid it is, though some seem to think there are not far from 40,000. Grant is not even spoken of in the papers with his grand "on to Richmond."[*] I suppose he is stuck in a swamp down there. Gold is about 275 per cent, & every thing in proportion. We have constant company here, & are having a very pleasant time. Indeed I sometimes think I am too happy, I have so much to be thankful for. I get plenty of rides on *mule* & horse back, & have so many


*The northern part of Island Beach was formerly called Squan Beach.

A Rebel Came Home

kind friends. It has always been so with me, I am so fortunate; every one is kind to me, & all turns out for the best. Then I enjoy everything so much. Singing & riding, my two passions however, & almost everyone seems to like my voice. I am most of the choir at the Beltsville church. If I could only read. The Alabama* was sunk by the Kersage lately near Cherbourg.

July 12th. We are in a tremendous excitement about here now.° One army of Confederates within sight of Baltimore & only 3 miles from the Relay House on his road, the other knocking at the gates of Washington. We heard the firing of musketry & cannonading all day yesterday & the rumor is that the fighting is at Ft. Slocum. They have taken Ft. Massachusetts, burnt Blair’s & Bradford’s places, & got possession of the Chain Bridge. Lincoln they say, has gotten possession of his Scotch cap, & departed. The cars still run, but we expect them to stop daily, or rather secondly. Five bridges were burnt between Baltimore & Pila. The Gunpowder & others." The last news last night was that the Rebels were 2½ miles from the Capitol. I saw the smoke from the battle field last evening during a ride I took to the college with Dr. Eversfield. I suppose this puts an end to our sea shore excursion at least for the present. We seem to have left home [Bladensburg] in time.

1 o’clock. The Confederates over a thousand strong are at Beltsville not a mile from here. There has been some firing there & just now 4 yankee soldiers ran through the place & told us the news. Running away!

7 o’clock. We spent all day at the Sanders, where there were hundreds of Cavalry. Gen. Bradly Johnson** was there & I had a

* The U. S. S. “Kearsarge” sank the famous Confederate raider “Alabama” on June 19, 1864.

° At this point Floride pasted in her diary: “Deo Vindice (Confederate motto).” She became an eye witness to Confederate General Jubal A. Early’s raid to the outskirts of Washington.

** The residence of Francis Preston Blair, Sr., and the county residence of Maryland Governor Andrew W. Bradford were burned. The “Chain Bridge” was over the Potomac. The five bridges reported destroyed were over smaller streams. Baltimore Sun, July 12, 1864.

long talk with him, also Capt. Emack & many others. Heard from some freinds. They are very strong, well clothed & expect to sweep the state. Still before W. & all around. The rail road has been cut & burnt. They were so handsome, so noble looking, Oh!

July 14th. Yesterday morning the Confederates left this part of the country, & directed their steps toward the Soldiers’ Home near which the infantry under Gen. Early are said to be encamped. There are so many hundred reports that one has no idea what to believe. By some this is said to be a mere raiding party, by others an organized movement to take Wash. Some say the Soldiers Home is burnt, others say not. Ft. Totten is and is not taken. Blair’s house is & is not burnt. All is uncertain. Here we are nearly on the battle field & know nothing. The troops here, under Bradly Johnson, numbered 1600 cavalry, with near 200 prisoners. They said they has destroyed this rail road, perhaps they did, but the cars commenced running by here yesterday evening & still do, perhaps not far. Some 3,000 Union troops are near Laurel they say (?), The [Confederate] cavalry was mounted on Maryland horses, taken since their arrival but they complain of their inefficiency, being too fat. Bradly Johnson passed by the college yesterday, & mounted the next hill from where he saw 400 Yankees drawn up near Hyattsville, the same that one company of Confed’s routed the day before. He threw one, or two shells toward them, & they scattered—skedaddled! They [Confederates] took about one hundred mules near here, but I believe let them go as they could not be driven. They burnt some stationary working cars near here & took all they wanted from the Beltsville store, but committed no wanton destruction. They say they only burnt Gov. Bradford’s house in retaliation for Gov. Letcher’s in Va. burnt wantonly by Yankees.

12 Captain George (?) Emack (age 17), whose father, A. G. Emack (age 56) was a Beltsville farmer. MS. Census 1860, Prince Georges County, Md. Baltimore Sun, July 16, 1864, carried a brief account of a Union soldier’s dying in the Emack home during the battle.

13 Baltimore Sun, July 16, 1864, reported the Confederates, by order of Gen. Johnson, entered the Beltsville store of John Simms and took about $2,000 worth of goods, and compelled private citizens to give them money, whiskey, oats, nearly all the horses in the neighborhood, and about 200 to 300 mules.

14 On June 12, 1864, U. S. General David Hunter burned the Lexington home of ex-Governor John Letcher of Virginia for “inciting the population of the country to rise and wage a guerrilla warfare” on Federal troops. WROR (Series I), XXXVII, Part I, p. 97.
A Rebel Came Home

July 23rd. The Confederates have all gotten safe over the river, & the force appears to have been ridiculously small, not 10,000. They seemed to have committed no acts of wanton violence, & took nothing they did not need. There is some account of a fight with them at Sni[c]ker's Gap, but nothing certain. Bradley Johnson during a skirmish near Rockville Md. was captured by the Yankees, but recaptured by his men. Young McKnew from near here was separated from his regiment & met over 50 Yankee cavalry alone. He charged into them screaming “Come on boys,” to no one & firing his pistols & routed them all. He afterwards turned back, & the Yankee's rallied & pursued. He however escaped by lying along his horses' side, & though hundreds of shots were fired at him, escaped unharmed. This was told me by some eyewitnesses. Mr. Onderdonk has left, on account of having been arrested & fear of further trouble, to get lodgings for our party at the sea side, where we expect to go August 1st now. Mr. Dunscomb who writes constantly, talks of joining us—me. We are in the midst of a frightful drought. We have had no rain since we have been here, save three showers, which did not wet the ground more than half an inch collectively. The weather is alternately very hot, & very cold. They say no crops will be made. Mr. Seymour comes every holliday here, & Dr. Eversfield rides constantly with me. Mr. Onderdonks pet horse Sally was taken by the Unioners lately.

July 25th. It is raining for the first time since we came here June 1st but I fear it is too late to save some of the crops. Such a drought!

July 31st. The Confederates have gotten back in to Maryland, much stronger than they were they say. They whipped the Yankees near Winchester & drove them back to Harper’s Ferry. Now quite a large body has penetrated Penn. & burnt part if not the whole of Chambersburg. I am sorry for those made homeless by this, but so much worse has been done at the South that retaliation is necessary. 500 factory girls from Georgia have been taken to the North.16

18 “Captain Morris McKnew, who formerly resided in that vicinity [Beltsville] is known to have been among the rebel visitors there on Tuesday.” Baltimore Sun, July 14, 1864.

14 When Gen. W. T. Sherman’s cavalry captured the cotton-mill town of Roswell, Georgia, several hundred female operatives were loaded aboard wagons and sent to Marietta (Ga.) “to be sent north of the Ohio [via rail?] and set at liberty.” Baltimore Sun, July 23, 1864. What eventually became of the girls is still a mystery.
then sent out of the boundaries of the United States, to starve, I suppose. Gen. [David] Hunter has issued an order that such people as are suspected of being Southern in Fredrick Md. shall be arrested, confiscated, banished (the women & children) to the South, & the men sent to prison. Some ladies I know of have been sent to Mass. to work in the prisons for corresponding with their friends South! Our trip to the sea shore is again postponed on account of the Confederates. It is now our intention (will it ever be more?) to go to Long Beach [N.J.] Wednesday instead of tomorrow, if the Southerners retreat; & matters look less threatening. I am making some beautiful night gowns, tucked yokes.

Aug. 1st. I am busy making preparations to start Wednesday if nothing happens, for the sea shore. They say this morning that Grant has mined & blown up some of the fortifications before Petersburg.\textsuperscript{17}

Aug. 3rd. We left for Long Beach to day, but only got as far as Philadelphia, where we intend spending the night. I went out to aunt [Catharine Clemson] No[r]th’s but found every one away except George, w[h]o had gotten home for a day or two on leave. I bid good bye to Tom Franklin\textsuperscript{18} on the cars, he was on his way to South America. (Reached L. B. next day)

Aug 18th Philadelphia. I returned from Long Beach yesterday. It was no place for ladies, being a sporting resort for gentlemen where they appear at meals, & all times in their flannel over shirt sleeves. The hotel we said [stayed] at was almost the only house on the Island which is 20 miles long & very narrow, not more than \% of a mile near the house, sandy & without one tree on it. It is divided from the main shore of N. J. by Egg Harbor bay [Little Egg Harbor] which is delightful to sail on & very safe. It is reached by a sail boat from Atlantic City, a distance of of about 20 miles. We had a nice sail last Thursday week going, nearly all being sea sick, except myself, but coming home, the tide was low in the bay passage & too rough out side so we had to stop half way & stage 10 miles to Absecon, & never got to Phila, over the dreadfully N. J. railroad, till nine o’clock. There is hardly a full grown tree all the way, no

\textsuperscript{17} Followed by the bloody “Battle of the Crater,” July 30.

\textsuperscript{18} An acquaintance Floride met while visiting the Latrobes in Baltimore. He escorted her to several social functions there. Floride to Anna Calhoun Clemson, Jan. 26, 1864, Clemson Papers.
A Rebel Came Home

fields, nothing but scrub oak, on a flat country, sand, & a few shanties. Half bur[n]t by car cinders! Mr. Seymour, Dr. Eversfield & Mr. Onderdonk joined me at Long Beach. After I left, Mr. Dunscomb, & Mr. Lee also started to go there. I learned to float like a cork, better than any man or woman there, & could swim, but not make much head way in the breakers which are very strong there, though the bathing is considered the best on the coast. We went out fishing six times but caught very little. Sheapshead, black, wheat, king, & dog, were all that are found there pretty much, I had average luck. We went sailing in the bay often, it was spended [splendid], especially moon light nights. The weather was hot. I met Mrs. O’Brien, her husband, his brother, his sister Mrs. Talliaferro, Mrs. Slack, but very few other ladies. My room was scarce more than six feet by 7, & right over the bar, so that I heard all the rowdy goings on, & singing. I played ten pins, & billiards with moderate success. The gentlemen were only there during the last half of the time & left when I did. I had a falling out with Mr. Onderdonk, & dont think I enjoyed having three men to entertain a bit, but was kept in constant hot water. We had nothing but fish to eat, & I had diarrhoea all the time, & felt very weak, but my eyes got well while there. Mr. and Mrs. Herbert were very kind, & I had not much to do with the doleful Mrs. Stephen. I part here with all the party except Dr. Eversfield who stays till Tuesday next. All that are at home here are aunt & uncle North, Walter, Clarence, & Herbert.

Sep. 7th. Reached Lancaster this morning where I was met with open arms by Miss Lane, also very cordially by Mr. Buchanan. I came up in the cars most of the way with uncle Baker Clemson, & lost a common shawl. I spent three weeks in Philadel. with aunt North who was very kind to me. Kate Barton, Mary & Sally Clemson 19 spent most of the time with me. All got home after I got there save George, who is aid to Averil [?] & Clem who is in partnershhip with cousin Fisher Hazzard 20 at Mauck Chuck [Mauch Chunk]. Bessie [North] is fifteen now, but very childish & stupid &

19 Kate, daughter of Elizabeth Clemson Barton; Mary and Sally, daughters of the Rev. John Baker Clemson.

not pretty. Willie [North] is a handsome fellow nearly as old as I am, & full of genious & enthusiasm for music. He plays delightfully on the organ, & has a very fine parlor organ at home. Walter [North] is eighteen, homely, & quiet, but I like him best of any. He is tall, & very kind & good. He is to study for the ministry. I gave him singing lessons, & found he had a nice voice with much ear for music as they all had. Clarence [North] is very small for twelve. Herbert [North] nearly as tall as he is & eight. They are a lovely family, & live most harmoniously together. I learned to play four handed chess while there, & enjoyed it mightily. I spent one day, the Monday week after I got there, at Claymont [Del.]. I saw Mary & Mattie, aunt Pheby [Clemson], uncle Baker [Clemson], Sally, & Kate Barton, Tom Clemson, aunt & uncle Elias Baker, & the Browns of Claymont. Mary stayed with me in West Phila a few days, & looks just as she did. Sally, Kate, Mary & I, had ourselves ferrotyped (a new art) in a group to commemorate my visit. Uncle Elias Baker is much broken, & looks badly. I am so sorry. I went to consult Dr. Hays the most eminent occultist in Phila about my eyes. He says they are severely strained, & I must continue not to use them for nearly a year certainly, & perhaps more. I will not go blind but may never be able to use them again if I read or strain them again. My nervous system was put so much out of order by my illness (diarrhoea) last fall, & winter, that it has attacked my eyes. I am pretty fat for all, & look pretty well now however. I payed Dr. H. $20 for four visits. He gave me an irritant linament of red pepper &c for my forehead, iron pills, & a preparation of syrup of iron, & ordered bathing my eyes in salt water. I also use London smoke glasses in a bright light. My eyes got much better at the sea shore, but pained me as much as ever after I left. Aunt North seemed very fond of me, & Kate, & Sallie nearly eat me up with love, & petting. Sallie looks & is very delicate now, she has lost most of her beauty. She is two months younger than Kate who is two years & a half older than me. Mary is two months older than I am. Kate looks very well. Aunt Pheby is getting more weak, & sickly


**Isaac Hays (July 5, 1798-April 13, 1879), M.D. from University of Pennsylvania, an outstanding medical editor, a pioneer in ophthalmology, and a surgeon at Wills Eye Hospital. He was one of the first doctors to detect astigmatism and to study color blindness. DAB, VIII, 462-63.
than she was. Uncle Baker looks very well. Mattie is the same old
76 she was though improved. I went out to Fairmount park, a new
thing since I went to school, also visited the State house, Mint, &
Philadelphia library where I saw very many interesting books. I
went over the Academy of fine arts also. They are building the
Chesnut St. Bridge over the Schuykill now.

Sep. 23rd. I left Lancaster the day before yesterday after a very
pleasant visit of just two weeks. It is strange all my starts during this
trip were made on Wednesdays. Aug 3rd (Wednesday) left home
for Long Beach, stayed nearly two weeks & left for Phila Wednesday
17th. Stayed there three weeks, & left for Lancaster Wednesday
Sep 7th. Left there for home Wednesday, Sep 21st. I was away in
all, just 7 weeks, during which I managed to spend $160. The mere
travelling, & boarding at the sea shore expenses, were some $70.
Dr. Hays & medicines took $25 more, & the rest went, dear knows
how, I dont. At Lancaster I had a most delightful visit with Miss
Lane. We passed our time very quietly for there is very little company
there. I suppose I scarce saw twenty persons in all. The family of a Dutch
reform minister, Mr. Nevin, was the only one I saw at all on a sociable footing, or often. I went to see old aunt Kitty
[Baker] Ickleburger. She has been very ill, & looks much older than
when I saw her last, & more decrepit. She says she does not expect
to live much longer as she is already 82, the age at which her two
sisters (grandma & Mrs. Free) died. It seems probable. She is much
softened by age, & was most affectionate to me. They say she is
fond of me. I also saw Miss Hetty Barton; Kate's aunt, & her uncle
Graff Barton. None of the Russells were at home except Louise, &
Mrs. R. towards the last. Kate R. is engaged. She & Margery were
away at Detroit Migan, with an uncle. Mr. Buchanan's horses were
lame so we did not have many rides. One to Litit[z] the day before
I left was most pleasant. This is a Moravian settlement some ten
miles from Lancaster, noted for its fine spring of pure water, which
flows from under a rock, in sufficient quantity almost to turn a mill.
It is near the mountains, & is said to have very fine pure air also. I
went to the two schools, which are quite celebrated, one for boys,
& one for girls. I also visited the church, & grave yard attached
to it. This latter is laid out in stiff rows of square mounds in which
the dead are lain, not in families but in the order in which they die,
the men on one side, & the women on the other. The place is small,
BELTSVILLE, MARYLAND 1864

& there is but one hotel, quite a large one, which has been lately built, as none were allowed during the stricter days of the sect. Miss Lane is now about thirty two or three I suppose & still very handsome, large, but not too much so for a fine figure. She looks much younger than she is. I love her very dearly, & she seems equally attached to me. We have always corresponded since she left the White House, where I stayed with her some time once. We spent the mornings in taking long walks, generally to Lancaster for the mail; the afternoons with a pleasant game of croquet which I saw here for the first time; & the evenings in reading aloud, & talking, with an occasional game of Bezique. Mr. Buchanan had a fall from walking out after night while I was there, which laid him up for a week or more. He was otherwise quite hail & robust for so old a man. He was also very kind to me, & kissed me good bye, with which I could have dispensed, when I left. He is a crooked old fellow however, & seems little grateful for the sacrifices Miss Lane makes for him. She is very devoted to him. He is writing a history of the times, & a kind of a biography of himself I believe, so we rarely saw him even when he was well, except at meals, & for an hour or so in the evening. There is a crabbed old housekeeper there, Miss Hetty Parker, who has been with Mr. B. for near 30 years, & is as cranky to Miss Lane as possible. I called Miss Lane "Lady Constance", a name which she has adopted in our intercourse. I think it suits her. Mr. B. calls her Miss Lane!! I came home all by myself through a mistake. Mother wrote me to meet Dr. Eversfield in Harrisburg last Wednesday in time for the one o'clock train for Baltimore. Miss Lane had offered to take me home herself but I liked this better than troubling her. I left Lancaster in the eleven o'clock train which ordinarily joins that one, but was unfortunately an hour late, so Dr. E. had started before me. I could not leave before next morning so I waited comfortably at the house of Mrs. Dougherty, Carrie Hickey that was, whom I fortunately thought of, in my delima. She took me a lovely drive along the banks of the Susquehanna towards sun set, & next morning at 7 o'clock I left for Baltimore, which I reached a twelve o'clock. I spent the intervening time until half past three with the Ben Latrobes, & got home salutely. Finding a neighbor's carriage at the depot I rode home & surprised mother. There was a lar[g]e Democratic McClellan meeting in Lan-
The following unidentified news clipping appeared at this point.

Espionage of the Express on Ex-President Buchanan.

The Express of last evening informs its readers that a “distinguished visitor, Miss CLEMSOON, the grand-daughter of the late JOHN C. CALHOUN, of South Carolina, is at present a guest of Ex-President BUCHANAN, at Wheatland.

This young lady is not at Wheatland. With her mother, the daughter of the long since deceased Mr. CALHOUN, she has been living in seclusion in the vicinity of Washington ever since the commencement of our national troubles, both universally respected. Being now on a visit to her relatives in this State—most of whom, we may observe, are strong Republicans—she expects on her return home to visit Wheatland, where she will be a most welcome guest.

This young lady’s name has thus been brought before the public in a political newspaper, for the first time in her life, without regard to her feelings, for the malignant purpose of injuring Mr. BUCHANAN—and this, although the record of the country, as well as every act of his life, proves that he has ever been the active and consistent opponent of nullification and secession, in opposition to the views of her justly and highly distinguished grandfather.

The Express is too much in the habit of reproachfully introducing the names of ladies into its columns. This it has done on a recent occasion without a shadow of truth. In this practice it stands alone among respectable journals of both parties. We warn it that the manly and gallant spirit of our people will not suffer it to pursue this course with impunity.

Octo. 5th. Mr. D. W. Lee has been here ever since last Friday. Mother wrote for him to come on business, that is to settle matters before she left. He is in one of his pleasant moods, & looks better. He sleeps down at Bells, a farm house only a few hundred yards from here. Mother wants me to stay behind when she goes South, & I suppose I will have to if she insists but I dont see sufficient cause. More of this hereafter. I have seen most of my friends, since my return, & have been very busy sewing for mother, & myself.

**Clement L. Vallandigham (July 29, 1820-June 17, 1871), famous “Copperhead” and ex-Senator from Ohio. He had attended the Democratic convention which nominated General George B. McClellan for president in 1864. Biog. Dir. Cong., p. 1946.**
am very well just now, though I had the diarrhoea all the time I was away. My eyes are better also.

**Octo 9th, Sunday** Poor Lizzie Walker died last Wednesday, & I attended her funeral on Friday. She had a long illness of Typhoid fever, & was given up some time before her death. I went with Mrs. Sanders. She was buried at Rock Creek. How much we shall miss her at church! She was the organist, & one of the most active members of the congregation. Every one seemed fond of her, & the attendance at the funeral was very large. We hear very distressing accounts from Va. Aunt Louisa\(^2\) writes that she does not know from one day to an other where the food is to come from, as everything is taken, even the cattle. She reclaimed her cows the other day, & drove them home herself. Cousin Christine has gone farther into the interior of the state to Augustine Washington’s place. The cloths even of cousin Lucy’s children were torn up or stolen. It is too too bad.

**Octo. 16 Sunday** Mrs. Keich died last Thursday, & was buried yesterday. Her husband died this year also. The Robinson’s & Kings spent last Thursday here, & left Lizzie R. at the Sander’s to spend some days. She is as lovely as ever, & I see her constantly of course. Mrs. Stark of this neighborhood also died last week. The mortality has been fearful this year. Mother speaks of letting me go South with her now, so I am very busy. Dr. Eversfield took me to ride last Tuesday, to the Bur[n]t Mills, & coming home, very unexpectedly offered himself to me. I am so sorry, for I like him.

**Nov. 9th.** Yesterday was the election for President; in a day or two we shall know what the fate of the nation is to be. Aunt Louisa Washington arrived here last Wednesday evening. She came down from Jefferson, to see if she could do anything towards the release of Cousin Christine’s son Johny who was captured near his home on the charge that he was one of Mosby’s\(^2\) riders! Poor deformed boy, he is only 16 years old. Aunt Louisa looks very well, but gives a most deplorable account of the state of things in the valley of Va.

\(^2\) Louisa Clemson, sister of Thomas G. Clemson, married Samuel Washington, of Virginia. Christine and Lucy are undoubtedly two of her three daughters. Holmes and Sherrill, *Thomas Green Clemson*, p. 3; Forrest W(ashington) Brown to T. G. Clemson, Aug. 8, Sept. 29, 1885, Clemson Papers.

Among other shifts they have to make is that of knitting stockings of the ravelings of old tents. The dear old lady will probably stay with us until she can do something for Johny, though she has met with nothing but disappointment yet, & can not even send anything to the boy. Yesterday week I went to Baltimore to shop, & spent over a hundred dollars in a very short time, not getting what in old times would have been considered one third of the worth of my money. I got a grey mid-season cloak, a brown merino dress, & a bright plaid for every day besides other things. Mr. Lee is still here & pleasant. Mr. Onderdonk has taken a place near Baltimore for a school on his own hook. Mr. Dunscomb is to come tomorrow. Dr. Eversfield left for California on the 22nd of last month, in the steamer North Star. Poor fellow, he wrote such a nice letter to mother, bidding us good bye. The Robinson’s are in trouble. Mr. R was arrested on the charge of making signal lights,—all nonsense,—but they threaten the whole family with banishment South. I am very well now, but have been quite ailing again.

Nov 10th Mr. Dunscomb came.

Nov 23rd. I have just returned from a six days’ visit to the Woods, in the old neighborhood, I went down to attend a confirmation held by Bishop Southgate at Rock Creek Church. I was confirmed yesterday (Tuesday) morning with 17 others, among whom were Jennie Wood, Jennie King, Emma, & Edith Wiltberger, & Mary Ross. Bishop Southgate has been a missionary bishop to Constantinople, & has a church in N. Y. now. He has no diocese. He is a short, fine looking man, of about fifty, & delivered a very good address. I pray I may prove a consistent christian. I have been a pretty regular communicant every since my baptism over a year ago, & have always intended being confirmed on the first opportunity. The poor Robinsons have met with an other severe affliction. Cary their second son was killed about the 13th of this month while carrying the colors at the head of Mahon’s 26 Brigade. It was just a year & 13 days after poor Willie’s death. They were such fine boys. The Robinsons expect they may be sent South any time now. Mary Latrobe spent a few days here about one week ago. We slept in a most crowded way for dear aunt Louisa was here at the same time. Johny is released. She [Mary] carried on a great flirtation with

**William Mahone (Dec. 1, 1828-Oct. 8, 1895), Confederate major general from Virginia and hero of the “Battle of the Crater.” DAB, XII, 211-12.**
Messers Lee, Dunscomb, & Onderdonk, who were all here. The Woods made a great deal of me during my visit there, & showed me all the things they got abroad. I do wish I could have such a trip as they had, all over Italy, France, England &c. I am just recovering from the first cold I have had since a year. I got well of my cough during my trip to Niagara &c. & have had no returns of it since, though I do not seem to be otherwise stronger. The Robinsons have sold their place, & will leave any how in the Spring for England or Canada if they are not sent South. Jennie Middleton expects to be married soon to a Federal surgeon. Mother is still trying to get a pass but with no success as none are granted now. It is horrid staying in this little hole on an uncertainty waiting for events. Calhoun writes he is very well poor fellow.

Nov. 29th Yesterday one of Mr. Creighton Lee's clerks came after Mr. D. W. L. [his brother] here. He brought me a letter from Laura [Leupp] saying she "wishes me to use my influence to send him home as it is necessary he should be there." He is getting disagreeable again though heretofor he has been unusually pleasant. He & Mr. Dunscomb are here from before breakfast till bed time, which is rather too much of a bad thing, as they do not like each other. I feel quite certain all I do or say is misunderstood, & I am always afraid some fuss may arise between them. Then it is so very hard to be equally pleasant to both! The constant worry makes me almost sick. The neighbors dont understand the case, & think I am a great flirt because there are so many gentlemen about, & dear knows there is nothing I try harder to avoid, or have less temptation for. I do get so tired of men, that I almost hate them sometimes, though one at a time, or even more for an evening is pleasant. I do wish we could get a pass a get away! After all however it is rather flattering to one's vanity to be admired. Mr. Seymour still spends his holiday Sundays here (once a fortnight.) Mr. White, a man man we have had a year, left us yesterday. He was really a very worthy man, & just suited us except that he would sometimes get on sprees. I scarce know how the war is getting on. Atlanta Ga. is burnt by Gen Sherman, who is marching dear knows where; Hood is working up into Tennesee; Grant & Lee face each other with occasional spurs or skirmises, or battles before Richmond, &
A Rebel Came Home

Petersburg. Price is driven away out west. There is a great fuss made about the taking of the Florida. There was an unsuccessful attempt to burn down N. Y. by setting fire to the hotels, &c.

Dec. 7th. This morning we received a Telegraph from cousin Sylvester [Baker] telling us of the death of dear old uncle Elias Baker. He died the day before yesterday. We have lost a kind friend in this good old man, whom we loved very dearly. He has been failing quite a long time, but was better when we last heard of him, so that we had no idea the end was so near. I have just made myself a set of night gowns & chimeses, both the prettiest I ever had. I have also just gotten 6 pair of shoes from Phila. This winter I only bought two dresses, a brown merino trimmed with black velvet which came to near $40! & a bright plaid for every day.

Dec 11th Sunday We have just received our pass today. Mr. Taswell Taylor was in Norfolk last week, & happened to be at Gen. Shepley's office (the military governor of that city) when two ladies were about being sent South, asked if we might not go. Gen. S. said that as mother was the intimate friend of his dearly loved cousin Mrs. Barstow, he would send her if she came there, & gave us a pass to that city, to prevent our taking the oath. We will get ready as soon as possible. Generals [Benjamin F.] Butler & Grant, Stanton, & Lincoln all have refused us passes when applied to by our friends. I will send my pet setter Leo, to Miss Lane. Mrs. Daub can not go with us on account of her old mother. Andy, who is of course free with all Md. negroes, will go to Dr. Cook's near here.

2 The "Florida," built in Liverpool, was captured in the harbor of Bahia, Brazil, by U. S. sloop of war "Wachusett," Oct. 7, 1864. Baltimore Sun, Nov. 10, 1864.
3 Tazewell Taylor was a business friend of Thomas G. Clemson.
4 George Foster Shepley (Jan. 1, 1819-July 20, 1878), brigadier general assigned to the command of the District of Eastern Virginia in May, 1864. DAB, XVII, 78-79. General Benjamin F. Butler had been in charge of the district since early 1863. ibid., III, 357-59.
5 Andy, young son of the deceased slave Nelly, came to Maryland with the Clemsons in 1860. He belonged to Mrs. John C. Calhoun, who had earlier provided in her will that he should go to Floride. Mrs. Calhoun and the Clemsons took great interest in him, and he was frequently mentioned in family correspondence as "little Andy."
6 Dr. Septimus Cook (age 53), a Virginia-born physician living with his family near Bladensburg. MS. Census 1860, Prince Georges County, Md.
III

Pendleton, South Carolina

1865


We reached here last evening at nine o'clock, & found grandmother quite ailing, though able to be about. Aunt Kate Calhoun,¹ & her two boys Putman, & Willie, is & has been here a year I believe. She [Mrs. Calhoun] is pretty much confined to her bed all the time. Now for my travels &c. We got our pass on Sunday the 11th of last month, after having lost all hope that we would succeed. We made all haste to get things in readiness to start as soon as possible. On Friday I went to Washington & had 6 teeth plugged, besides doing much shopping. Went out in the carriage with the McTeney's after dark, to the Robinson's. Found them all at home except Mrs. King. Next morning left there, & grieved much to part with dear Lizzie, my dearest friend. Went to the Woods on my way back to Wash., but saw only Emily, the others being away. Drove into the city with Dr. King, saw Cecelia Riggs, (Kate, & Alice are in England), Mrs. Dr. Stone, & did some more shopping. Left in the 3 o'clock train. Edgar McTeney spent Sunday with us as did Mr. Seymour, who gave a beautiful & well stocked bonbonière. Henry McC. came Tuesday as did the Sanders, Fairfaxes, Herberths, Dr. Cook, Mrs. Contee & others to bid us good bye. We left Beltsville Tuesday evening the 20th, with five trunks, a large carpet bag for shawls &c. two baskets of provisions, & two hand bags, to which we added a huge umbrella in Norfolk. Our friends tried their best to dissuade us, especially Mr. Lee, but mother would come & of course I would not be left behind alone. Mr. Lee left Wednesday night. We stayed in Baltimore till Thursday after noon, shopping

& making arrangements. I was with Mary Latrobe most of the time, & saw the John Latrobe’s, Mrs. Merrick, with whom we spent the night, & Mrs. Markoe.² Thursday at four o’clock P. M. we left in a wretched little boat for Norfolk. It blew abominably & was so cold we could scarce lie in bed. We got to Fortress Monroe early in the morning, & Mr. Dunscomb, & I walked all around it for near an hour till ordered back by a sentnel. We got to Norfolk about nine o’clock, & walked up to Gen. Shepley’s office. Found him a nice looking man. He was polite, but not more, to us, made little objection to the baggage. We stayed at the Atlantic hotel, & were most politely treated by the people of the place, who flocked to see us in a perfect levee after the manner of those in Martin Chuzzlewit when that unfortunate was going to Eden. The Miss Tasubes were particularly polite, & we spent an evening there. We went to Church on Xmas., when I went to communion for the first time since I was confirmed. We left Monday morning in a special flag of truce train to Suffolk³ which we reached about twelve o’clock; here we left Mr. Dunscomb. We had a letter to a Mr. Riddle there who got us some Confederate money at 10 to one for greenbacks, which were 2.30 [compared with gold] when we left. The place looked very forlorn & deserted. We left there at two o’clock in the only carriage in the place, with the only horse! Our baggage following in two mule carts. We had only gone ten miles before dark, as we had to walk all the way on account of the rain which had, & was falling. We went ten more after dark through the terrible debatable ground to a man’s by the name of Jones, where we stayed all night. The next morning we got up before day light, & did the remaining eight miles to Murphys depot about 40 miles from Weldon. Here we bid good bye to Mr. Jones our driver. We had to pay $55 in green backs to the carriage, & carts. We had to cross the Black Water in a ferry boat which the first Confederate picket we had seen brought across for us. At Murphys depot we waited in a log hut with the soldiers &c. till one o’clock, the station houses having been burnt by a raid⁴ a short time since. We reached Weldon about

²Mrs. Mary Markoe (age 47), was wife of Francis Markoe (age 58), a State Department official from Pennsylvania. His property was valued at $72,000 in 1860. MS. Census 1860, First Ward, D. C.
³See map on page 69 for route traveled.
⁴On Oct. 16, 1864, a Federal cavalry raid, under the command of Lt. Col. D. M. Evans, crossed the Blackwater River and attacked Murfree’s Station.
five, our baggage having been slightly searched on the road, as it was on the other side going to Suffolk; this was to prevent contraband trade. At Weldon our room had no fire, & the windows were broken so we laid on the dirtiest bed in the dirtiest room I ever saw, till three in the morning when we left for Raleigh, which we should have reached at two in the day, & made the connection but the train in front of us broke down, & detained us a couple of hours, so we had to stay till one at night. A Mr. Baine, & his sister Mrs. McCree helped us along so far, & introduced us to a Lt. Brown of the “Florida” who saw us far as Charlotte. We reached this last named place at about 5 o’clock Thursday evening, but our train broke down when 25 miles off, & we came near being run into by a train behind us, & had to do the rest of the distance crowded into a baggage car, at a dangerous speed, to make the connection. (My 22nd birth day was spent on the road between Raleigh, & Charlotte. A weary way, safely gotten through.) We expected to get to Columbia at 3 o’clock A. M. but did not until after nine, as our engine had given out & could not make steam, whereby we missed the train up here, & had to stay till next morning at eight. Here we met Gen Wigfall, his wife, & daughter Louise, who is very pretty. They were just from the trans Miss. department, & gave us late news of father who was very well. A Capt. Conell who took some little charge of us the last days’ journey, was just going there, & took a letter to him for us. The Harrises called upon us. Sallie died over a year ago. We saw Gen. Joe Johnson [Joseph E. Johnston], & Gen D. H. Hill there. We spent the evening most pleasantly with music. Here we also met Mrs. Sam Van Wyck, who told

“They thoroughly destroyed the depot buildings and the warehouses in the vicinity.” WROR, XLII, Part I, Series I, pp. 958-59.

* When the “Florida” put to sea in January, 1863, one of its officers was assistant engineer E. H. Brown. Scharf, The Confederate States Navy, p. 791.


* Mrs. Harris, née Sarah Jeter, had long been a close friend of Mrs. Clemson. Sarah Jeter Harris to Anna Calhoun Clemson, July 25, 1859, Clemson Papers.

* For Generals Hill and Johnston see DAB, IX, 27-28, X, 144-46.

A Rebel Came Home

us that her mother in law, Lilly [Lydia], & Bennie, had run the blockade in Octo. by the way of Norfolk, to go to see William who is dying of consumption in Hallifax. Poor fellow I am too sorry. Gussy [Augustus] is staying here, but is in dreadful health. He in-
jured his back while in the army & can not walk without assistance, being threatened with paralysis. Lilly is delicate too. Fanny Adams¹⁰ came up in the same train with us, & got us home in her carriage. Grandma had been expecting us so long that she was not much surprised at our coming, but was overjoyed. We brought her a trunk full of tea & things. The cars travel very slowly, & the roll-
ing stock is much out of order. The trains were crowded with sold-
diers going home on furlough, & but very few ladies. We met with no rudeness, & lost only one handkerchief. Everyone seemed well shod, & comfortably clothed in homespun. Hats are almost alto-
gether worn, high crowns & wide brims. We still have bad colds con-
tracted on the road. Col. Orr, Mr. Trescot,¹¹ & everyone speaks so well of Calhoun. He must have done nobly.

Jan. 8th. We have been here just a week yesterday.

Our friends have flocked fast to see us. The ladies look a little shabby & old fashioned but there seems little real want. Con-
ferate money is twenty to one of gold, but when things are brought to a gold basis, they are little higher than at the North. Luxuries are almost unattainable, sugar, & meat dear. For the former sorghum syrup is almost exclusively used, & is a good substitute. Tallow candles are the only lights, but there is plenty corn, flour, salt, sorghum, & even poultry, about here, & I believe there is little suffering off of the tracks of the armies. The ingenuity of the people is wonder full in making things, & furnishing “substitutes,” which is a word in every one’s mouth. The greatest want, alas! is of men.
Men to fight. There are scarce any out of the army now, & too few there. The people, as far as I have seen, are very dispirited now. We heard of the fall of Savannah on our way, & that of Charleston,

¹⁰Frances Adams (born Apr. 9, 1839), daughter of Dr. Jasper Adams (died Oct. 25, 1841), and Flacidia Mayrant Adams. Register, St. Paul’s Episcopal Church, Pendleton, S. C.; SCHGM, XXVII (Jan., 1926), 87.

& even Columbia\textsuperscript{12} is anticipated. I pray we may be saved from the horrors of raids here. An army would find little to tempt them to this place, but raids from the mountains are to be dreaded, if not immediately, still at no distant date, probably. Mother & I have spent much of our time writing letters for persons North, to their friends South. Today I heard for the first time, with joy, the prayers for the President, soldiers, & people of the Confederacy. By the way, they give a free dinner to the soldiers on the trains every day, on this road, of delicacies they do not allow themselves. Such a people I trust can not be conquered. "Thy will oh Lord not mine."

\textit{Jan. 20th.} There was a terrible freshet here last Tuesday week, & we hear it extended all over the country, washing away all rail road bridges, & tressels, so that there will probably be no trains for a month, & even no mails. Sherman is still at Savannah they say.

\textit{Feb 12th.} The rail road is not yet rebuilt, & there seems little hope that it will be finished for a month to come. We have not had a regular mail yet though letters get through occasionally. We have not seen a paper since the break. Sherman they say is at Branchville [S. C.], & there seems little opposition to be made to him. Indeed these days are dark. It seems to me that the only ray of hope comes through an unfixable report that France & England mean to recognize soon & have demanded an armistice. Every one talks of this, & that commissioners\textsuperscript{13} are sent, but no one knows whether it is true. I am weary of this hope deferred. The spirit seems to be getting very despondent every where, & I fear half the people are at heart conquered. Everything is ridicously dear, & almost impossible to get. Common shoes from $80 to 100. Coarse home spun from $6 to 10 a yd, butter $7, beef $1\frac{1}{2}$, pork 3, bacon 5 per lb. Gold is now 30 times Confederate money, & sometimes has sold at 60. Corn is at $15 a bushel, & everything in proportion. Chickens $4 apiece. I pray God will be good enough to extend his help to us soon. We have heard from Calhoun up to Jan. 11th. He is well; also have


\textsuperscript{13} Probably a reference to the futile Duncan Kenner mission, which left for Europe in December, 1864, with the offer to free the Negroes in return for European aid.
received a personal through the papers. I am much ill of late, with
my headaches &c with fainting.
[Floride inserted the following newspaper clipping at this point.]

Baltimore, Jan. 9, 1865.

To Florida, Pendleton, S. C.—Your notice, dated Greensboro,
December 29, received, and communicated to your friends. We
are devoutly and fervently thankful, but anxious to hear again.
J. C. C. well and cheerful, 31st December; had received money
and clothes.

A. S. F. [Dunscomb]

Feb. 19th. Went to church this morning, & find that our worst
fears are realized. Columbia has been surrendered, & Charleston
evacuated. It is dreadful, & my heart sinks at the thought of what
may yet happen to this poor state. There is much consternation
about here, for fear of raids either from Sherman, or over the moun-
tains from the Tories, deserters, & Federal cavalry there. I can not
but feel that there is little hope for our cause, everything shows
that our resources are nearly if not quite exhausted, especially in
men, & there is little hope from abroad, I might say, none. I have
little fear for ourselves, at least for the present, & feel that God
will deal with us according to his mercy, & justice, & pray to be
given strength to bear whatever chastenings he has in store for us
with a proper spirit. Oh but my heart is very anxious, & despond-
ing! It has been now a year at least since I have felt that our case
was almost desparate. We had a beautiful sermon today, on the effi-
cacy of prayer, from Mr. Elliot.14 Provisions are very scarce here,
& if many more refugees come as is expected, I do not know what
we are to do. Still a disgraceful peace may come too soon; now all
depends on the next great battle, probably in North Carolina or
Va. God have mercy upon, & protect us! I suppose we will get no
more mails now, except from the neighboring districts. Grandma is
most of the time in bed. She has a kidney affection which causes an
exterior irritation which is very painful. Aunt Kate also keeps her
room with falling of the womb. They say St. Micheal's Church in
Charleston in [is] blown up, & the city garizoned by negroes.

14The Rev. John H. Elliott, Episcopal rector at Pendleton and Anderson
during the war. Albert S. Thomas, A Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal
Church in South Carolina, 1820-1957 (Columbia, S. C.: A. S. Thomas,
1957), pp. 497, 600, 640.
Wednesday

March 15th. It has been long since I have written here. Our beautiful Columbia has been laid in ashes by the Northern Vandals, in the mean time. All the main st. & some squares on either side, have been burnt, with the old state house, the depôts, & all provisions &c. so that the inhabitants are many of them starving. The Yankees were there only from Friday 17th to Tuesday 21st [February] I believe, but committed all manner of outrages in that time. Throwing back whatever people were trying to save from their burning houses into the flames. The day before yesterday we attended a meeting for the relief of the sufferers, who are not only starving, but utterly destitute & sleeping in the sts, many of them, & heard a lecture from Dr. Adger, at the Methodist church. Mother & I gave $150, & some cloths, Grandma, five bushels of corn, a ham, $50, & cloths, which is as much as we can afford these times. Immediately after the lecture, I went up to, & spoke to uncle Andrew [Calhoun], whom I had not before seen. He was very pleasant to me, as he was when I was here before, when he showed me every attention. He then drove up here to see grandma, for the first time in over a year, I believe, that any of them have been here. The visit was in consquence of a note mother wrote him, telling him how sick grandma is, & that she [Mrs. Calhoun] had expressed a desire to see him. She did not know of this, & the interview proved in every way satisfactory. God grant the comparatively good feeling may last. I saw aunt Margaret & some of the younger children at a fair at which I had a table, just after the great freshet. Last Friday was a Confederate day of fasting, & prays. It was the first that I have been able to go to church, & I availed myself of the


16 Andrew Pickens Calhoun (Oct. 15, 1811-Mar. 16, 1865) and his wife Margaret had the following children living in 1860: Duff G. (age 21), John C. (16), Margaret (13), Andrew P. (8), James E. (6), and Patrick (4). His property was valued at $294,000. MS. Census 1860, Pickens Dist., S. C.

17 Mrs. John C. Calhoun and her son Andrew had a dispute over the Fort Hill property.

A Rebel Came Home

privilege. Mr. Elliot gave us a good sermon, & I hope that the earnest prayers offered on that day may be heard in behalf of our precious cause. It is today two weeks since Ash Wednesday, & I trust I shall be able to attend the Lent services often, never before having been situated so that I could. I sit in the choir here, as at Rock Creek, & sing second, almost all together, which is what my voice is best fitted for. They say all the prisoners are being exchanged, so I suppose we shall see Calhoun soon. I almost hope he will be one of the extra ones, paroled, for I am so afraid he will get killed. Every one speaks in the highest terms of his energy here. I have put myself, & my poor eyes under the care of Dr. Maxwell19 here, as I am by no means in good health. He says just what the others do about the affection being partial paralysis, or insipient amarosis, & gives me no hope for reading, at least for a very long time. This is very hard indeed. Grandma is still confined to her bed or room, but more from nervousness than anything else, we think. Neither is aunt Kate able to be about. We have had so wet a winter that nothing is planted yet, & I think we have had several pretty good attempts at a deluge. I have joined a Presbyterian society for the soldiers which meet the first Wednesday every month, when you bring either one dollar or its worth in work.

Sunday

March 19th. Uncle Andrew Calhoun died last Thursday, a little after day light, after only two hour's illness, of congestion of the heart. Johnny sent us a note that he was dying but before mother & I could start we heard he was dead. I drove mother through a pelting rain there, & upon their expressing a great desire that I should do so, I stayed until after the funeral yesterday. He was buried at eleven, by Dr. Adger (Presbyterian). The attendance was very large. The poor will miss him dreadfully, as he was very charitable to them. I believe that the 18th (yesterday) was grandfather's birth day. It also was that of uncle Andrew's son Jimmie, who was eleven. All the family were at home, except Duff, from whom they have not heard since the great freshet, & are very anxious about him. Johnny & Duff are both captains, the former is

19 Dr. John H. Maxwell (age 27), son of Captain John Maxwell and Elizabeth Earle Maxwell. Simpson, Old Pendleton District, pp. 175-76; MS. Census 1860, Anderson Dist., S. C.
Pendleton, South Carolina 1865

in dreadful health, as his back is injured & he has a terrible affection of the kidneys. He is about a year younger than myself. Margie has grown up very pretty. She is nearly 18 now. Andrew, who is thirteen, seems to be the most remarkable of the family, in intelligence, and character. He has glorious eyes, & looks very like grandfather they say. Pat is eight, and they say very bright. The youngest, a girl, born since I was here is three years & a month old. Her name is Mary Lucretia, but they call her Lula. She seems a dear good, bright little thing. Jonny & Duff are not very smart, but all the children are well raised, & seem remarkably good, & affectionate. It seems to me providential that uncle Andrew came to see grandma last Monday. We are so thankful for it. Aunt Margaret & all the children were coming in the day he died. They have not been here, nor had I been there during the whole of this visit. It appears that uncle Andrew has always expressed himself very fond of me, & proud of me. The day before he died he was making plans that I should have one of his horses to ride, so as to recruit my health. Aunt Margaret & all the family, indeed, have always taken the greatest pains to make me feel that they loved me. Aunt Margaret, although she is not pleasant to me, is certainly an exemplary wife, mother, & housekeeper. Her grief, & that of all the family, who are unusually devoted to each other, was really harrowing, & I was quite broken down by my visit. Aunt M. had a dreadful nervous spasm the last night from suppressed grief. Uncle Andrew was 54 years old. He was fatter than mother, whom he resembled exceedingly in appearance. Now mother is the only one left of all the seven children grandfather left when he died. We had our first letters from the North (except that dated 11th Jan. from Calhoun), last night. Two from Mr. Dunscomb, & one from Mr. Lee. The last dated Feb. 6th. We had heard from exchanged prisoners that Calhoun had been paroled, & had gone to Shreveport two months ago, but from these letters & a note from Rob. Goldsborough who left him on the 20th last month it would seem not. All freinds well.

Friday

March 24th. We received three letters from father last evening, the last dated Feb. 6th. It appears that he has heard through a letter from Calhoun that we had come South, but does not know that we have reached here safely. He is as usual very uneasy about us, &
wishes we had staid North, at any rate think we had better not leave this place. He is well, & thinks of going to Mexico on a mission. We also got a ferrotype of Calhoun, by an exchanged prisoner, last night. It is excessively handsome. We still hear that he is exchanged but he was not a month ago. Last Tuesday night we had the most dreadful hail storm ever known about here. We got a bowl full of which none were smaller than hickory nuts, & many as large as hen's eggs. Some fell 8 in. in surcomference, & many as large as goose eggs, they say. There was also a tornado above here, which carried quite a large house over the tops of the trees some distance, & killed a girl 10 years old. Fortunately vegetation was not far enough advanced to be much injured, though early flowers, johnquil, &c. are nearly over. Aunt Margaret Calhoun, Margie, & Jimmie, & Lula, were here on Wednesday to see grandma. I do feel such a longing to see some of my old friends, any familiar face, any one whom I have long known, & who knows me. I feel so alone, not even to hear from Lizzie Robinson or any one I love. I do not feel this is home, & my heart seems withering within me.

Tuesday

April 4th. Cousin Ed. Noble arrived here very unexpectedly yesterday week, on his way to Fort Hill. He stayed only a day or two, & looks much better than he used to. Aunt Margaret sent for me on Wednesday, & I stayed till next evening. Duff was wounded some little time since in the finger, & came home last night. My eyes are no better. Grandma about the same, seldom out of her room. Aunt Kate not able to walk out of the house. Just to think that sugar is about $20 a lb! Salt is at least 300$ a bushel of 50 lbs. I have become a great carpenter & cobler of old & broken things, & do the tinkering & mending of the house. We have just gotten a new girl Mary, & hope she will do, as we needed an other servant much. I dont know how people get along here as well as they do; everything is so high, & hard to get at any price. The suffering in the lower part of the state is very great they say, negroes unmanageable, & the Yankees barbarous.

April 9th Sunday. All last week rumors of fighting around Richmond reached us, & the day before yesterday we heard the sad tidings of its evacuation by our troops [April 2]. Although we had long expected this, still it came like a thunder bolt upon us. It shows so much weakness, that we can not keep one place against the foe. As this movement has been contemplated some time, I hope very much has been saved from our noble capital, of course not all. It makes my very heart bleed to think what is in store for that city. Charleston & Savannah are garisoned by negro troops now, & ground to the dust.

Easter Sunday, April 16th. All today we have been in a great commotion. A courrier brough[t] the news last evening that a large force of Yankees, Tories, & deserters had come down from the mountains & were marching either on this place or Greenville, being within twenty miles of us. The numbers varying from 1500, to 25000! This afternoon however we hear that the report arose from a raid of a couple of hundreds of deserters, &c who went back to the mountains after having taken some cattle &c. So we had a bad scare & that's all. Have some dread of these raids though.

April 21st. Well the game’s up I fear. The rumor reached here yesterday morning & the news last night, that Lee our noble hero had surrendered with all his army, on the 10th [April 9]. It is dreadful. They say Grant returned him his sword, & there was little or no exultation. There were but 10,000 efficient fighting men left, though somewhere near thirty thousand surrendered. The Yankee forces were some two hundred thousand strong & Grant is said to have said that he was not conquered, but overwhelmed. Gen Johnson has still some 30,000 left, & they say is making his way toward Georgia. I pray he may get off. President Davis & his cabinet are making their way towards Georgia, on horseback, also. Of [course] I wish we were all in the trans Mississippi department, & the army too. I pray God may have mercy on us, for they have none. I hear so much that is dreadful, that I am trembling at their idea of their coming. Oh these are dreadful times to live in. I suppose we may expect raids now any day, & God only knows how we are to bear it, for the country is starving now. Confederate money of course is worth little or nothing, & we have little else. I suppose we will die of starvation, I suppose the next news will be Johnson’s capture.
A REBEL CAME HOME

We spent yesterday at Major Simpson’s, 19 & the day before at
cousin Tom Picken’s, 20 both sending for us. As all the captured men
were paroled & sent home, I suppose they will soon know what has
become of Sam & Miles. We have lately received several letters,
one from father dated March 6th. He was well, & wanted for no
essentials except chocolat, & fresh fish. One from Mary Latrobe, &
an other from Mr. Dunscomb, dated March 15th, when Calhoun
was still in prison. All freinds were well. Mary’s was the first letter
I have received from across the lines. I was just beginning to feel
bright & cheerful again, for the first time since I have been here,
about two weeks before this terrible news came, & now it seems
almost wicked to laugh, for I consider that we are already sub-
jugated, & subjugation means ruin, or worse.

Sunday 22nd. They are getting up all kind of reports now to
keep up the currency, which of course is worth little, or nothing
now. There is an armistice now, & hostilities are not to be resumed
without 48 hour’s notice, but they say this will do more harm than
good. Fra[n]ce they say has recognized us. Miles Pickens is home.
Duff & Hall Calhoun 21 have been here.

Monday.

1st of May. We are just getting over a terrible scare. We heard
this morning about twelve or one o’clock that the Yankees were
near here. We immediately made preparations, about an hour after-
wards we heard on all sides that they were not more than a mile
off, & still nearer, some said 3000, & some 30 strong!! but I suppose
about 60. Finding so large a force here to oppose them, they left,
& now about [left blank] o’clock I am writing quietly about this
second big scare. However we need not feel too safely, for some

19 Richard F. Simpson (age 62), a farmer and lawyer whose property was
worth $92,300 in 1860. A former U. S. Congressman and signer of the Ordi-
nance of Secession, he was the father of Richard W. Simpson, who later be-
came a close friend of Thomas G. Clemson and chairman of the first board of
trustees of Clemson College. Simpson, Old Pendleton District, pp. 5-8; MS.
Census 1860, Anderson Dist., S. C.

20 Col. Thomas J. Pickens (Apr. 26, 1808-July 2, 1894). He married Keziah
A. Miles (July 30, 1810-Nov. 1, 1889). Two of their children were Col. Sam-
uel B. Pickens and John Miles Pickens. Pickens, The Pickens Family, pp. 50-52.

21 Henry Davis (“Hall”) Colhoun (born Sept. 2, 1838), son of Col. John
Ewing and Martha Davis Colhoun. Register, St. Paul’s. John Ewing Colhoun
was a brother of Mrs. John C. Calhoun.
say these are but Stoneman's vanguard, & some that they are a set
of Wheelers24 cavalry on a marauding expedition under Yankee
disguise. They have stolen horses, & one watch, as far as I have
heard. Well we hear all kinds of reports. I had a good cry Saturday
night on hearing that peace had been declared, we having gone
back, negroes permanent, & assuming one quarter of the Northern
debt, they the rest, & repudiating our. And then we have heard of
recognition from many powers which may or may not be so. And
last but not least I suppose it is pretty certain Lincoln & Seward25
have been assassinated. The former in Ford's theatre Wton. Where
he was witnessing "Our American cousin." The man who killed him
saying "Sic semper tyrannis' Virginia is avenged," & escaping in
the confusion. Seward was killed in bed. Now they say Andy John-
son is killed, & two of his cabinet, & that Grant will be dictator,
then that Lee is to be president, & Grant vice president; then there
is to be a general vote for president. In short when thou lookest at
this record in thine old age, my future self, know that history
judging events by consiquences may be true, but report is only
so once in more times than I can set down here, & is not to be asser-
tained until the fact has lost almost all interest, & novelty. We
scarcely ever see a news paper, & are bewildered groping in im-
penetrable darkness, & mystery. I returned yesterday from Fort
Hill where I spent two days. Johny came for me, to be with Margie
on her 18th birthday. I had three rides the first since that one on
which Dr. Eversfield offered himself to me.

7th of May. I had hardly done writing what precedes, when the
alarm was again given, that the Yankees surrounded the village,
sure enough at least a hundred strong; what at first caused the con-
fusion & uncertainty was that a body of Wheelers men arrived near
the place when they did, but finding them before them made a
detour & came in on an other side. Well the Yankees got to within

24 Confederate General Joseph Wheeler (Sept. 10, 1836-Jan. 25, 1906) and
Union General George Stoneman (Aug. 8, 1822-Sept. 5, 1894). The latter
raided Western North Carolina, but did not get near Pendleton. DAB, XVIII,
92-93, XX, 50-52.

25 Another conspirator wounded Secretary of State William H. Seward, but
the one assigned to dispatch Vice-President Andrew Johnson withheld his
blow.
A REBEL CAME HOME

a mile of here, as far as McBride’s, Holmes, & Warleys,²⁸ but did not enter the village as they took it into their head that we had a large force here from hearing & seeing Jone’s²⁷ men wherever they went. In truth there were not more than 75 or 50 fighting men mostly boys of between 16 & 17, but they rushed about so wildly, scouting & making a fuss that the impression got abroad that there were over a thousand; but I will not laugh for under heaven, they saved us from the horrors of a sack such a[s] fell to the lot of poor Anderson where over a thousand of Stoneman’s raiders made their head quarters three or four days. Mr. Henry Gourdin²⁸ who is here now, had 300 dozen of wine there which they drank. They were principally in search of Jeff Davis, the treasury, horses & jewelry. Some had knapsacks full of watches, trinkets & rings. They came as far a[s] Seabourn’s²⁹ & the Picken’s, but they did not enter the latter place. They went to Major Simpson’s however. Three nights in succession we went to bed & before twelve were roused by alarms. Mr. Kenuff, cousin Duff, Mr. Seabourne, Capt. Jones, Ham Warley, & Mr. Duke,³⁰ all came in the different nights with alarms. We expected the Yankees in every minute almost during Monday Tuesday & Wednesday. Once a flag of truce was stationed near our gate thinking the enemy would be in, in a few minutes. Once the


³² Probably W. R. Jones (age 32), a Pendleton druggist. MS. Census 1860, Anderson Dist., S. C. There was a local militia company in Pendleton called “Jones’ Rifles.”

³⁰ Henry Gourdin (age 55), Charleston merchant whose property was valued at $114,000 in 1860, acted as a factor for the Clemsons and Calhoun’s. MS. Census 1860, Ward 1, Charleston Dist., S. C.; Clemson Papers, passim.

³¹ Major George Seaborn (Aug. 1, 1797-Mar. 13, 1877) married Sarah Anne Earle (Mar. 6, 1806-Apr. 22, 1879). His property was worth $92,000 in 1860. MS. Census 1860, Anderson Dist., S. C.; Register, St. Paul’s.

³² William James Knauff (Apr. 8, 1801-Feb. 27, 1867), a cabinetmaker. Ibid. Hamilton Warley was a son of Jacob and Sophia Warley. See above note 26. “Mr. Duke” was probably James J. Duke (age 40), a Virginia-born farm manager living near Pendleton in 1860. MS. Census 1860, Pickens Dist., S. C.
cry was that they were in the village. We had Mr. Seimmons' wine destroyed, nine large boxes. It was a pity but had to be done every one said, if not for our own sakes at least for that of the community. We & scarce & [any] one else had not our cloths off for more than an hour or so for three days & nights, & we were all very excited. We had everything buried, but were dreadfully afraid of personal insults. Grandma took it very coolly, & I think improved under the excitement. She is rarely in bed now & gets about the house a good deal. Did she think so she would be nearly well I think. Duff Calhoun did good service during the excitement taking five of the eight prisoners captured, & many horses. He went the day before yesterday with some of Gen. Ferguson's men for the Trans Miss. I think he is a brave fellow, & came often to see about us during the excitement. I feel so sorry for these exiles, to high spirited to live in a conquered country for such this is. Mother has just read a proclamation to the effect that hostilities have ceased up to the Chatanoga, & that Johnson has surrendered [April 26] all the troops under his command. I can not comment on this. The cars have been burnt so that we have no communication with the outer world at this ultima thule. Aunt Kate has just given me one of her rings. I have longed for one like it all my life, & it is very beautiful. I feel just like a child with a new toy. I think I am getting pretty strong again, perhaps I will get quite well in this climate. We see a great deal of company, & I am getting more contented though often homesick, & longing for friends. I pray God will make us, & me especially truly thankful for his many blessings, & great mercy. The families we know here are these. Thom. Pickens.— Fort Hillians.—Rob, Ellison Adger & John Adger.—Judge Frost.—

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**Footnotes:**


3. See Appendix II for identification of most of these families.
A Rebel Came Home

Chs. C. Pinckney.—Dr. Ravenel.—Miss Ford, Mrs. H. E. Ravenel.—
The Van Wycks.—Latta. Mrs. Warley, Holmes, & Bourne.—Mrs.
Gen. Bee.—Mrs. Sadler, Elliot, & Simms.—Mrs. Dickenson, Green,
& Lee.—Rob., Sam, & John Maxwell. Mrs. Lucy Maxwell.—Major
Simpson.—Major Seybourn.—Wm. H. Trescot.—Mrs. Jesse P. Lewis.
—Mrs. Maze.—Mrs. Lewis, Jr.—Mrs. North, Norths, Thurston's.—
Mrs. Lorton, Mrs. Porter.—Rev. Mr. Cornish. Mrs. Tom Sloan.—
John T. Sloan—Ball Sloan &c.—Wm. Gailliard. Elim Sharp. Hayne.—
Mrs. Adams.—Archie Campbell.—Dr. Robinson, Mrs. Moore.—
Andrew Lewis.—A Livingston.—Porcher.—Dr. Cherry.—Mrs. Shu-
brick. & Miss Bert.—Fanny Russell. Mrs. Rag [Wragg]—Mrs. Tonneau [Tunno], & Mrs. Hazzard.—Seabrooks, Vallie North.

May 13. Miss Hardee, the Gen's, daughter Anna, was here
yesterday evening, to see aunt Kate. They are passing through to
go to dear only knows where, with the Gen. They were all to come
here to see aunt Kate this morning, but although we got up at a
little after 5, the General only waited long enough to get off his
horse, & say he had not time to see us. I caught a glimpse of him
through the curtain however, & saw a very fine looking officer,
though not handsome. Capt. Simms of the Alabama is with him,
& perhaps we may see him today. It makes my heart ache to see
these poor men flying perhaps for their lives. Gen. Hardee is pa-
roled. Mother got me a piano last Monday from Mr. Groaning's.
one of Hazelton's. 7½ octaves. The treble is very sweet, but the
base not very full. It is much handsomer than my Steinvoch, but

84 Lt. Gen. William J. Hardee (Oct. 12, 1815-Nov. 8, 1873), who had been
in charge of Confederate forces in South Carolina and Georgia during Sher-
man's march from Atlanta to Savannah and then northward. DAB, VIII,
239-40.

85 Capt. Raphael Semmes (Sept. 27, 1809-Aug. 30, 1877), the famous Con-
federate naval commander. DAB, XVI, 579-82.

86 Lewis Groaning of Charleston bought property in Pendleton in Septem-
ber, 1863. Anderson deeds, book L-2, pp. 102-03.
not so fine, as an instrument. "A bird in the" &c. I have also a nice
carved music stand, & stool, with it. All for $550 gold. Rond
keys. My eyes get worse instead of better I fear. Ah well!! There
were three funerals this week. Old Mrs. Sadler from Fla. on Tues-
day. Mr. Latta on Wednesday, & Mr. Elliot's child on Saturday.

Sunday

May 28th. Last Sunday about a thousand Yankees under Gen.
Brown passed through this place. We were in a terrible state of
excitement but though they were camouflage near the village all
night, & many stayed in it, they did little or no harm to private
property. They took all the government meat & corn, & destroyed
all public arms but never even took private guns. Thank God not
one Yankee put his foot on this place not even a guard although
many rode right by the gate, & all passed in full view over the
opposite hill. They took almost all the good horses about this coun-
try, & much silver, Mr. Trescot's, & Major Simpson's. The latter
they visited two or three times, & treated very badly. Of course all
we had of value was "put out." Some few negroes went with them.
Monday, & Tuesday more passed through but did no harm. They
say this is the worst secession hole they have seen, as they were
not only treated with contempt but abuse, & swear vengeance
against the whole community for they were much bush whacked
near here. They were at Fort Hill, & took Johnny's fine horse, &
others I believe, but did little or no other damage. Fanny Adams
has been staying with me, a day & night. I have given much away
to others worse off than myself & fear I shall have to stop. 1 pair
shoes, some ribbon, two belts, 6 collars, & 1 pair cuffs, much thread,
1 pair gloves, 1 dress, some undercloths, tatting, &c. &c. &c. &c.

June 11th. The day before yesterday was the 4th anniversary of of
Calhoun & father's leaving us, & yesterday for the first time since
early March, we heard directly from C. He sent us a letter by a Lt.
Miles, who took the oath & was returning home. He was well on
the 19th of May, when the letter was dated, said he might be here
in a week, or perhaps "days might fade away into years," & still

--- James T. Latta (born 1827), a Yale University graduate. He left a widow,
Angela Wetherell Latta of New Jersey, and four children. Mrs. Sadler was
After his death she married the Rev. J. H. Elliott. Simpson, Old Pendleton
District, pp. 118-19, 168-69; Register, St. Paul's.
find him there. Every one speaks well of him & I think he must have improved much. I do long to see him again. He applied for banishment, but did not succeed, poor fellow. I pray he may not be forced to take that degrading oath. I never saw any one improve more than he has in spelling, writing & style, & we hear he reads a great deal. The doctor has at last told us that the ulcer grandma has been so afflicted with has become cancerous, & will in all probability never be cured. She spends most of her time in her room, & her nervous system has so completely given away that she screams & cries for hours every day, but I do not think always from pain by any means. A Lt. Bond was here on his way to Fla. yesterday, a very pleasant man. Mary Berrien spent a day & night with me as also Anna Pickens.\footnote{There were several Anna Pickenses, but Florida probably referred to Anna (Nov. 8, 1844-Apr. 13, 1914) who was the daughter of Col. T. J. Pickens. She married Jerry J. Miles. Simpson, \textit{Old Pendleton District}, pp. 192-93; marker in Old Stone Church Cemetery, Pendleton.} We write letters constantly now & send them by private opportunities but get none. They say all property over 20,000, any one owns is to be confiscated.\footnote{A rumor probably arising from President Johnson's amnesty proclamation which excluded from pardon ex-Confederates whose property was valued at $20,000 or more.} There is no currency here now; nothing passes but coin of which there is none.

\textit{Monday} 1865

\textit{June 26th.} Calhoun arrived yesterday, looking very handsome, & well, considering his privations. He was released on the oath of allegiance on the ninth. It was a bitter pill for him, but all on Johnson's Island took it, as there was no use staying there during the whole of their lives, as they had no longer a country to defend. He passed a day at uncle Elias Baker's, a day & night in Baltimore, & about the same time in Washington, going to see the old place which is covered with soldiers & tents. Mrs. Calvert\footnote{Charlotte Augusta Norris Calvert (died Dec. 7, 1876) widow of Charles Benedict Calvert. Their oldest daughter Ella (Mar. 20, 1840-Feb. 17, 1902) married Duncan G. Campbell. See note 37, chap. I. Clemson family letters indicate that Ella was in Pendleton during at least a part of the war. \textit{Clemson Papers}, \textit{passim}.} who has Ella & her children with her, & the Crawford's, Riggs, & Mrs. Stone.
He had to walk about 80 miles, between City Point [Virginia] & here, & only brought a valise through. He walked 30 miles in one night which was pretty well for a man who has been in close confinement for 22 months. It was four years the ninth of this month since I saw either him or father, & it has been four months since we have heard from the latter. They say that Kerby Smith has surrendered, that is to say some of his army has, the rest with himself, finding their way to Mexico. Calhoun is very anxious to get to work, & is much more sober than he used to be. He stoops dreadfully but would have a very fine figure if he did not. He is well proportioned, especially from the waist down, for he has a small waist, large well formed hips, & well made legs. He hair is a bright brown, about the color of his eyes, & wavy. I found two white hairs in it, telling of his sufferings. His beard is the same color thick & long. His moustache is lighter, & more delicate. He is much improved by the covering of the lower part of his face which is defective. His teeth are not bad, white, & well shaped though somewhat disfigured by his eye teeth having grown inside, & forcing out the next ones a little. He never cut these till he was nineteen. His voice is musical in speaking, but he does not sing much although he has more ear than I have. He is quite 6 feet 4 in. & will be 24 on the 17th of July. I am so glad to see him again. I do not see that he has changed much in character except that his is graver. He is very profane which I regret & has roughened in his every day manners, although when he choses he is quite elegant, & styleish. His complexion is really beautiful, & his brow. He says that for twelve months, they retaliated upon them in prison, & never gave them half enough to eat, part of the time allowing nothing to be sent to him, or anything but the most meagre half rashions, no candles, nor anything else. He made many attempts to escape but always failed, only half a dozen succeeding in all that time. He says there was no stealing, even the few radishes &c. raised were respected. There were two cases of men killing each other, but more killed by the sentinells. Many died of starvation, confinement, &c. At first they were bowied up by hope but when that faded they sank, & nearly went mad. He says the loss of hope was the most terrible thing,

*General Edmund Kirby-Smith (May 16, 1824-Mar. 28, 1893), surrendered the last Confederate military forces on June 2, 1865. DAB, X, 424-26.*
A Rebel Came Home

that & the constant disappointments. I spent Saturday & Sunday at
cousin Thomas Pickens, & never saw C. till Monday morning. It
rained dreadfully.

Saturday

July 1st. Father got here in an open wagon this morning in the
rain about sun rise, past 4 o'clock. We were very much surprised
to see him. He looks pretty well, but is about iron grey now, though
not bald, which is pretty well for a man well on to 60. He started
from Texas on the 3rd. of last month, with nothing but Confed-
erate money, & ten cents in silver. He came from New Orleans to
Hilton Head in a transport & had to sleep for 6 nights on the deck,
as the officers turned him out of the cabin. He left his things in
Louisiana, with friends.

Monday

July 17th 1865 To day is Calhoun's 24th birth day. He has just
started with Mr. Sam Maxwell (& others) to his place Toxaway
among the mountains, for a hunt. We each of us gave him a little
present. Aunt Kate made him a cravat, & worked his initals on a
couple of handkerchiefs. Grandma gave him a nice handkerchief,
with some verses she requested me to compose for her. Mother a
pair of worked slippers she has had the work of lying by, & I made
him an oil cloth case to carry his comb, brushes, soaps &c. in. Poor
little Lula Calhoun, uncle Andrew's youngest child died this morn-
ing. She was about Nina's age, a little over three years old, & very
much like her, perhaps not so pretty, but very bright & lovely. She
died of whopping cough & measles together. They have lost up-
wards of 60 negroes at Fort Hill in a little over a year. 40 odd in 7
weeks. I was on two large riding parties last week, & the week
before. Nearly 20 in each. I enjoyed them very much. The last
started from here & would have been much larger had the weather
not threatened. We staid out till past eleven, starting about sun

An official report on Jan. 9, 1865, listed 7,377 as the number of prisoners
at Johnson's Island since the "early part of 1862" and 198 deaths. WRO, VIII, Series II, pp. 48-49.

Samuel Maxwell, son of Capt. John and Elizabeth Earle Maxwell and
brother of Dr. John H. Maxwell. Simpson, Old Pendleton District, pp. 175-76.

Cornelia ("Nina"), daughter of Thomas Green and Anna Calhoun Clem-
son, was born Oct. 3, 1855, and died Dec. 20, 1858.
down. I also went to a tea fight at Dr. Adger’s. Young Wade Hampton, my Columbia friend has been to see me. He seems spoiled, & not quite as pleasant as he was. Mother got a letter from her old friend Mrs. Barstowe, who is in California. She writes very affectionately & says she has a wedding present set apart for me. She will probably keep it long. I see a good deal of company here. Sometimes several visits coming together quite fill the room. I have just had a very bad attack with my eyes, & have had my old enemy the diorea until I had to go to bed for a couple of days. Father is nicer, & more pleasant than I ever saw him. Really affectionate, & amiable. Calhoun I forgot to say brought me a pretty carbuncle ring when he came which he got in quite a singular way. A lady came into the prison bowed, & kissed her hand to him. He sent her a prisoners ring, by one of her relations inside. She returned this one with a note signed “the Lady in Brown.” He could never learn her name. Father has wonderfully improved in playing on the violin, & really composes some quite good common place tunes. He does look so well, & has given up smoking. He is a dear old fellow.

July 29th. Calhoun remained over a week among the mountains, but killed no dear. Two were killed by the party. Old Maum Kate from Fort Hill ran away, & came to stay with us. She is nursing grandma, & is quite a comfort. They have lost over 70 negroes at Fort Hill in the last year; mostly children, of the whooping cough, & measels, combined. Dr. Rag [Wragg] came & consulted with Drs. Maxwell & Pickens, about grandma. They have decided that she has a cancer, & that it will never get better, but, not being in a


“Dr. Thomas J. Pickens, Jr., son of Col. Thomas J. and Keziah Pickens; Dr. William T. Wragg (1804-1885), son of Samuel Wragg (1770-1844) and Mary Ashby I’on Wragg (July 6, 1782-?), married (1) Anne Toomer and (2) Eliza R. Toomer. Mary A. Wragg bought a house and lot in Pendleton on Aug. 23, 1862. Dr. William Wragg was living in Charleston in 1860 and undoubtedly resided with his family and his widowed mother in Pendleton. MS. Census 1860, Ward 2, Charleston Dist., S. C.; Anderson deeds, book H-2, p. 169; SCHGM, XIX (July, 1918), 121; XXV (Jan., 1924), 14-15; Simpson, Old Pendleton District, p. 192.
vital part, it may not kill her for years. She suffers terribly from it, & nervousness combined. She half suspects what it is, & can not bear pain at all. She has to take opiates all the time. It would be a mercy if she could die, & save herself all the misery, she will have to suffer. We are in the midst of a terrible drought, & many say the corn crop is already ruined. The wheat having been also an entire failure, scarce any one making seed about here, the prospect for winter is terrible. The negroes being freed, almost everyone is turning them away by hundreds to starve, plunder, & do worse. The times ahead are fearful. They have just begun praying in the churches for the Pt. of the United States, & everyone has to take the oath. We are crushed indeed, & humiliated. I have not yet had any letters except two from Mary Latrobe since I have been here. The railroads are fast repairing.

Aug. 10th. I have just received a letter from Lizzie Robinson, & an other from her mother. She is still at the Vinyard, & likely to remain there the winter. Leigh R. is home. Henry, her cousin, dead. Jennie King in in Alexandria, will stay in Md. all winter, the Fairfaxes have settled at Gov. Sprague’s place in the Forrest. Billy Dundas has inherited (he says) half a million, from his uncle & is going to his domains in Scotland. The McCeney’s & Woods well. These are the first letters from any but Mary Latrobe since I have been here, & were dated July 12th. I have been quite sick with diarrhea again lately, & am not strong yet. My poor eyes so much worse, that I can scarce do a thing. I went to a nice party at the Adam’s last week, & was invited to two more. We see a good deal of company here. Hall Calhoun has opened a store in the village, with all kinds of things in it, at high prices.

Sep 2nd. Gen. Wade Hampton & his wife, (Mary McDuffy that was) came to see us last Saturday. He is a fine looking man of fifty about with dark brown hair & beard still untinged with grey, & a fine dark blue eye. A very striking dashing look. He said noth-
ing kept him in this country but a desire to pay his debts. He was staying at Keowee, Hall Calhoun’s [home], on his way to his place is Cassier’s valley. I have been very sick with sick headaches &c. lately, sometimes in bed for two or three days. One week had four sick headaches. Dr. Maxwell says the summer was too hot & did not agree with me. Am now a little better. They say the state of things in the low country is terrible. Men, formally wealthy, have litterally not wherewithall to buy bread, & many must starve. Lands which have been abandoned by their owners during the war, are confiscated to be divided by the “freedmen’s beaureau” among the negroes. An insurrection is much dreaded. All negroes have now asserted their freedom now. At Ft. Hill all have left but some fifteen hands. Jackson has also quietly & amicably set up as shoemaker, & fiddler for himself from here. An officer of negroes was shot at Walhalla a few days since. Negro garisons are stationed at Anderson, & that place, but none here, though they pay us visits! Got a letter from Miss Olivia Buck to day dated Aug. 3rd. She says among other things that Miss Lane is engaged to Mr. Henry Johnson of Baltimore. I believe this because she told me about him when I was there. He is a Southerner too. I am really glad to hear of it, for Mr. B. is a perfect old tyrant to her. The Riggs are still in Europe. The Woods at their place. Mrs. Harvey in Scotland. Old Dundas in Philla. has left some thirty thousand dollars a piece to Mrs. Everette, Billy, &c. The latter is going to Scotland. All old friends are well. I would so love to go to see them all again. Billy Dundas is going to marry Miss Marron.

Oct 8th. Last Thursday there was a great tournament here. Some fourteen knights rode in various costumes, not at all knightly for the most. Two sent their lances to me to trim, & rode for me: Edwin Frost, & Ben. Gaillard. My colors were red, white, & black.

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89 High Hampton Inn, Cashiers, N. C., today stands on the site of Hampton’s mountain retreat.
81 A former slave of Mrs. John C. Calhoun.
A Rebel Came Home

The Confederate colors, in mourning. The prize was awarded to Ben. Crawford, who crowned Miss Sue Lewis, a mere school girl. The crowning was awkwardly managed. Duff Calhoun was leader of the la[n]ces, as the “Great Mogul,” Hall as an I[n]dian, was judged the best rider, he certainly was the best character. Andrew went as a “Highland lad,” one of my knights as Billy Bow Legs, the other (Edwin Frost) as the “Red Knight.” In the evening there was a fancy dress ball. I went as a Spanish lady with my pink silk skirt trimmed with black lace, a black Spanish body, over a white lace waist, & a black lace shawl over a high comb. I hear every one say I was the best dressed lady in the room. I left early leaving some dozen dancing engagements, because I was worn out, having worked hard at getting up dresses for others, & was sick next day, of course. I have received any quantity of letters from my friends lately. From Kate Barton, Lizzie Robinson, Sallie Clemson, Mr. Dunscomb & others. This latter wants to come down to see me, but I wrote telling him he had better not, for he does not seem to have forgotten me. Yet I suppose he will come, I hope not. Indeed I have been very honest with him, & feel sorry he can not forget me. All the family North seems in statu quo. Kate says Clem North is engaged to a nice girl, & Miss Lane has broken her engagement. Meta Sandford has been married some time to a Mr. Glass of Lynchburg. Sallie Clemson seems so well again, & writes in good spirits. I am very glad, for I thought her in a bad way. Lizzie Robinson, & Mary Latrobe urge me to go on & spend the winter with them. I only wish I could, as this country is getting very unsafe. People are constantly called from their houses at night & shot, besides thefts of all kinds & degrees, are of daily occurrence. The country is in a terrible state, & will probably get worse, as the winter proceeds. Some of the refugees are going tomorrow. Mr. & Mrs. Ed. Thurston, & his mother, with Miss Eliza Ford, Mrs. Holms, & others, soon

84 Sue A. Lewis (1849-1932), daughter of Andrew F. and Susan Sloan Lewis, never married. Simpson, Old Pendleton District, p. 168; marker in Old Stone Church Cemetery; Benjamin C. Crawford (Feb. 14, 1846-Jan. 24, 1912), Register, St. Paul's.

85 Two Thurston households were listed in Charleston in 1860: (1) Robert (age 26) and Maria Thurston (26), two infant children, and Margaret (21) and Eliza Ford (20); (2) E. M. Thurston (age 29), Mrs. E. E. (45), John G. (23), Emily F. (18), and James Thurston (18). Robert was a clerk and E. M. a factor. MS. Census 1860, Wards 2 and 3, Charleston Dist., S. C. The
others are to leave. Gen. Ben Huger\textsuperscript{56} is up here, & talks of living at his old place again. Gen. Wade Hampton has his shoulder put out of place which prevented his being at the convention of which he refused to be elected a member, but was. I am ashamed of the action of my state at this.\textsuperscript{57} I had rather be kept as a territory than so disgraced. My eyes are better. Grandma about the same. Figs, & haws nice.

\textit{Novembre 6th.} Aunt Kate talks of going next Tuesday to Abbeville first, & then either to [St.] Augustine, or Canada. I shall really miss her, for she professes to be very fond of me, & is very kind. I grieve very much at the manner of her going, & wish Calhoun had left off making mischief there for once. I have been very busy for over a month, cutting, fitting, planning, & packing for her to go. It is strange no one seems to quarrel with me. Grandma is getting worse. She is so nervous, irritable, & cross, that she is almost insupportable at times. I am as well as I ever am again, & my eyes generally better, though for some reason they have been much inflamed of late. Father has bought a horse & carriage. The former for $120 is a strawberry roan, & a very powerful animal, the latter he only gave $48 for. It is a nice little one horse affair, strong, though abused some, & rusty. We had the first killing frost last night, but the oak trees are still pretty green. We have had a delightful fall. Maggie Ford, Mrs. Wm. Ravenel, the two Mrs. Thurston's,\textsuperscript{58} & many other refugees have left. All will soon be gone. I shall miss the [Judge] Frosts, especially Lizzie most, as I like them very much. There was a concert here last week, but I would not sing at it. My piano north is sold for what I gave for it.

\textit{Dec. 17th.} Over a month ago I went to Anna Frosts' wedding. Lizzie Jennings & myself were the only ones among twenty out of census and diary indicate that Mrs. E. E. was mother of E. M., who apparently married after 1860.


\textsuperscript{57} This is not clear. Apparently Floride objected to the S. C. Convention's acceptance of President Johnson's conditions for re-admission into the Union.

A Rebel Came Home

mo[u]ning in the room. She married Pinckney Lowndes. Two weeks ago I went to Lizzie Lee's wedding to Mr. Guillard of Charleston. There were about 30 there, both places had nice set suppers. Last Friday there was a sale of farm utensils, produce, & stock at Fort Hill. Grandma bought two mules, two cows, 500 bushells of corn, 50 of peas, a house of shucks, & much fodder, with some 12 hogs. All came to $1600 with a year’s credit. The boys seemed very angry at her getting the things, & threatened to “pay her up” &c. Cousin Ed. Noble has just lost his eldest daughter Bell. Calhoun is still away at uncle James where he & father both went the same day there as aunt Kate did. Father returned in two weeks, & has been very kind & pleasant ever since his return. Calhoun always makes him cross, & makes him disagreeable. Every one expects trouble about Xmas. with the negroes, who expect land. Matters are pretty quiet now except casual disturbances thefts & murders. I have heard again from Miss Lane telling me of her approaching marriage to Mr. Johnson of Balt. & inviting me to come & see her. Clem North is married to [unfinished].

Dec. 26th. Yesterday (Monday, Xmas) was a dull, warm, cloudy day, but towards evening it cleared. I received no gifts except some mint candy from mother, & a couple of tame squirrels from the Pickins. I made eight little photograph frames out of pine burrs, acorns, beechnuts, & beans, two for the Pickens, two for the Cornishes, two for the Frost, & two for Ella Lorton. I also made


** James Edward Colhoun, whose plantation “Millwood” on the Savannah River three miles from the present site of Calhoun Falls, S. C., was a brother of Mrs. John C. Calhoun.

** The family of Episcopal minister A. H. (age 40) and Catherine Cornish (40). Their daughters Kate (18) and Lizzie (16) were friends of Floride. Simpson, Old Pendleton District, p. 146; MS. Census 1860, Anderson Dist., S. C.

** Ella, daughter of John S. (Feb. 28, 1806-Oct. 16, 1862) and Eliza Amanda Lorton (Feb. 7, 1812-Feb. 29, 1894). Lorton was a prosperous Pendleton merchant; his only child Ella (age 16 in 1860) became the second

96
a couple of serpentine braid trimmings, three feather piano dusters, & gave a comb to mother & a cravat to father. I went to church in the morning (which I helped to dress on Saturday) making six ceder, & pine wreaths for it. The evening I spent at Mr. Elliot's, had a pleasant evening, & nice supper, a game of snap draggon, & some pictures of the East to look at & enjoy. I must confess I felt pretty homesick though, thinking of the pleasant merry Xmas times I used to spend with Lizzie Robinson & the Woods. I will never have such happy days again I fear. Calhoun has neither come up as he promised, nor has he written to us. He is still at uncle Jame's I suppose. We had some tableaux last Friday. The Miss Pinckens, Margaret Seybrook, Vallie North, Carro Ravenell, Kate Shanklin, the Frost boys, Gussy Van Wyck, & some other young men acted. I was prime director, costumer, actor, & sugester. They were very beautiful all say. There was scarce any audience, as none were invited but the families of the actors. The scenes were the sleeping beauty, telling fortunes, Judith & Hollafermes, the witches in Macbeth, taking the veil, beheading Mary of Scotts, the fair Geraldine, in the magic mirror, the tea party at Chuzzlewits, the old maids' tea party, Mrs. Squeirs giving treacle, the real, & imaginary sheperdess, & the animating of Pigmalian's statue, a pantomine. We had it in the hotel, with stage curtains, & all complete. They say I acted very well, but I took all the ugly scens, housekeeper, gypsy, old maid, witch, abess & maid of honor to Mary. I enjoyed it hugely.

wife of Gideon Lee, of Carmel, N. Y. (who was married first to Floride Clemson). Simpson, Old Pendleton District, pp. 79-80; MS. Census 1860, Anderson Dist., S. C.; markers in Old Stone Church Cemetery.

Monday Today it is raining steadily, drearily, as it has almost without intermission of two consecutive clear days, for over a month. May this sad weather not bode a sad year to come! I have felt so sad of late, & today, in spite of many things to make me happy, but I don't much like this place, where with the exception of Lizzie Frost, Ella Lorton, & the Pickenses, there are few congenial persons here. My twenty third birth day passed quietly raining in the evening, & dreary nearly all day. Ella Lorton & Miles Pickens spent the evening here & we had an eggnog. Ella sent me some nice flout, & Lizzie Frost a very pretty purple, & white neck ribbon. I spent Saturday evening with Lizzie very pleasantly. Thank God thus far we have had no trouble, as was anticipated from the negroes, who had determined to have part of their master's lands at least, but a Yankee Colonol made them some speeches about here, telling them they would not uphold them, & advising them to be peaceable & quiet. Peter who has been the cook here for three or four years is to leave I am sorry to say, as he is a grumpy, but pretty steady, & honest man. The two Miss Adams have returned after a ten days stay in New York. They brought a nice long letter from Mrs. Daub, who seems to long to get back to us; she is still with Mrs. Lee¹ No one knows how I regret having to give up my much hoped for, & anticipated visit to those I love in Md, & other places. I can not get over my feeling of loneliness & homesickness here & I

¹ Caroline and Fannie, daughters of the Rev. Jasper Adams. Their elder sister Elizabeth married Archibald C. Campbell, of New York, in 1859. Lisette Daub came to work for the Clemsons as a cook and housekeeper in 1857. She remained in the North when Mrs. Clemson and Floride returned South in 1864. Mrs. Gideon Lee of New York was the mother of Gideon (Jr.) and D. W. Lee. See Clemson Papers, passim.
want to see dear Lizzie Robinson especially, for I love her best of all, & I suppose it will be long ere I do so now, as she is probably to leave that place, perhaps for Europe, next spring. My principal pleasure here is in receiving letters from her, Miss Lane, Sallie Clemson, Kate B., Mary Latrobe, & others, all of whom write so affectionately to me. Mr. Onderdonk also often writes. He has bought my piano. My pills Dr. Maxwell. Rx Extract Tarax. 3 ii Bismouth Sub. nit. Ferri Queveuno ââ 3 i M fit. Pill No 60 i three times a day.

1868

Monday

Jan. 15th. Last Tuesday Dr. Maxwell came to put a seaton² in my neck, for my eyes which have now been partially paralyzed for over two years. I came to the conclusion that I had tried gentle means long enough. The doctor ran a piece of lavender silk braid through, & it has really been very painful causing a cornel on my shoulder, & being very much inflamed & swollen. I am to keep it on some two months he says, pulling it every day. My maid Marie does it for me. She is really an invaluable servant, & I dont know what I should do without her as she is so devoted to me. Last Saturday evening I invited a few friends to meet Gov. Orr’s daughter, Mattie. She is very anxious I should go home with her to spend some time with her, but I dont feel like visiting in her father’s family, such men disgrace the State.³ She is staying at the Van Wycks. Yesterday I went to hear a lecture, to the young delivered by Patric Malaly⁴ in the Presbyterian church. It was very good, & he preaches strikingly. Father tells me that if he goes to Europe in the spring as he expects to, he will take me with him. I am delighted of course, for I have never ceased to regret that I did not go with him just before the war, when he wanted me to. I dream, & think of nothing but what I hope to see, do, & hear there.

² A seton is an induced ulcer which is supposed to draw the poison out of another area.

³ Martha, daughter of Governor James L. Orr. Floride apparently objected to Governor Orr’s moderate, compromising policies.

Tuesday

Jan. 23rd. Cousin Ed. Noble came up two or three days ago partly to take me down to Abbeville with him. I start to day, at twelve o'clock.

March 11th.

Saturday I got back from Abbeville yesterday night at eleven at night, having left Cokesbury at 5½ P. M. I must now chronicle my whole trip, for particulars I refer to my letters to mother, however I went first to Anderson, where I spent the night at Gov. Orr's with Mattie Orr. The next day went to Coakesbury. I found cousin Floride Cunningham's family in a great bustle, as Lou, the youngest daughter about 18 years old was to be married on Friday, two days after. I helped all I could. She was married to Mr. Charles Banks, on Friday morning quite privately, & went off the same day in the cars to Charleston. I liked cousin Floride, the elder, very much, she is a whole souled, kind hearted, fussy woman. Emma Floride, who is some eight months older than I am is a dark, dried up, snaky, little black cat, of a witch, & I cant bear her. Spiteful artificial, &, I think, pretty bad every way. I had to hold myself not to fight her. Lizzie, some two years younger is a little dimpy kitten, pretty, winning, useful, fair, long haired thing. I liked her, & she seemed to take a great fancy to me. Lou was the most lady like, & attractive, has really elegant manners, but not very pretty, auburn style. Bob the oldest son is a little monkey about nineteen, not up to my shoulder, dark, & snaky with a foot, wearing No. 13 misses shoes! Took a fancy to me, of course. Then there is Benjie, walking in his father's tracks, at 16 good, & bad looking. John 14 stutters,

*In 1860 John Cunningham (age 40) was editor of the Charleston Evening News. His family included his wife Floride (age 39), and children Emma F. (18), Lizzie P. (17), Louisa B. (15), Robert N. (13), Benjamin (11), John (8), and Clarence (6). MS. Census 1860, Ward 6, Charleston Dist., S. C. In 1860 when Floride planned to visit the Cunninghams in Charleston, her mother sternly warned: "Dont go to a party with him [Mr. Cunningham] alone, any more than you would with any one else. It is not that I fear or think he would take liberties with you, but he is a bad man, & has a bad reputation. . . ." Anna C. Clemson to Floride, Jan. 22, 1860, Clemson Papers. Col. Cunningham was from Virginia; his wife was the former Floride Calhoun Noble (Aug. 7, 1819-Aug. 4, 1870), daughter of Governor Patrick Noble. McPherson (comp.), Calhoun, Hamilton, Baskin and Related Families, pp. 14, 18.*
Pendleton, South Carolina 1866

goodlooking, stooping, but rather promising. Claire about twelve, a very girl in every way. Made a calico skirt for his mother, & plays with dolls, but is right sweet. Mr. Cunningham is the picture of a worn out rouée. Stiff, blind of an eye, bloated, & disgusting. I left these, on Saturday, with Cousin Ed. Noble, & his family. I liked his wife [Mary] very much, she is pretty, stylish, rather proud, but very polite to me. Her eldest son Pat, about sixteen, is a fine, gentlemanly boy. Bell about 15, died in December. Edward about eleven, is very like any well brought up, rather wild boy. Floride, six, is a pretty bruntette, & very sweet. Pinckey, three, is a merry little roleypokey, blonde. I spent some two weeks, here, a week with cousin Eugenia Parker, an other with cousin Martha Burt, & ended my trip at cousin Floride Cunningham's again, being nearly 7 weeks away. Cousin Martha has the handsomest garden I ever saw of the prim treeless grassless kind & many of the early hyacynth &c. were out in it on the first of Feb. The house is a nice one, & beautifully kept. I liked cousin Martha, she was very kind to me, & affectionate & handsome, styleish woman, but very deaf, & not healthy, nearly as tall as I am, so is cousin Mary Noble, & Eugenia Parker. The latter has five children, i.e. Tom, an oaf of 17. Mattie a gawk of 16. Willie a rowdy of 12. Helen, a opposam of 10, Teddy, an idiot (almost) of six. Dr. Parker is a silent, uninteresting man. She is a simple, good, hardworking, plain woman but also very kind, & affecte. to me. Mr. Burt was not at home. I also met Cousin John A. Calhoun's.

*In 1860 Edward Noble (age 36), had the following family listed: Martha (Mary) (age 28), Patrick (12). B(ell) (8), Edward (5), and Floride (1). MS. Census 1860, Abbeville Dist., S. C. Mrs. Noble was the former Mary Means Bratton. Pickens, The Pickens Family, p. 50.


family. Carry about 20 is an uninteresting girl. Anna about 17 almost as tall as I am, fat as mother, weighing about 200 lbs; but pretty, & honest. Then there are plenty of others I dont know, but I saw Nowwood, & Orville. One of the girls, Mrs. Simons, seems inclined to be fast, but pleasant. They were all very polite to me. Cousin J was very pompous, & polite. I had some twenty parties, little, & big, dinner, & evening. The four largest (set tables with all kinds of good things) were given by Mrs. Wm. H. Parker, Mrs. Dr. Marshal9 (Fanny Calhoun that was) & Cousins Eugenia Parker, & Martha Burt. The others were by almost every one there, & some in Cokesbury. I had a delightful time altogether, & almost the whole place called upon me, & they say no young lady has caused such a sensation for years. There were plenty of dancing beaux, boys, but only three young gentlemen worth mentioning: Col. Aleck Haskell, a young widower, with one eye shot out, fits, a little daughter, & a stutter, otherwise agreeable & intelligent. Mr. Charley Pinckney, peculiar interesting, & engaged. & Clark Wardlaw,10 dull. Lizzie, & Floride Cunningham went about with me, & were a great draw back, as their family has quarrelled with almost all there. I had so much attention shown me, & kindness, that I could not help having a delightful time. I was also very well while there, only having three sick headaches, & getting entirely well of my diahoe roea. The weather was charming also generally too warm for my winter cloth's. They do not seem to have felt the war there, as here, or other places, & there was much fashionable dressing, & style. Calhoun paid a visit home while I was there, I saw him on his way. Grandma looks worse than when I left, but is able to walk a little

9 Lucia G. (age 26) was the wife of William H. Parker (age 31), attorney-at-law in Abbeville. Frances Josette Calhoun, daughter of Joseph (b. July 22, 1787) and Frances Darricott Calhoun (May 1, 1800-Mar. 21, 1885), married Dr. J. W. Marshall. Ibid., pp. 13-14; MS. Census 1860, Abbeville Dist., S. C.

with crutches now, & is a little more patient. Mrs. Ford a perfect musical genius, I met with in Cokesbury, was one of the most interesting women I saw. Lizzie Frost passed down to Charleston, & I just saw her on the cars, while I was in Cokesbury. I found 20 letters waiting for me at home. One was from Miss Lane, telling me of her marriage to Mr. Henry Elliot Johnston, a banker of Baltimore, where she has to live. She writes for me to come on & see me [her]. She has always kept the name I gave her of “Lady Constance” which I thought suited her. In return she has named me “Fidélité.” She was married on the 11th of Jan. I do wish we were to live near Baltimore. Other letters tell me of the marriage of Tom King to Miss Robinson of Va. & Frank Singleton to Gertrude Magoffin. The rebuilding of cousin Richard Washington’s place Blakeley, aunt Louisa’s bad health, & the warm friendship of those I have left behind with their urgent entreaties for a visit. Mr. Alston Hayne’s house was burnt down last night, & nearly all destroyed.

May 6th. Hall Calhoun died in Charleston March 27th of dropsy of the chest, & Bright’s disease of the kidneys. Teddy did not get down in time to see him. Teddy himself is in such bad health that the doctors have ordered him to go abroad. He left last week for N. Y. from whence he will soon start for Europe. Father left here for Charleston on his way North to day three weeks. We have heard frequently from him now in N. Y. where he says some old friends have treated him very coldly, Mr. Lee for instance. I had to refuse an invitation from Lizzie Frost to visit her in Charleston,


12 Gertrude Magoffin, daughter of Governor Beriah Magoffin of Kentucky, married (Jan. 10, 1865) William Frank Singleton (b. May 5, 1840), a Confederate major. See note 63, chap. i. “Blakeley” had been destroyed by fire. Annie C. Washington to Flordie Clemson, Feb. 22, 1864, Clemson Papers.


14 Edward Boisseau Colhoun (b. Apr., 1841), son of Col. John Ewing and Martha Davis Colhoun. Register, St. Paul’s Episcopal Church.
as the letter came so late (being delayed three weeks on the road) that mother feared to let me brave the very great sickness of the city. That with all my long looked for visits must be put off till Fall. I dislike this place so much, I am all impatience to go. Grandma is scarce able to leave her bed now, & has not for a week wheeled out in her sick chair, but the doctors say there is no imminent danger of death, which perhaps is a sad thing, as she suffers terribly, & can not be kept quiet even by anodynes now. It is very wearing to hear her groans complaints & shrieks almost incessantly night & day, although we know much is only nervousness. She is very unreasonable, & takes three persons to attend to her night & day, & wears them down. We have engaged an experienced nurse Mrs. Burns, & hope she will not drive her away by her exactions. There have been many weddings through the whole country. Here Frank Maxwell married Julia Sloan. Keals Maxwell, Maud Shelton—Susie Campbell, Mr. Rogers. Sam Pickens is engaged to Anna Inghram. I drive a great deal in my little one horse carriage, but am much sick again. I am hairdresser general here. I seem quite a favorite, & am invited almost everywhere. Calhoun still at Millwood.

1866

Sunday

June 3rd. Last evening we received the confirmation of a report Mr. Pinckney heard on the cars near two weeks since, of the death of aunt Kate Calhoun. Fannie Russell writes me that she died of bilious dysentery after a very painful three weeks illness, on Friday the forth of May. She had been but two months reunited to her parents at Palatka, on the St. Johns Fla. Her three little boys &

16 Keels and Frank Maxwell were sons of Samuel and Julia Keels Maxwell and grandsons of Captain John (member of the Secession Convention) and Elizabeth Earle Maxwell. However, Frank Maxwell married Catherine Sloan, not Julia, both daughters of Thomas Majors and Nancy Blasingame Sloan. Julia was still unmarried in 1870. Simpson, Old Pendleton District, pp. 104, 175-76; MS. Census 1870, Anderson County, S. C. Susan Earle Campbell, daughter of Archibald and Emily P. Campbell, married George Rodgers, of Charleston (Apr. 4, 1866) and moved to Summerville, S. C. Register, St. Paul's Episcopal Church.

16 The Rev. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (1812-1898), grandson of General Thomas Pinckney. SCHCM, XXXIX (Jan., 1938). 32. Fanny Russell was a cousin of Kate and in her 23rd year in 1866. Floride Calhoun to Anna C. Clemson, June 14, 1857, Clemson Papers.

104
Fannie Russell are with her parents. They boys are respectively about eight, ten, & twelve years old now. She was conscious to the last, & knew her state. I trust God will have mercy on her, as I think she was a sincere Xtan [Christian], & tried unceaseingly to do her duty.

June 7th. Received five letters from Father last night, dated from Washington. He is getting our things together, & talks of soon returning. His letters are full of the kindness & sincere warmth of our old friends in asking after us. He mentions having seen the dear Robinsons, Woods, Miss Lane (that was), the Middletons, Dr. Pinckney, Crawfords, Calverts (Mrs. C. in a bad way & Charley to be married in June to Miss McCubbin), Mr. Lowndes, all the diplomats, who have shown him much attention, & offered him a much higher position than he had any right to expect he says, in Mexico, but he refused, & talks much of settling down here. Oh dear! that is not a pleasant prospect for one might as well be buried alive. Aunt [Elizabeth Clemson] Barton has added to her former kind acts a horrid abusive letter about us, to father, whom she honies [?]. He sent it to us. She says much about mother's falsehood, & tries moreover to set father against aunt North in a very mean way. She is the only one of father's relations I find it difficult to love, & feel kindly to. Kate [Barton] still writes me most affectionately, & Sallie Clemson seems perfectly devoted to me. Father talks of having lost a trunk of clothing. He has sent us his likeness but it is a very poor one indeed. He says my friends are crazy to have me with them again, & if I have my way they certainly shall have that pleasure next Fall, but much depends on grandma, whom the doctors fear will not last out the summer, as the hot weather will probably accelerate the already rapid progress of the cancer. She can hardly get out of her room in her rolling chair now. She spends all her time moaning, crying, & shrieking.

June 22nd. Father returned from his two months' visit to the North, the night before last. He looks well. The boxes are on the

17 Charles Baltimore Calvert married Eleanor Mackubin (June 14, 1866), daughter of Dr. Charles C. and Hester Worthington Mackubin. John B. C. Nicklin, "The Calvert Family," Maryland Historical Magazine, XVI (Sept., 1921), 316. Mr. Lowndes and "Dr. Pinckney" were Benjamin O. Lowndes (age 59 in 1870), a Bladensburg farmer in whose home lived William Pinkney (age 60 in 1870), and Elizabeth Pinkney. MS. Census 1870, Prince Georges County, Md.
A Rebel Came Home

way. He brought me some 15 pieces of music, a white dress &c. &c. mother a plaid, & grandma a dancing negro toy. Mary Latrobe sent me $25 to spend among the destitute, which with Mr. Cocorans $500, & Mrs. Dodge's 18 $50 makes a noble contribution, & gives much relief. Father saw almost all our friends, & brings me many invitations to visit them next fall, which I certainly mean to do if possible. His description of the fashions are very amusing, such dreadfully large hoops, with trains, ridiculous little bonnets, & the befrizzled bundles of hair as big as the head on behing, or else streaming straight down the back. I have quite broken myself down cutting, trimming, weeding &c. about the place, to make things look nice for father, but I hope in a few days to be as well as I was before & that was an uncommon state of salubrity for me! I am drawing from photographs, likenesses of my different friends, & succeed wonderfully they say.

July 8th, 1866. Calhoun came up yesterday from Millwood for a visit. He says he has an interest in a saw mill, "& other irons in the fire," down there. I hope so. He does not look very well. Father exchanged gold pens with me. The one he gave me was sent to him from Europe just before the war. Father got me a half grown fox for a pet. I have dubbed him "Guy Faux." Dr. Maxwell has given me some pills which I began in the midst of a very severe spell of sick headaches about two months' since, & have not had one since, although I had as many as three the week before I began. They also keep off the diorhea. Mr. Dunscombe wrote me an other declaration of his unalterable affection for me, & beggs I will let him come on for me next fall, to be my escort to Md. Poor man. I am really sorry for him. I almost wish such true affection as he bears for me, might not have siezed him, but some one whom I could love in return.

July 22nd. Calhoun's birthday was on the 17th when he was 25 years old. On the evening of that day we went to see a Night Blooming Ceries [Cereus], at Mrs. Cornishe's. It was bell shaped when we left at past ten, but after midnight they say it was opened wide & as large as a plate. It is pearly white with innumerable delli-

18Probably Mrs. Mary E. Dodge (age 31) and W. W. Corcoran, of the Bladensburg area. MS. Census 1860, County of Wash., D. C. Corcoran, a prominent investment broker, was occasionally mentioned in the Clemson correspondence. Clemson Papers, passim.
cate petals, first nearly white, but when fully open deep orange. The outside of the flower is pink, the stem like a meerschaum pipe, growing from the edge of a thick cactus leaf as large as my hand. The odor is heavy & sweet. It is said to bloom but once in seven years, & a blossom lasts but a night. This plant was three years old, grown from a small leaf. Calhoun & father have driven to Dahlonega [Georgia] in the carriage, with the mules, started the 18th to see about our gold mine there. Grandma has taken to her bed at last, & we fear will never be able to get up again, she is so weak, & the disease makes such rapid progress now. She oft[ten] wanders in mind, & sleeps but little save by snatches now, in spite of 4% grs. of morphine she takes nightly. Her appetite heretofor good is failing also, & the odor from the cancerous discharge, is so terribly offensive that even when she is quiet we can hardly stay in the room this hot weather. They tell us she can not out last the summer, & may die very soon if the cancer eats into an artery. Is is too terrible! My health is in some respects much better. My sick headaches have entirely given away before some pills Dr. Maxwell gave me, & while I take them, my diorhea is also well, but the moment I cease, it comes back. I have spasms occasionally still.

July 28th, 1866. Grandmother Calhoun died last Wednesday evening at 6% o'clock P. M. (July 25th) She had only been in bed a week, & was not alarmingly worse until Monday night. Monday morning Dr. Tom Pickens, & Dr. Maxwell both thought she might linger some weeks, but it is supposed that she had a slight stroke of paralysis on Monday night, & when cousin Tom P. saw her Tuesday morning he gave her up. Her mind wandered a little from the day she took to bed, at times, but she was almost totally insensible from Tuesday morning with but slight intervals of recognition, until her death. For the last two days she could scarcely articulate at all, & the last intelligible sentence she said was to me when I tried to make her take some milk punch, (all that she touched after the stroke). They were “Go away child, I dont want any,” the morning before she died. She was fearfully emaciated, & changed. Mother says that the cancer had eaten away the lower part of her stomach, & split open her groin, nearly to the bone. I never saw it. It was terribly offensive, & had only become regularly glandular some six months before her death. Was brought on by an abrasion from a kidney affection, which was neglected. It
first gave her trouble some two years since. She had not walked since last Fall, but was rolled about in her rolling chair. The funeral took place from the [St. Paul's] Episcopal church at 6 o'clock P. M. Thursday 28th. The church was full, & nearly every one there. There was no sermon. About nine carriages went from this house to the grave, the rest went straight to the church. She was buried between aunt Cornelia, & uncle Willie in the Episcopal church yard here, in aunt Kate Calhoun's lot. I wrote to tell aunt Margaret Calhoun on Tuesday of her state, & she, & Margie\textsuperscript{19} spent part of that day, & part of next here. I think the second day grandma knew her a little. Margie had not been here for over a year. Cousin Kesiah Pickens spent the two days before, & one next after her death, with us. We sent Mr. Duke down for uncle James Calhoun Tuesday, but we have not hea[r]d from him yet. Father, & Calhoun who started a few days before she died for Dahlonega. Geo. returned only the morning before the funeral. We walked thus: Mother & father—Calhoun & I—aunt Margaret & Johnny—Margie & Andrew—Pat & Jimmie. (Duff is away) I am trying to get some mourning dresses. I shall not go into crepe. The pall bearers were old cousin Thomas Pickens, & Mr. Wm Caillard,\textsuperscript{20} who always attended to her business. He made all the arrangements for the funeral, as father & Calhoun were away when she died. Mrs. Burns staid with grandma & nursed her to the last most devotedly. Poor grandma has passed from so much suffering that we can not but regard it as a blessing. I do not suppose for the past year there has been half an hour at a time of her waking moments this house has not resounded to her groans. I read the praye[r]s for the sick beginning “Oh Lord look down from heaven” & “Hear us Almighty & most merciful father” with “Unto God’s merciful protection”—the general confession, & Lords prayer, every morning & night, with her, from the time aunt Kate left. She said Amen to these with me & the praye[r]s for the dying that Mr. Cornish said also to her, the morning of the day before she died, but I scarcely think she comprehended them or

\textsuperscript{19}Martha Cornelia Calhoun, William Lowndes Calhoun, Margaret Green Calhoun (wife of the deceased Andrew Pickens Calhoun), and Margie Calhoun (daughter of Margaret and Andrew Calhoun).

her state. She never seemed more than to suspect that she had a

cancer, & three days before she died told Mrs. Burns she hoped she

would recover, but though we never told her, neither did we de-

ceived her, as to her state. Her friends were most attentive in flock-

ing to see her, when they heard of her danger. I trust in God that

she has gone to the rest that remaineth for his people, which I

believe she most earnestly tried to deserve. She prayed almost with-

out ceasing, during the last few months of her illness & was so low

spirited, melancholy, & nervous that she rarely smiled. She cried

often. Her appetite lasted wonderfully. She did not care to con-

verse, as she took little or no interest in anything, & was so deaf

that it was difficult to talk to her. Her mind however, was as strong,

& bright as ever, until the last week or so. I have been quite sick

the last few days. Ella Lorton spent night before last, & yesterday

with me.

Aug. 7th. Grandmother's will was read yesterday. Sam Pickens

& I took copies of it, & the codicil. Besides a few minor legacies as

her watch to young Floride Cunningham, some little furniture to

aunt Kate, two silver goblets to Margie, & some books, photographs

& shells to the other grandchildren, she left this place Mi Casa to

aunt [Kate's] boys, to revert to us if they die without issue. Fort

Hill, all the rest of her personal property & furniture, silver & jewels

to mother first, then to me, then to Calhoun, in case I die without

either will, or issue. A fourth part of the Ft. Hill bond & mortgage

debt is mine now, & $2000 Calhoun's. The codicil was drawn up

last January, the will in 1863. Grandma has done a noble part by

me. From present appearances, & at present valuation, I seem to

bid fair to be worth $15—or 20000 at mother's death, merely from

what grandmother has left, & gave me, besides what I may get

from father. Cousin Thos. Pickens Sr., Rev. Wm. [Andrew] H. Cor-

nish, Sam Pickens, father mother & myself were present at the

reading of the will by cousin Ed. Noble, who came up for the

purpose, & returned in the carriage to day as far as Anderson with

Mr. Cornish, & father, to record the will. Calhoun returned to Mill-

wood last Saturday. I have been quite sick. The kitchen chimney

cought fire last evening, & alarmed us & the village considirably;

it must have burnt above an hour. I may as well here record my

jewelry, at least the better part: a diamond breast pin, 1 opal &

108 diamonds, some of which were mother's engagement ring; a
fushia flower breast pin, pearls, enamel, & diamond sparks, given me by the queen of Belgium when I was about eight; a pair of ear rings, emeralds, rubies, & garnets heavily chased, given me by the sister of the king consort of Spain (Isabella de Bourbon Infanter of Spain countess Goronsky); also two or three little charms, a toilet stand, wash stand, & woman churning, all from her; a full set of amythysts that belonged to grandma Calhoun, breast pin, two bracelets, ear rings, & small pin; a full set of garnets bought by mother in Europe, big & little breast pin, two bracelets, but the ruby & pearl ear rings to match were my great grandmother Calhoun's; a set of ear rings & breast pin of string seed pearls, my grand mother's; an antique stone cameo, set in heavy gold, bought by father in Europe; a little enameled pin, with heavy pearl drop given me by Mme. Demané de Bieme in Belgeium; a gold two headed snake bracelet given as a wedding present by mother to uncle John's first wife, returned to me; a gold & topaz bracelet, a wedding present from mother to uncle Willie's first wife returned to me; a gold chased bracelet given me by grandma Calhoun; a gold flexible bracelet with hair pansey flowers of all the family, from mother; a gold & Jet breast pin, & bracelet of aunt Cornelia's, a pair of gold link hoop ear rings [aunt Cornelia's] & gold, enamel, & hair [drawing of a bracelet] this shape, [aunt Cornelia's]; an oval gold, enamel, & hair (marked Mrs. M Calhoun) which was grandma's; also two oval hair, gold, pearls, & jet; one hair, pearl, & gold crescent; one tiny cameo, one tiny hair & gold; one square hair enamel, & gold, all grandmothe's; one cross of gold with grandfather's hair, cut off in the coffin by, & given to me by Mrs. Ellis of Abbev; a paralelogram shell cameo, the car of the sun, of uncle Willie's first wife; an oval shell cameo of mother's, St. John; an oval malikite given me by Mrs. Ged. [Gideon] Lee with hers, [and granddaughters] Laura, Bella, & Maggie Leupps hair at back; a diamond ring with 8 stones (uncle Willies engagement ring to his first wife) given me by aunt Kate; an oval carbuncle ring given to Calhoun while in prison by an unknown "lady in brown," & given to me; an octagon cornelian seal ring with pansey given to me by Calhoun who got it from Mr. Dunscombe; a heavy chased ring with mother's likeness in it; a small single diamond ring given to

" John Caldwell Calhoun, Jr. Anzie Adams was his first wife.

* Normal: indicated by ditto marks in MS.
mother when she was married by cousin Floride Cunningham & worn by mother on the first finger of right hand; a plain gold ring given me by Kate Barton, used with a chain grandma gave me, for a mouchoir ring; one bead agate bracelet; one link agate bracelet; one gold-capped, bead, serpentine bracelet; one pair gold cuff pins; one pair gold sleeve buttons [drawing]; some six studs; one gem set cuff pin given to Nina, by aunt Sue Clemson; a mosaic fox head stud of uncle Pats'. A gold watch, & heavy, simple link chain of uncle Pat's bought from his estate, for $100, & given me when I was here just before the war by grandma. Uncle Pat desired I should have my choice of his watches ere he died. One cumpas trinket given me by Mr. Dunscombe. A family hair heart shaped glass locket. A gold fish given me by grandma Calhoun. A hair fish given me by grandma Clemson. A polichinell; locomotive; telescope; & bronze, & cornelian seal, two gold enamel & pearl (given by the Infantery to C.) & two diamond studs given him by mother, which Calhoun has given me, but I will only hold in trust for him. A gold chain & padlock necklace. A hair necklace—mother's hair—a long hair chain—mother's hair. Two light broad hair bracelets, Calhoun found & gave me. Two or three hair bracelets, one with aunt Anzie's hair, & likeness. A hair snake bracelet, aunt Maria's hair. A hair snake breast pin, aunt Cornelia's hair. A pair of hair bell earrings, cousin Annie Clemson's hair—A hair ring, uncle Willie's hair. A gold chased cross, by Miss Greenhow. A miniature locket likeness of Grandma Calhoun's baby sister, with hers, & her parent's hair. A miniature locket likeness of grandma Calhoun's father John Ewing Calhoun with his hair. A miniature medallion likeness of cousin Ed. Boisseau. A horrid mourning breast pin &

*Sue Clemson was the wife of William Clemson. Nina was Cornelia (Oct. 30, 1855-Dec. 20, 1858), daughter of Thomas G. and Anna C. Clemson.

*Capt. Patrick Calhoun, son of John C. Calhoun, died June 1, 1858, in Pendleton.


*James Edward Boisseau was an investment banker in New York. Thomas G. Clemson to John C. Calhoun, Jan. 8, 1850, Calhoun Papers, Clemson College.
locket Calhoun found. An "I[n] memory of" little pin of grandmother's. A pair of gold capped, cornelian hair pins, of mother's. A cornelian link bracelet given me. Nina's coral sleavelets. An Amber bead bracelet uncle Johnny gave me. A pair of long gold ear rings, I bought. Uncle Pat's locket daguerotype likeness given by cousin Martha Burt, to whom he gave it, to grandma, then she to me. Betty Burn, engaged to uncle Pat, now Mrs. Porcher Miles, small dagurian locket likeness, taken from uncle P.'s neck when he died, & given to me. One gold sliding pen & pencil of grandma's given me. One gold fitting in pen, & pencil sent father from Europe given me. One small gold pencil (enamelled head) of mothers. One gold & silver filagree, enamelled Chinese fan with $8, of actual metal in it. Bought by father, in a curiosity shop abroad & remarkable for being enamelled on both sides alike. One pair of black glass hoop ear-rings, aunt Barton gave me. One strap & buckle gold watch pin. Two chased common gold breast pins, the least solid looking found, & given me by Mr. Onderdonk. Two agate headed, & one Etruscan gold headed shawl pin. A Topaz cross—a little agate oblong breast pin. A common delicate quasi gold pencil. A gold belt buckle. A ring made of the marble from the Capitol at Washington. A gold thimble. A carved ivory breast pin. A pair of jet band bracelets, & cut jet chain & other jet fixings. A crystal Indian-arrow-head, Calhoun found at Millwood. And a great many knick knacks, broken pieces, &c. &c. besides my silver. Shawl pins &c.

Aug. 31st. Good old Mrs. North died yesterday, aged 85 years. She was an old friend of grandmother's, before they were married, in the low country, & for the last 59 years she has lived here, they were intimate. Some three months since, she broke her hip bone, & has been confined to her bed ever since, without hope of recovery though the bone knit partially, & she gradually wasted away from the confinement. She is to be buried in the Episcopal grave yard to day, so she & grandmother, will not have been more than a month

Betty Beirne was the daughter of Oliver Beirne, a rich Virginia planter. She married William Porcher Miles (July 4, 1822-May 11, 1889) of Charleston. He was a former United States and Confederate Congressman. DAB, XII, 618-17.

Eliza Drayton was the wife of John Laurens North (born 1782 in Philadelphia). Simpson, Old Pendleton District, p. 73.
separated, after their long friendship. I never knew any one who was more generally beloved. Pat Noble returned to Abbeville Wednesday, after over a fortnight’s visit. He is a pleasant, gentlemanly, studious boy of seventeen, & I enjoyed his visit very much. He read to me, rode, & drove with me, & played chess, & cards. We drove up to Keowee with Anna Pinckney, but the place looks desolate, & deserted since Teddy [Colhoun] is in Europe. We also went to Mrs. Warleys, to look through a telescope Prof. Gibbs had there. It was about five feet long, & magnified 100 times. I saw Saturn & his ring, Jupiter, with his two bands, & four satelites, the moon which was about half, Alpha Lyra, a splendid, colored, double star, & an other star in the cross I believe, which six stars, arranged so [drawing], also a pan full of the milky way. Carrie Pinckney, & Anna left the day before yesterday, for good. They are to join the rest of the family at Flat Rock [N. C.], where their father is to be married next week. Carrie herself will be married soon, & her brother Charlie, to Miss Memenger. I shall miss the Pinckneys very much, as I had become quite intimate with Carrie especially, a gentle lovely character. No sooner do I get well acquainted with any one here than they leave. Ella Lorton has been very ill for near 3 weeks now with Neumonia (typhoid) but is better now.

Sunday

Sept. 26th. Cousin Mary Noble with her two sweet little girls Floride & Pickey (or Mary) respectively 7, & 4 years old, spent a week with us, & left last Monday. I enjoyed their visit as it was the first except of a night or two, we have had since we have been here. Lortie C[h]erry died last week of typhoid fever. She was only 15 years old. There has been much sickness about, & some deaths. We hear of much sickness everywher. E[d]win Frost is here, & says there is a vast deal of broken bone fever in Charleston, but

**Anna (Annie?) (1847-1895), Caroline (b. 1838), and Charlie (b. 1839) were children of the Rev. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. Anna did not marry; Caroline married Julian Mitchell; Charlie married Lucy Memminger, daughter of Mary Wilkinson and Christopher G. Memminger, former Confederate secretary of the treasury. MS. Census 1860, Ward 4, Charleston Dist., S. C.; SCHGM, XXXIX (Jan., 1938), 32.**

**Mary Lorton Cherry (b. Apr. 4, 1851), daughter of Dr. William B. and Sarah Lewis Cherry. St. Paul’s Register; Simpson, Old Pendleton District, pp. 89-90.**
no cholera, or yellow fever yet. It seems as if there would surely be a civil war at the North soon. They do not know what it is! I have just finished a set of chemise-linen bands with several rows of cord stitched in, & linen frills, also a night gown, & some under bodies. I am unusually well. Father has returned from a two week visit to Millwood.

Octo 19th ’66.* Yesterday week there was a celebration here, for the Confederate dead within a radius of five miles from this place, gotten up by Miss Sallie Lynch. Some fifty names were collected. Some young lady bore a banner for each of the martyrs draped with black with the name, date, & place of death on one side & an appropriate motto on the other. First, early in the morning, those interested visited the old Stone Church yard, & wreathed the graves there, then we all met at the Baptist church, & formed into a procession so fashion [drawing] in a double pyramid which I did not like. Seppie Sloan*¹ marched at the head bearing a banner for the returned soldiers, with a flowery anchor in her hand, & dressed in white, with a long bridal veil. She was followed by a pack of children strewn with flowers in the way of the returned soldiers. Then they were graduated up to me, bearing Gen Barnard Bee’s banner killed at 1st Manassas, then down to small, & up to Carrie Miller*² bearing a banner for all the dead, then tapered down again. We marched through the three grave yards; the Baptist, Methodist, & Episcopal, wreathing each soldiers grave as we came to it, with wreaths we wore over our shoulders. Then we mounted Mrs. Van Wyck’s porch, & ranged ourselves on either side, (all dressed in half mourning) while Gens. Hampton, & Easley*³ delivered addresses. Father introduced them, & Mr. Mul-

* In the margin opposite the date there is a sketch of the draped memorial banner and standard.

*¹ Lucilla Septima Sloan (July 8, 1847-Feb. 4, 1895), daughter of Nancy Blassingame and Thomas Majors Sloan. She married the Rev. G. T. Gresham. Marker in Baptist Cemetery, Pendleton; Simpson, Old Pendleton District, pp. 104, 107.


*³ Generals Wade Hampton, III, and William K. Easley. The latter was a brigadier general in the South Carolina militia in 1861. He later became a Confederate cavalry major. A native of Pickens County, Easley married Caroline Sloan of Pendleton. Evans, Confederate Military History, V, 558-59.
laly began with prayer. Gen. Hampton is handsome, & soldierly in his appearance. He speaks well enough, & to the point, but is not eloquent. Gen. Easley is more finished but less sensible. Gen. H. was to have staid with us but through a mistake did not. He apologized to us for not doing so. I did not like the style of the celebration, but had rather do honor to our dead with bad taste, than not at all. I have made all necessary preparations to go north, & will probably start in a week or two. Mother has embroidered me two flannel petticoats, most elaborately. Miss Marie Wardlaw from Abbeville is here & brings me most flattering accounts of the impression I made in her town. A delicious basket of muscadine grapes was sent me by Mr. Wilson, from there the other day. Miss Sallie McBride was united to Wm. Jenkins last week. Helen Lewis will be, to Frank Sloan, next Thursday. I am not so well as I have been all Fall, but am growing very stout, much more so than I ever was before. I weigh 1 [does not complete figure] lbs. I fear I shall soon be too fat, though thus far all compliment me upon its becomingness. I sing a great deal, & have really improved vastly I know. I have most flattering, & pressing invitations in the letters of my friends, to stay with them, & all want me to spend the whole winter at their houses. I do expect to enjoy myself vastly. Father has been in a bad humor ever since he came from Abbeville but I really do not wish to remember why, as it is by no means to his credit. I am so afraid he will not let me go. I know if Calhoun comes he wont. We have not received the decree, & do not know

*Probably Mary W. (age 14), daughter of Mary A. and Dr. Joseph J. Wardlaw. MS. Census 1860, Abbeville Dist., S. C.


*On March 12, 1866, T. G. Clemson (as administrator of the estate of M. Cornelius Calhoun, who died unmarried and intestate in May, 1857) brought an action of foreclosure on the "Fort Hill" property against Margaret Green Calhoun and her heirs. In July, 1866, foreclosure was ordered by the Pickens County court of equity. The defendant appealed; the decree was affirmed by the South Carolina Supreme Court at the April term, 1870. This is the decree Floride refers to. Clemson Papers, passim.
what our future is. They talk of buying Ft. Hill for an Agricultural College. I hope the State will. I dont want to live there.

See my letters from Md., Va., Penn., & Del. for the next winter & spring till the last Wednesday in July when returned to Pendleton.87

Octo. 24th. I will start at twelve o'clock today for the North Wednesday 1866 from these at Cokesbury, where I will stay with the Cunninghams until Miss Pamela Cunningham, & Dr. Norwood38 start for Washington, which I am informed is to be in a few days. If I am told at the Cokesby depot (where I wrote for some of the family to meet me) that this opportunity will fail me, I shall go on to Columbia, & stay with mother's schoolmate Mrs. Harris there until I hear of an escort. I feel very badly at leaving mother & father, but otherwise am delighted at the prospect of so pleasant a winter. I shall go right to the Robinson's first. Calhoun arrived from Millwood on a visit last Sunday night. Father made no objection to my going. I suppose I shall never return to this house, for if I come back here at all, it will be to Ft. Hill. I will not be back till Spring. I feel quite sorry to leave all my kind friends here. I made two new tucked skirts on my machine, & four shirts (flannel) for father lately. Monday I actually made a skirt with five breadths & 7 tucks, & the best part of three shirts! Good bye dear little volume, I shall not take you with me!! There were 12 confirmed here last Sunday by Bishop Davis.39 Poor old blind man! It was sad to see him. I did not think he preached very well, that is to say, not interestingly. I dont know what makes me hate to leave mother so. I would not do it, but she is never lonely, & I really believe she would be relieved not to have to entertain me. I pray God to bless her, & have her, father, all those I love, & myself in his holy keeping, till we meet again.

87 This sentence was in the margin of the diary and apparently written much later after Floride returned from the North.

38 Probably Dr. W. C. Norwood (age 63 in 1870) of Cokesbury. MS. Census 1870, Abbeville County, S. C. Miss Ann Pamela Cunningham (or Cunningham) was one of the founders of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association which collected money for the purchase of Mount Vernon for the Nation. South Carolina, A Guide to the Palmetto State (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 434.

Epilogue

FLOREDI CLEMSON left Pendleton on October 24, 1866, the day she wrote the last detailed entry in her diary. She must have rather thoroughly made the rounds of friends and relatives: letters tell of visits in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. She had planned to return to South Carolina in the spring of 1867, but her visit was protracted to July 31. She did not visit the Lees and the Leupp girls in New York—perhaps because her father had received a cold reception from D. W. Lee when he was there, but probably because Laura, whom she knew best, was spending the winter and spring of 1867 in Spain.

Floride had pneumonia in June, 1868, from which she probably never completely recovered, since she reported that she was suffering from chronic inflammation of the lungs in January, 1869. She recovered sufficiently, however, to be married to Gideon Lee of New York the following July. He was brother of D. W. Lee, the “Gallant Defender” of The Home during the war, in whom Floride had an unrequited romantic interest when she was younger, and a brother-in-law of Charles M. Leupp, through whom the Clemsons and the Lees became acquainted. His nieces, Laura and Isabella Leupp, had visited her at Mi Casa in March and April, 1869.

Gideon Lee was a most unlikely candidate for matrimony. After the Mexican War, in which he served as a lieutenant of a company of scouts known as the “Texas Rangers,” he settled for a short time on his extensive holdings in Texas. He returned to New York in broken health, but gradually recovered through outdoor activities and the ministrations of Dr. Mundé’s hydropathy. At one time he was so afflicted with inflammation of the brain that motion was completely proscribed. As his health improved, his disposition, reputedly viciously antisocial, also improved. Their marriage took place at St. Paul’s Episcopal Church in Pendleton on July 2, 1869, and was witnessed by Floride’s parents, her brother Calhoun, and many friends. Like her mother Floride married a man of prominent family many years her senior: Gideon’s father had been mayor of New York City and senior member of the largest leather firm in
A Rebel Came Home

America, and Gideon was almost nineteen years older than Floride. The father image could have been a factor in the choice of a husband by both mother and daughter. Unlike her mother, Floride married a man whose political philosophy was the antithesis of hers.

Floride and Gideon Lee lived at “Leeside,” in Carmel, New York, a property which he had purchased from the Anson Hazen estate. To this marriage was born on May 15, 1870, Floride Isabella Lee, Thomas G. Clemson’s only grandchild. She was destined not to have the parental care and guidance of her fond mother very long, for on July 23, 1871, Floride Clemson Lee died. She was buried in the Raymond Hill Cemetery in Carmel. On a granite shaft in the Lee plot is etched this record:

Gideon Lee, March 28, 1824-April 22, 1894
Floride E., his wife, December 29, 1842-July 23, 1871
Ella F. Lorton, his wife, April 5, 1844-January 1, 1921
Isabella Lee Calhoun, daughter of Gideon and Floride Lee, May 15, 1871 [1870]-June 4, 1935
Gideon, son of Gideon and Ella F. Lee, April 13, 1878-March 23, 1892
Williamson Whitner, their son, February 20, 1882-October 5, 1918

Thus ended the short but many-sided life of Floride Clemson Lee, protagonist of this biographical sketch. It is not fair to say that she was strong-willed, high-spirited, critical, and perhaps a bit boastful, without mentioning the redeeming facets of her character: her kindness, her noblesse oblige, compassion, loyalty, piety, devotion to her child, and her frugality. Her predominant characteristic, however, was strength, apparent in her faults and virtues alike. To label her simply a well bred young woman of high principle and scruple is not enough. When she was a seven-year-old child living in Belgium, she took her grandfather’s motto for her own, “The Duties of Life Are Greater Than Life Itself”; the dedicated seriousness of this pervaded the rest of her life.

ENVOY

FLORIDE CLEMSON LEE had been dead only eighteen days when tragedy struck again in the Clemson family. On August 10, 1871,
EPILOGUE

Calhoun, Thomas and Anna Clemson's last surviving child, met with a fatal accident on the Blue Ridge Railroad.

Anna Calhoun Clemson died of a heart attack on September 22, 1875, and Thomas G. Clemson, of pneumonia on April 6, 1888. His granddaughter, Floride Isabella Lee, was his sole surviving descendant.

Fort Hill plantation, the property of John C. Calhoun since 1826, passed to his wife, Floride Calhoun, when he died in 1850. By 1854 the place was falling into disrepair and Mrs. Calhoun decided to sell it to her son, Andrew Pickens Calhoun, who gave his bond and mortgage for $49,000, the full purchase price (of house, land, slaves, and equipment). Andrew failed to pay off the indebtedness and a foreclosure bill was filed against him on March 12, 1866, by Mrs. Calhoun and Thomas G. Clemson (as administrator for Cornelia Calhoun, her daughter who had died in 1857). Andrew died on March 16, 1866, and the foreclosure action was continued against his heirs, Margaret Green Calhoun and her seven children. Foreclosure was ordered, the judgment was appealed, and the original order was affirmed. During this period of litigation Mrs. Calhoun died, leaving a three-fourths interest in the Fort Hill bond and mortgage to Mrs. Clemson and the remaining one-fourth to Floride Clemson or her heirs. When Fort Hill was sold at auction January 21, 1872, Clemson bought it with Andrew's bond and mortgage, but he had to pay about $7,000 of his own funds in legal fees. The property was not legally partitioned until November, 1873, when Thomas G. Clemson as trustee for Mrs. Clemson received 814 acres (on which the house was situated) and Gideon and Floride Isabella Lee, heirs of Floride Clemson Lee, 288 acres.

When Anna died in 1875, Thomas G. Clemson inherited her share of Fort Hill. Before her death she and her husband had often considered leaving the property to found an agricultural college in the destitute Southland. In deference to his wife's wishes and because of his interest in scientific agriculture, Clemson, who had no immediate heirs, bequeathed the bulk of his estate to found Clemson Agricultural College at Fort Hill (appraised at $20,000 after his death in 1888). The bequest was contested by Floride Isabella Lee through her father and guardian, Gideon Lee, on the grounds that Clemson did not hold valid title to the property. Lee lost the case and in December, 1889, the State of South Carolina accepted the
bequest according to the provisions of Clemson's will, which further provided that if his granddaughter, Floride Isabella Lee, contested any part of it, she would lose the $15,000 legacy bequeathed her in the will. Executor R. W. Simpson, however, was authorized by the legislature to pay the inheritance to Isabella. Later she sold her share of the Fort Hill property to Clemson College for $10,000, and the original Calhoun holdings were reunited. Today Clemson College stands on John C. Calhoun's Fort Hill because of the will of Thomas G. Clemson.
APPENDIX I

Final Entries in Floride Clemson’s Diary

Retrospect.

John Caldwell Calhoun was born March 18th. 1782. Died March 31st. 1850 at 7 o’clock A. M. at Washington city, D. C.

Floride Calhoun his wife was born in Charleston S. C. Feb. 15th. 1792. Died at Pendleton.

John Caldwell Calhoun, & Floride Calhoun were married Jan 8th. 1811.


Thos. Green Clemson, Jr. was born in Philadelphia Penn. July 1st. 1807.

Anna M. Calhoun was born in Abbeville Dist. S. C. Feb. 13th. 1817.

Thomas G. Clemson & Anna M. Calhoun were married at Fort Hill the residence of her father in Pickens Dist. S. C. Nov 13th. 1838.

Their eldest daughter was born at Ft. Hill Aug. 13th. 1839. Lived 3 weeks.

John Calhoun Clemson was born at Ft. Hill July 17th. 1841.

Floride Elizabeth Clemson was born at Ft. Hill Dec. 29th. 1842.

Cornelia Clemson was born at The Home near Bladensburg Prince George[s] Co. Md. Oct. 3rd. 1855 at 20 minutes past one o’clock A. M.

Died 20th. of Dec. 3¾ o’clock P. M. 1858.—Thos. G. Clemson states as a strange coincidence that some few days previous to the commencement of this daughter’s illness, when she was in the bloom of perfect health, he awoke much excited in the night, & his wife asked him what was the trouble. He answered that he had just seen his mother distinctly, & his little daughter (whom she had never seen) was sitting on her right shoulder. Signed T. G. C. dated Dec. 22nd. 1858.

1 It is not known when Floride entered these remaining passages in her diary. The diary indicates that the last entry was in January or February, 1869.
"Mr. Clemson was appointed Superintendent of Agriculture.
Mr. Clemson went on official business to Europe in July 1860 staid away till the 31st. of Octo. 1860.
Calhoun went to my uncle James Ed. Calhoun's in Abbeville Dist. S. C. Oct. 29th./60.
"Cronological Summary of the married life of Thos. G. Clemson & his wife Anna C. Calhoun.
"Passed the winter of 1838 between the city of Philadelphia & that of Washington. The Spring of 1839 at Harewood Jefferson Co. Va. the residence of Mrs. Louisa Washington his sister, & the summer & fall of the same year at Fort Hill. The winter of 1839 & part of 1840 at Millwood, the residence of James Ed. Calhoun in Abbeville Dist. S. C. Returned to Ft. Hill & staid there till Nov. 1841 when Mr. Clemson went with his brother-in-law Patrick Calhoun to Havana in the Isd. of Cuba where Mrs. Clemson joined him with their son John C. Clemson then six months old. In the month of Feb. 1842. Returned to Ft. Hill in May 1842. Passed the summer of that year at Mr. J. C. Calhoun's gold mine on the Chestatee river near Dahlonega, in Geo. Returned to Ft. Hill, & remained there till Feb. 1843. Went then to the plantation called the Canebrake in Edgefield Dist. S. C. where they remained till July 1844., when Mr. Clemson was appointed Chargée d'Affairs to the court of Belgium. Sailed from N. Y. city, with his wife & two children in the sailing packet Argo. Capt. Anthony, for Havre in France Aug. 8th. 1844 & arrived at Havre 13th. Sep. Went to Paris from thence to Brussels, where they arrived Octo. 4th 1844. Remained in Brussels till the fall of 1848. Octo 4th. 1848 sailed from Antwerp in the sailing packet Roscoe Capt. Riker for N. Y. Encountered a hurricane on the Banks of New Foundland & were in great danger for twelve hours. Arrived at N. Y. city Nov. 5th. 1848. Remained in America till the spring of 1849 passing the winter at their plantation the Canebrake, & the spring at Washington. Left N. Y. in the sailing packet Northumberland Capt. Griswold for London May 24th. 1849. Arrived in London June 26th. 1849. Arrived at Brussels July 9th. 1849. Mr. Clemson was recalled in Dec. 1850, & left Brussels with his family Ap. 9th. 1851. Sailed from Liverpool Ap. 16th. in the Steam Ship (screw) City of Glasgow Capt. Campbell, for
APPENDIX I

Philadelphia where they arrived (a[fter] a stormy passage, & having struck the first night out from Liverpool on the rocks in Blackwater Bay off of the Tuscoe Light House on the coast of Ireland) on the 5th. of May 1851. Passed the summer at Fort Hill, the Winter & fall at Philadelphia. The winter 1851-52 was passed at Trenton N. J. Ap. 1852 went to Glen Cove Hempstead Harbor on the Northern coast of L. I. May 1st. of the same year went to live on the Isd. Dosoris belonging to Henry M. Weston 3 miles from Glen Cove. Dec. 4th. 1852 left Dosoris & came to the Relay House 7 miles from Balt. on the Washington R. R. where we remained till Aug 1st. 1853 then left for Bladensburg Prince George Co. Md. Mr. Clemson having bought the place a mile from the village May of the same year. Moved to the place, Tuesday Aug. 9th. 1853.

The first volume of Floride Clemson's diary will supply most of the rest of the family chronicle from this time to her return to Pendleton in July 1867. From that time there is little worth telling. Calhoun went to the north on business during the months of June & July 1868 & was in Wash., Altoona, N. Y. & Balt. I had pneumonia in June 1868. Laura & Bella Leupp spent the months of March & April of 1868 in Pendleton with us. I took a Sunday school class during Lent of 1868. Mr. Benj. H. Latrobe to whom I had sent my poetry to see if I could make some money for the poor by publishing in periodicals had it printed in a volume of 72 pages, Dec. 1868. Unfortunately a bad selection. 513 copies. The whole edition & many more were engaged by my friends before it was out. Clear profits $ [blank]. Rode about with Lizzie Cornish to get some of the poor into our Sunday School. By giving them decent suits out of this money got near 30 together before the end of Jan. 1869. I put Albertine & Marion Hapenelt to school to Sue Dickens at 1 dollar per month Jan. 1st 1869. I had taught the former

* Marion (age 4) and Albertine (2) were daughters of Emily (age 31) and B. G. Happoldt (32), a Charleston gunsmith in 1860. In 1870 Emily Happoldt and family of five children were living in Pendleton township. MS. Census 1860, Ward 3, Charleston Dist., S. C.; MS. Census 1870, Anderson County, S. C. Susan Dickinson (age 24 in 1870) was the daughter of Rachel Miles and Francis W. Dickinson, a Charleston lawyer. Ibid.; Simpson, Old Pendleton District, pp. 114-15.
A Rebel Came Home

for some time. I suffered with chronic inflammation of the lungs from my attack of pneumonia in June 1868 till now Jan. 1869. Unable to walk from shortness of breath sometimes better sometimes worse. Am not strong though very stout to what I have been.

[At this point, page 121 of the manuscript, Floride pasted two prescriptions.]

Dr. Wm. Fahnestock & his wife came to look after a place to settle, & stayed with us from [blank] 1868 to [blank] 1869.

Mary Latrobe & Mr. Henry Onderdonk were married Dec. 17/68.
Kate Latrobe* to Cornelius Weston in the spring of 1867.

During the last week of Jan. 1869 Gov. Pickens,⁵ & Mrs. Grange Simmons both died.

* Kate, daughter of B. H. Latrobe, Jr.
⁵ Francis W. Pickens (Apr. 7, 1805-Jan. 25, 1869), Civil War governor of South Carolina. Biog. Dir. Cong., p. 1679. Mrs. Grange Simons was the former Elizabeth Bonneau Noble.
APPENDIX II

People mentioned in the Diary as “the families we know here” [Pendleton, S. C., 1865]

Col. Thomas J. Pickens (Simpson, Old Pendleton District, p. 192).
Judge Edward Frost (Cyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas. . . 2 vols., Madison, Wisc.: Brant & Fuller, 1892, I, 143-44).
Dr. William C. Ravenel (Ravenel, Ravenel Records, p. 146).
Margaret or Eliza Ford, wartime refugees (MS. Census 1860, Ward 3, Charleston Dist., S. C.).
Selina Eliza Porcher Ravenel, widow of Henry Edmund Ravenel (Ravenel, pp. 65, 145, 147).
James T. Latta (Simpson, pp. 118-19).
Sophia Fraser Warley, widow of Jacob Warley, and daughters Mrs. Elizabeth Bourne and Mrs. Anna Holmes (Simpson, pp. 201-02; Register, St. Paul’s Episcopal Church).
Sophia Elizabeth Bee, widow of General Barnard Bee (DAB, II, 124-25; Register, St. Paul’s).
Rachel Miles Dickinson, wife (widow?) of Francis W. Dickinson, and daughters Mrs. Rachel Green and Mrs. Lawrence Lee (Simpson, pp. 114-15).
Samuel and John H. Maxwell, M.D., sons of Capt. John Maxwell, a member of the Secession Convention. Another son, Robert, M.D., died on June 24, 1859, leaving a widow, Lucy Sloan Maxwell, and eight children. (Simpson, pp. 175-76; marker in Baptist Cemetery,
A Rebel Came Home

Pendleton; MS. Census 1860, Anderson Dist., S. C.). Rob. Maxwell was son of Robert A. Maxwell, a wealthy Pendleton farmer (Ibid.).

Major R. F. Simpson, a member of the Secession Convention and father of Richard W. Simpson (Simpson, pp. 5-8).

Major George Seaborn (Simpson, p. 150; Register, St. Paul's).

William H. Trescot, the diplomat (DAB, XVIII, 639-40).

Susan Taylor Lewis, widow of Jesse Payne Lewis, who died on October 12, 1845 (Simpson, pp. 165-67; markers in Old Stone Church Cemetery, Pendleton).

Miriam Earle Mays, who bought property in Pendleton in 1841, was listed as the only person in her household in the 1860 census. (MS. Census 1860, Anderson Dist., S. C.; Anderson deeds, book E-2, p. 738). She was the daughter of Major Sam Earle and wife (widow?) of James Butler Mays (Simpson, p. 147).

Mrs. Lewis, Jr. (unidentified).

Eliza Drayton North, widow of John Laurens North; Norths (unidentified); Thurstons were the Charleston refugee families of Robert Thurston or E. M. Thurston, or both. (Simpson, p. 73; MS. Census 1860, Wards 2 and 3, Charleston Dist., S. C.).

Eliza Kilpatrick Lorton, widow of John S. Lorton, who died on Oct. 16, 1862 (Simpson, pp. 79-80; marker in Old Stone Church Cemetery); Mrs. Porter (unidentified).

Andrew H. Cornish, Protestant Episcopal clergyman (Simpson, p. 146; MS. Census 1860, Anderson Dist., S. C.).


William Alston Hayne, son of Robert Y. Hayne (Simpson, p. 145; SCHGM, V (July, 1904), 174).

APPENDIX II

Archibald Campbell, of New York, married for his second wife Elizabeth Adams, daughter of Rev. Jasper Adams. (Simpson, pp. 145-46; SCHGM, XXVII (Jan., 1926), 87; Register, St. Paul's).

Dr. William Robinson; his daughter Elizabeth, widow of Major John V. Moore, who was killed in the Civil War (Simpson, pp. 85-86).

Andrew F. Lewis (Simpson, pp. 165-67; marker in Old Stone Church Cemetery).

A. Livingston (unidentified).

Richard S. Porcher (Register, St. Paul's; MS. Census 1860, Pickens C. H., Pickens Dist., S. C.).

William B. Cherry, dentist (Simpson, pp. 89-90; MS. Census 1860, Snow Creek P. O., Pickens Dist., S. C.).

Elizabeth C. Shubrick, who was the widow of Edward Shubrick, a naval officer in 1860 (MS. Census 1860, 1870, Anderson Dist., S. C.); probably Kitty Burt, sister of Congressman Armistead Burt, Jr. (Simpson, pp. 76-77).

Fanny Russell, cousin of Kate Putnam Calhoun (Florde Calhoun to Anna C. Clemson, June 14, 1857, Clemson Papers); Mary I'on Wragg, widow of Samuel Wragg, who died in 1844, bought property in Pendleton in August, 1862. (SCHGM, XIX (July, 1918), 121; Anderson deeds, book H-2, p. 169).

"Mrs. Tonneau," widow of Dr. John C. Tunno, who died on May 22, 1859 (Register, St. Paul's); Mrs. Hazzard (unidentified).

APPENDIX III

Anna C. Clemson’s panegyric on her daughter Nina.¹

Oh Nina oh my angel where are you? Why are you taken? When shall I see you again. Never—never. When we lose a friend of mature years we look forward to meeting them in another world with unmixed delight, for let our separation be long or short we resume our intercourse as we should on this earth after a long absence but when a mother loses her child it is lost forever. She may here after meet its pure spirit & enjoy a happiness of which we can here have no conception in so doing but her child she never meets again. That sweet dependence on the mother is lost, that feeling that no one can supply our place is gone, it has learned to do without us & looking at it from here every change in the sweet relation of mother & daughter must make their meeting hereafter a disappointment to a mother’s heart.

What should we do without the memory of the loved & lost! When with others life drags on in its dull round but when alone the closed doors of my heart open & the dwellers in those silent chambers come out & surround me once more. Then my Nina plays around me or climbs my knees & puts her arms around me with loving words. Then my father holds out to me his hand with his sweet smile & glorious eyes & say[s] “my daughter” as I so often saw him in life. My sister sits & looks at me with loving eyes—poor Pat with his kind manners & noble heart is once more there & John & Willie live once more in the recollections of childhood. Farther back in the vista of years I see Maria & enjoy once more her friendship & I am once more young & happy & the many friends “I’ve seen around me fall leaves in wintry weather” once more make life a long dream of happiness. So live I in the past but a footstep approaches & they all flee before it, the heart closes, & life is once more sad and gloomy.

¹ From the unpublished album of Anna C. Clemson. Clemson Papers.
APPENDIX IV

Record of a vision Anna C. Clemson had of her father, John C. Calhoun, ten years after his death.¹

I lay in bed, but not it seemed to me asleep, though my eyes were shut, when suddenly, but with an evident intention to avoid alarming, or surprising me, my father stood beside me. I come, my daughter, said he, to speak with you, & I do so now, that your mind is more independent of your body, than when you are awake, that I may spare you the shock, always felt, when matter comes in contact with disembodied spirit. You are right, my daughter, not to give way to the delusions of spiritualism—I do not say there are devils, for evil is not created, but from want of knowledge, comes error. I cannot explain to you many things—human language has no words for what the human mind cannot conceive—of the great mysteries on this side. Continue to strive to know, & do the right, & to elevate by every means your soul, & when you come on this side all will be clear. Tell Mr. Clemson he must do this also, or those he loves will be as invisible to him on this side as they are now—for the universe is vast, & like dwells with like.

Tell him he has not fulfilled the trust I had in him, when I gave him my daughter.

And now I go, my daughter, but before I leave you, it is permitted you to see all those you love on this side. Then I saw them all, each with the most familiar & loved expression. Their eyes were more living than in life, & as I encountered the glances of each, they seemed to emit as it were, an unspoken language soul spoke to soul. Tho’ perfectly life like, they seemed less flesh like. The soul seemed to pierce its outward covering. It seemed to me there was less of form than countenance.

March 1860

¹ From the unpublished album of Anna C. Clemson. Clemson Papers.
APPENDIX V

A Catalogue of Letters from Floride Clemson in the
Clemson College Archives

Thomas G. Clemson, Claymont, [Md.]  September 2, 1866
Anna C. Clemson, Altoona, [Pa.]    July 29, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, Altoona, [Pa.]    August 2, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, Altoona, [Pa.]    August 9, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, Altoona, [Pa.]    August 16, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, Altoona, [Pa.]    August 19, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, Alleghany Furnace [Altoona, Pa.]  August 24, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, Altoona, [Pa.]    August 24, [1863]
Anna C. Clemson, Altoona, [Pa.]    August 27, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, Altoona, [Pa.]    August 30, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, Altoona, [Pa.]    September 2, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, Pittsburgh, [Pa.] September 3, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, Clifton House, Niagara Falls, Canada  September 7, 1863
Anna C. Clemson [Clifton House,] Niagara [Falls, Canada]  September 9, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, Saratoga, [N. Y.]  September 12, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, Congress Hall Hotel, Saratoga, N. Y.  [September 12, 1863]*
Anna C. Clemson, New York, [N. Y.]  September 13, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, Baltimore, [Md.]   January 26, [1864]
Anna C. Clemson, Baltimore, [Md.]   February 2, 1864
Anna C. Clemson, Leeside [Carmel, N. Y.]  February 4, 1871

* fragmentary
APPENDIX VI

A Catalogue of Letters to Floride Clemson in the
Clemson College Archives

Floride Calhoun, Fort Hill
Anna C. Clemson, The Home [Bladensburg, Md.]
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Mary D. Clemson, Claymont, [Del.]
Cornelia Calhoun, Sunny Side
John C. Clemson [Brier Thicket, Abbeville Dist., S. C.]
Cornelia Calhoun, Abbeville Dist.
Floride Calhoun, Pendleton Village
Cornelia Calhoun, Pendleton
Cornelia Calhoun, Pendleton
Mary D. Clemson, Philadelphia
William L. Calhoun, Brier Thicket
Floride Calhoun, The Cottage Home [Pendleton]
John C. Clemson, Florence, [Mass.]
Cornelia Calhoun, Pendleton
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Babette Sauer, The Home
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Cornelia Calhoun, Pendleton
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Anna C. Clemson, [The Home]
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Cornelia Calhoun, Pendleton
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Patrick Calhoun, New York Hotel

August 11, 1850
April 29, 1855
May 6, 1855
May 13, 1855
September 25, 1855
January 5, 1856
January 19, 1856
February 1, 1856
April 12, 1856
April 21, 1856
June 2, 1856
June 3, 1856
June 19, 1856
June 20, 1856
August 19, [1856]
August 21, 1856
[August 24, 1856]
August 30, 1856
September 13, 1856
September 14, 1856
September 21, 1856
September 28, 1856
October 2, 1856
October 5, 1856
October 13, [1856]
October 19, 1856
October 22, 1856
October 24, 1856
October 26, 1856
October 28, 1856
# A Rebel Came Home

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<td>March, 1857</td>
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### Appendix VI

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<td>Anna C. Clemson, The Home</td>
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<td>January 17, 1858</td>
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<td>Floride Calhoun, St. Augustine [ Fla. ]</td>
<td>January 19, 1857  [1858]</td>
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<td>Anna C. Clemson, The Home</td>
<td>January 24, 1858</td>
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<td>Anna C. Clemson, The Home</td>
<td>February 14, 1858</td>
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<td>Anna C. Clemson, The Home</td>
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<td>April 18, 1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Pittman, Edgecombe, N. C.</td>
<td>April 27, 1858</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Anna C. Clemson, The Home</td>
<td>June 22, 1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floride Calhoun, Pendleton Village</td>
<td>July 14, 1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna C. Clemson, The Home</td>
<td>August 1, 1858</td>
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<td>Anna C. Clemson, The Home</td>
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<td>Floride Calhoun, Mi Casa [Pendleton]</td>
<td>September 7, 1858</td>
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<td>August 24, 1859</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Floride Calhoun, Mi Casa
Lydia Louise Brown, Newburgh, [N. Y.]
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
William F. Clemson, Claymont
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Laura S. Leupp, New York
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Mary D. Clemson, Claymont
Mattie Clemson, Claymont
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
William F. Clemson, Claymont
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
John C. Clemson, [Enterprise, Florida]
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Laura S. Leupp, New York
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
William F. Clemson, Claymont
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Laura S. Leupp, New York
Mary D. Clemson, Claymont
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Laura S. Leupp, [The Home]
Lydia L. Brown, Columbia
Laura S. Leupp, New York
Laura S. Leupp, New York
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Lydia Van Wyck
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Anna C. Clemson, The Home
Appendix VI

Floride Calhoun, Mi Casa December 3, 1860
Laura S. Leupp, New York December 4, 1860
Floride Calhoun, Mi Casa February 25, 1861
Laura S. Leupp, [New York] March 10, 1861
Floride Calhoun, Mi Casa March 18, 1861
Anna C. Clemson, Mi Casa March 24, 1861
Anna C. Clemson, Mi Casa April 11, 1861
Floride Calhoun, Mi Casa May 1, 1861
Laura S. Leupp, New York May 5, 1861
Floride Calhoun, Mi Casa May 17, 1861
Laura S. Leupp, Stockbridge, [Mass.] August 3, 1861
Kate C. Barton, Claymont September 7, [1861]
Harriet R. Lane, Wheatland, Lancaster, October 23, 1861
[Pa.] October 24, 1861
Laura S. Leupp, New York November 23, 1861
Laura S. Leupp, [New York] [December 24, 1861]
Anna C. Clemson, [The Home] [December 25, 1861]
Anna C. Clemson, [The Home] January 12, 1862
Laura S. Leupp, [New York] February 8, 1862
Harriet R. Lane, Wheatland, Lancaster March 10, 1862
Laura S. Leupp, New York
Christine M. Washington, Blakely [near March 23, 1862
Charleston, W. Va.] April 20, 1862
Laura S. Leupp, New York April 23, 1862
Harriet R. Lane, Wheatland, Lancaster June 4, 1862
Laura S. Leupp, New York June 25, 1862
Laura S. Leupp, New York July 18, 1862
Christine M. Washington, Blakely
Laura S. Leupp, Heath House, Schooleys Mountain [New Jersey] July 23, 1862
Harriet R. Lane, Wheatland July 22, 1862
Anna C. Clemson, The Home August 8, 1862
Anna C. Clemson, The Home August 13, [1862]
Laura S. Leupp, [New York] October 2, 1862
Henry C. McCeney, Bellview, [Md.] October 12, [1862]
Henry C. McCeney, Maryland Military Institute [Bellview]
Sallie L. Clemson, Claymont November 1, 1862
Laura S. Leupp, [New York] November 6, 1862
November 9, 1862
Harriet R. Lane, Wheatland, Lancaster
November 14, 1862
John C. Clemson, Castle Pinckney
[Charleston, S. C.]
November 15, 1862
Charlotte V. Latrobe, Baltimore, Md.
[late 1862]
Charlotte V. Latrobe, Baltimore, Md.
December 18, [1862]
Laura S. Leupp, [New York]
December 21, 1862
C. C. Gittings, [Baltimore]
January 20, [1863]
Benjamin H. Latrobe, Baltimore
January 23, 1863
Kate C. Barton, Radnor Rectory, [Pa.]
February 2, 1863
Kate C. Barton, Radnor
February 7, [1863]
Laura S. Leupp, New York
March 8, 1863
Nina Burks, Philadelphia
March 30, 1863
Nina Burks, Philadelphia
April 18, 1863
Mary W. Merrick, [Washington]
April 21, 1863
Kate C. Barton, Radnor Rectory
May 12, [1863]
Harriet R. Lane, Summer House, Burlington, [N. J. ?]
June 9, 1863
Sallie L. Clemson, Claymont
June 30, 1863
Mary Latrobe, Baltimore
July 1, 1863
G. W. Baker, Philadelphia
July 4, 1863
Mary Latrobe, [Baltimore]
July 11, [1863]
Anna C. Clemson, [The Home]
July 30, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, [The Home]
August 2, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, [The Home]
August 6, 1863
[Anna C. Clemson], [The Home]
August 9, 1863
Mary Latrobe, Bethlehem, Penn.
August 10, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, [The Home]
August 13, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, [The Home]
August 16, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, [The Home]
August 20, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, [The Home]
August 23, 1863
Laura S. Leupp, Croton Falls, [N. Y.]
August 25, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, [The Home]
August 27, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, [The Home]
August 30, 1863
Sara W. Wharton, Agricultural College
[Beltsville, Md.]
August 31, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, [The Home]
September 3, 1863
Anna C. Clemson, [The Home]
September 12, 1863
John C. Clemson, Johnson’s Island,
[Sandusky, Ohio]
November 1, 1863
APPENDIX VI

Louisa Washington, Harewood, [W. Va.] November 3, 1863
Annie C. Washington, Harewood November 4, 1863
Laura S. Leupp, New York February 1, 1864
Annie C. Washington, Harewood February 22, 1864
Kate C. Barton, St. David’s Rectory, [Pa.] March 8, 1864
Kate C. Barton, Backwoods Rectory March 29, 1863 [1864]
[St. David’s?] M.
Slaughter G. Cook, Johnson’s Island, April 9, 1864
[Sandusky, Ohio] A.S.F. [G. H. Dunscomb], Cleveland,
[Ohio] A.S.F. [G. H. Dunscomb], Sandusky, Ohio April 20, 1864
Anna C. Clemson, Sandusky, Ohio April 21, 1864
A.S.F. [G. H. Duncomb], Sandusky, Ohio April 22, 1864

Dates on the following letters were omitted altogether or are fragmentary:

Anna C. Clemson, The Home Thursday
Anna C. Clemson, The Home Monday evening
Anna C. Clemson, [The Home] Tuesday evening
Anna C. Clemson, [The Home]

G. H. Dunscomb, Philadelphia Tuesday
Wm. F. Clemson*

Patrick Calhoun William F. Clemson*

Mary D. Clemson, Philadelphia April 16
Nina Burk, [Philadelphia]

Kate C. Barton, Lancaster August 23
Kate C. Barton, Salem, N. J. September 24
Kate C. Barton, Claymont October 14
Kate C. Barton, Radnor November 26
Kate C. Barton, Claymont September 17
Kate C. Barton, Claymont September 20
Kate C. Barton, Claymont December 30
Kate C. Barton, Claymont September 7
Kate C. Barton, Claymont May 17
Kate C. Barton, Claymont July 20
Kate C. Barton, Claymont November 16

* Addressed jointly to Floride and her brother Calhoun Clemson.

137
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kate C. Barton, Philadelphia</td>
<td>October 8</td>
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<td>November 5</td>
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<td>April 23</td>
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<td>Kate C. Barton, Claymont</td>
<td>September 15</td>
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<td>December 14</td>
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<td>March 24</td>
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<td>April 12</td>
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<td>Kate C. Barton, New York</td>
<td>March 15</td>
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<td>Kate C. Barton, Radnor Rectory</td>
<td>September 6</td>
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<td>W. E. D., Georgetown</td>
<td>January 21</td>
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<td>Elizabeth Barton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeruah Van Wyck, Cheguray Hall</td>
<td>March 20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

Abbeville, S. C., 100, 102, 113, 115
Abbeville District, 8
Adams, Anzie; see Calhoun, Anzie Adams
Adams, Caroline, 98
Adams, Elizabeth; see Campbell, Elizabeth Adams
Adams, Frances ("Fanny"), 74, 87, 98
Adams, the Rev. Jasper, D.D., 74, 98, 126, 127
Adams, Placidia Mayrant (Mrs. Jasper Adams), 74, 86, 92, 126
Adger, Ellison; see Adger, Joseph Ellison
Adger, the Rev. John B., D.D., 77, 78, 85, 91, 99, 125
Adger, Joseph Ellison, 85, 125
Adger, Robert, 85, 125
Agricultural Department; see Patent Office
"Alabama" (Confederate raider), 29, 56, 86
"Albemarle" (ram), 52
Alexander, Alice Van Yeveren; see Haskell, Alice Van Yeveren Alexander
Alexandria, Va., 15
Altamaha, Pa., 37, 38, 51
Americans abroad, 5
Amodio (opera singer), 31
Anderson, S. C., 84, 93, 100
Andy ("little Andy, son of Slave Nelly"), 8, 20, 23, 68
Anthony, Capt., 122
Appleton, D. (publishers), 8
Aquia Creek, 22
Atlanta, Ga., 67
Augusta, a Clemson servant, 9, 11, 14
Babcock, Mrs. Sarah A. Harwood, 46
Babette, Clemson servant, 9, 12, 16
Badgers, the, 14
Baine, Mr., 73
Baker, Anna, 38, 40
Baker, Elias, 35, 37, 38, 48, 51, 52, 61, 68, 88
Baker, Mrs. Elias; see Baker, Hettie Baker
Baker, Elizabeth; see Clemson, Elizabeth Baker
Baker, Hettie ("Auntie," Mrs. Elias Baker), 38, 61
Baker, Lily, 38, 40
Baker, Sarah ("Cousin Sarah," Mrs. Woods Baker), 38, 40
Baker, Sylvester, 38, 68
Baker, Washington, 34, 35
Baker, Woods, 38
Baker, Mr. Woods; see Baker, Sarah
Baltimore, Md., 24, 27, 28, 34, 35, 36, 40, 56
Banks, Charles, 39, 100
Banks, Mrs. Charles; see Banks, Louisa B. Cunningham and Banks, Zeriah Van Wyck
Banks, Louisa B. Cunningham (Mrs. Charles Banks), 100
Banks, Gen. Nathaniel P., 52
Banks, Zeriah Van Wyck (Mrs. Charles Banks), 17, 39, 73
Barnard, John J., 45
Barnard, Kate Hope Keech (Mrs. John J. Barnard), 45
Barstow, Mrs., 68
Barstowe, Mrs., 91
Bartholomew, Mr., 48
Barton, Mrs. Elizabeth Clemson ("Aunt Barton"), 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 20, 22, 23, 38, 40, 60, 105
Barton, Craff, 62
Barton, Miss Hetty, 62
Barton, Kate C., 6, 18, 20, 23, 40, 60, 61, 94, 99, 105, 111
Battle of the Crater, 59
Bedford, 55
Bee, Gen. Barnard, 114, 125
Bee, Sophia Elizabeth (Mrs. Barnard Bee), 86, 125
Beirne, Betty; see Miles, Betty Beirne
Beirne, Oliver, 112
Belgians, King of the, 3
Belgium, 122
Beltsville, Md., 30, 35, 51, 53, 56, 57, 71
Berrien, Mary, 88
Berry, Eliza (Mrs. William Berry), 47
Berry, Jerry, 47
Berry, William, 47
Berry, Mrs. William; see Berry, Eliza
Bladensburg, Md., 6, 21, 22, 36, 42, 56, 123
Blair, Francis Preston, 52, 56, 57
"Blakely," 103
Blassingame, Nancy; see Sloan, Nancy Blassingame
Boisseau, James Edward, 111
Bond, Lt., 88
INDEX

Bosch, Mr. (Belgian Minister to the U.S.), 11
Bourne, C. J., 42
Bourne, Elizabeth Warley (Mrs. C. J. Bourne), 42, 86, 125
Bowie, Eliza Coombs; see McCeney, Eliza Coombs Bowie
Bowie, Johny, 47
Bradford, Gov. Andrew W., 56, 57
Bragg, Gen. Braxton, 23, 37, 46
Branchville, S. C., 75
Bretto, Bernard and Richard, 32
"Brier Thicket" plantation, 8, 11
Bright, Sen. Jesse David, 27
Bright, Margaret ("Maggie"), 27
Brignoli (opera singer), 31
Brown family, 61
Brown, Gen., 87
Brown, Lt. E. H., 73
Brown Metropolitan Hotel, 32
Broyles, Margaret C.; see Van Wyck, Margaret C. Broyles
Brussels, Belgium, 2, 3, 4, 5
Buchanan, James, Soc. of State and President, 3, 11, 21, 40, 60, 83, 94, 95
Buck, Olivia, 93
Buffalo, N. Y., 39
Burks, Emily, 50
Burks, Nina, 50, 51
Burns, Mrs. (nurse), 104, 108
Burt, Armistead, Jr., 101, 127
Burt, Mrs. Armistead; see Burt, Martha Calhoun
Burt, Kitty, 86, 127
Burt, Martha Calhoun (Mrs. Armistead Burt), 101, 102
Butler, Gen. Benjamin F., 68
Calhoun, Andrew Pickens, 1, 2, 6, 18, 77, 78, 79, 119
Calhoun, Mrs. Andrew Pickens; see Calhoun, Margaret Green
Calhoun, Andrew P. (Jr.), 77, 79, 94, 108
Calhoun, Anna Maria; see Clemson, Anna Maria Calhoun
Calhoun, Anna Susan ("Anna"), 101-102
Calhoun, Anzie Adams (the first Mrs. John C. Calhoun, Jr.), 111, 126
Calhoun, Caroline ("Carrie"), 101-102
Calhoun, Catherine; see Noble, Mrs. Catherine Calhoun
Calhoun, Catherine J. de Graffenreid (Mrs. William Calhoun), 101
Calhoun, Cornelia; see Calhoun, Martha Cornelia
Calhoun, Duff Green, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 84, 85, 94, 108
Calhoun, Eugenia; see Parker, Eugenia Calhoun
Calhoun, Floride Bonneau Colhoun (Mrs. John Caldwell Calhoun, "Grandma" in Florida's diary), 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 30, 35, 36, 50, 55, 71, 74, 76, 77, 78, 80, 85, 88, 91-92, 95, 96, 102, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 119, 121
Calhoun, Floride Isabella Lee (Mrs. Andrew Pickens Calhoun, II), 118, 119, 120
Calhoun, Frances Darroicott (Mrs. Joseph Calhoun), 102
Calhoun, Frances Josette; see Marshall, Frances Josette Calhoun
Calhoun, Hall; see Colhoun, Henry Davis
Calhoun, James (brother of John C. Calhoun), 101
Calhoun, James E. ("Jimmie") son of Andrew P. Calhoun, 77, 78, 80, 108
Calhoun, James Edward, 7, 20
Calhoun, James Edward of Millwood; see Colhoun, James Edward
Calhoun, John A., 101, 102
Calhoun, Mrs. John A.; see Calhoun, Sarah M. Norwood
Calhoun, John Caldwell, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 42, 80, 101, 119, 120, 121, 122, 129
Calhoun, Mrs. John Caldwell; see Calhoun, Floride Bonneau Colhoun
Calhoun, John C., Jr., 8, 126
Calhoun, Mrs. John C., Jr.; see Calhoun, Anzie Adams and Calhoun, Kate Kirby Putnam
Calhoun, John C. (III) ("Johnny"), 77, 78, 79, 83, 108
Calhoun, Joseph, 102
Calhoun, Mrs. Joseph; see Calhoun, Frances Darroicott
Calhoun, Kate Kirby Putnam (Mrs. John C. Calhoun, Jr. and Mrs. William Lowndes Calhoun), 11, 15, 17, 18, 71, 78, 80, 85, 86, 90, 95, 96, 104, 108, 109, 127
Calhoun, Lula; see Calhoun, Mary Lucretia
Calhoun, Margaret ("Margie"), 77, 79, 80, 83, 108, 109

140
INDEX

Calhoun, Margaret (the first Mrs. William Lowndes Calhoun), 7
Calhoun, Margaret Green (Mrs. Andrew Pickens Calhoun), 16, 77, 79, 80, 108, 115, 119
Calhoun, Martha; see Burt, Martha Calhoun
Calhoun, Martha Cornelia, 6, 8, 11, 108, 115, 119
Calhoun, Mary Lucretia ("Lula"), 79, 80, 90
Calhoun, Orville Tatsum, 101-102
Calhoun, Patrick ("Pat"), 3, 12, 15, 77, 79, 108, 111, 122
Calhoun, Putnam ("Putman"), 71
Calhoun, Sarah M. Norwood (Mrs. John A. Calhoun), 101
Calhoun, Sarah Martin; see Simonds, Sarah Martin Calhoun
Calhoun, William, 101
Calhoun, Mrs. William; see Calhoun, Catherine J. de Graffenreid
Calhoun, William Lowndes ("Uncle Willie"), 8, 11, 15, 17, 108
Calhoun, Mrs. William Lowndes; see Calhoun, Margaret and Calhoun, Kate Kirby Putnam
Calhoun, William Lowndes, Jr. ("Willie"), 15, 71
Calhoun, Williamson Norwood ("Nowwood"), 101-102
Calhoun works, 6
Calvert, Charles Baltimore ("Charlie"), 35, 47, 105
Calvert, Mrs. Charles Baltimore; see Calvert, Eleanor Mackubin
Calvert, Charles Benedict, 35, 44, 51, 88
Calvert, Charlotte Augusta Norris (Mrs. Charles Benedict Calvert), 35, 44, 45, 51, 88
Calvert, Eleanor Mackubin (Mrs. Charles Baltimore Calvert), 105
Calvert, Ella; see Campbell, Ella Calvert
Calvert, Eugene Stier, 16, 95
Calvert family, 105
Calvert, George Henry, 16, 35, 44, 47
Calvert, William Norris, 35
Cameron, Jennie, 38
Campbell, Archibald, 88, 104, 127
Campbell, Mrs. Archibald; see Campbell, Emily P. and Campbell, Elizabeth Adams
Campbell, Capt. of "City of Glasgow," 122
Campbell, Duncan G., 88
Campbell, Mrs. Duncan G.; see Campbell, Ella Calvert
Campbell, Elizabeth Adams (the second Mrs. Archibald Campbell), 98, 127
Campbell, Ella Calvert (Mrs. Duncan G. Campbell), 35, 88
Campbell, Emily P. (the first Mrs. Archibald Campbell), 104
Campbell, Susan Earle; see Rodgers, Susan Earle Campbell
"Canerbrake" plantation, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 122
Cape Hatteras, N. C., 28
Carmel, N. Y., 118
Carusi’s Hall, 31
Cashier’s Valley, 93
Cass, Lewis, 42
Castle Pinckney, 24, 32
Chain Bridge, 56
Chambersburg, Pa., 58
Chancellorsville, 52
Chapel Hill, N. C. (UNC), 19
Charleston, S. C., 15, 19, 22, 24, 29, 37, 42, 44, 52, 74, 78, 81
Charlotte, N. C., 73
Chase, Salmon P., 92
Chattanooga, Tenn., 85
Cherry, Mary Lorton, 116
Cherry, Sarah Lewis (Mrs. William B. Cherry), 113
Cherry, Dr. William B., 86, 113, 127
Chew, the Rev. John H., 45
Chew, Sophia (Mrs. John H.), 45
"Chillum Castle Manor," 6
Claioborne, Charlotte Virginia; see Latrobe, Charlotte Virginia Claioborne
Claioborne, Gen. Ferdinand L., 27
Claymont, Del., 7, 15, 23, 55, 61
Clemson, Anna; see Washington, Anna Clemson
Clemson, Anna Maria Calhoun (Mrs. Thomas Green Clemson, Jr., "Mother" in Floride’s diary), 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 31, 32, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 51, 53, 64, 67, 75, 77, 90, 109, 115, 119, 121, 128, 129
Clemson, Baker; see Clemson, the Rev. John Baker
Clemson, Calhoun; see Clemson, John Calhoun
Clemson, Catharine; see North, Catharine Clemson
Clemson College, 82, 116, 119, 120

141
Clemson, Cornelia ("Nina"), 8, 9, 11, 16, 90, 111, 121, 128
Clemson, Elizabeth Baker (Mrs. Thomas Green Clemson, Sr., "Grandmother Clemson"), 1, 3, 7, 11, 35, 62, 90, 121
Clemson, Floride: Activities, acting 97, church 44, 46, 77-78, 97, drawing 47, 106, riding 30, 37, 46, 47, 55, 56, 83, 90, shooting 50, singing 31, 46, 48, 49, 56, 78, swimming 60, writing 8, 24, 123; Advice to, 9-10, 12, 14, 16; Beaux, 47, 54, 55, 60, 67, 91, 93-94, 102, 106; Birth, 1; Description, 4, 5, 13, 19, 47, 49, 118; Daughter, 118; Death, 118; Education, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 16; Health, 5, 7, 13, 14, 16, 17, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35, 37, 40, 41, 42, 47, 48, 49, 50-51, 61, 63, 66, 87, 91, 93, 95, 99, 104, 107, 117, 124; Houses, 2, 6, 48, 51, 53, 118, 123; Possessions, 6, 48-47, 66, 68, 85, 86-87, 94, 109-112, 114, 116; Letters from, Appendix V; Letters to, Appendix VI; Marriage, 117; Travel, 10, 11, 16, 17-18, 18-19, 21, 24, 27, 28, 32, 33, 35, 37-40, 41, 48-49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 59-63, 64, 71-74, 100-03, 116-17
Clemson, the Rev. John Baker ("Uncle Baker"), 7, 10, 11, 13, 15, 38, 55, 60, 61, 62, 111
Clemson, Mrs. John Baker; see Clemson, Pheby
Clemson, John Calhoun ("Calhoun"), 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 29, 30, 32, 34, 36, 37, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 49, 51, 67, 74, 75, 78, 79, 80, 82, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 95, 96, 97, 102, 104, 106, 107, 109, 109, 115, 116, 119, 121, 122, 123
Clemson, Louisa; see Washington, Louisa Clemson
Clemson, Mary, 35, 60, 61
Clemson, Mattie, 15, 17, 38, 40, 61, 62
Clemson, Nina; see Clemson, Cornelia
Clemson, Pheby (Mrs. John Baker Clemson), 81
Clemson, Sallie or Sally, 60, 61, 94, 99, 105
Clemson, Sue (Mrs. William Clemson), 40, 111
Clemson, Mrs. Thomas Green, Sr.; see Clemson, Elizabeth Baker
Clemson, Thomas Green ("Father" in the Diary), 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 29, 32, 34, 46, 49, 55, 73, 79, 82, 87, 89, 90, 91, 96, 99, 103, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 114, 115, 119, 120, 121, 122, 129
Clemson, Mrs. Thomas Green; see Clemson, Anna Maria Calhoun
Clemson, Tom, 11, 40, 61
Clemson, William, 13, 17, 20, 40
Clemson, Mrs. William; see Clemson, Sue
Cleveland, Ohio, 38-39
Clifton House, Canada, 39
Cocke, Dr. J. J., 31
Cocke, Dr. Samuel T., 31
Cokesbury, S. C., 100, 102, 103, 116
Colhoun, Edward Beissner ("Teddy"), 103, 113
Colhoun, Henry Davis ("Hall"), 82, 92, 93, 103
Colhoun, James Edward ("great uncle James"), 8, 22, 24, 96, 108, 111, 122
Colhoun, Mrs. James Edward; see Colhoun, Maria Simkins
Colhoun, Col. John Ewing, 82, 103, 111
Colhoun, Mrs. John Ewing; see Colhoun, Martha Davis
Colhoun, Maria Simkins (Mrs. James Edward Colhoun), 111
Colhoun, Martha Davis (Mrs. John Ewing Colhoun), 82, 103
Columbus, S. C., 18, 22, 73, 75, 76, 77
Conell, Capt., 73
Confederacy, army of the, 22
Confederate memorial service, 114
Confederate money and prices, 55, 72, 74, 75, 80, 81, 82
Confederate Nitre and Mining Bureau, 34
Contee, Mrs. Ann L., 54, 71
Contee, Charles, 54
Contee, Elizabeth, 54
Cook, Dr. Septimus, 68, 71
Corcoran, W. W., 106
Cordier, Mile. (singer), 31
Cornish, the Rev. Andrew H., 86, 96, 109, 126
Cornish, Catherine (Mrs. Andrew H. Cornish), 96, 106
Cornish, Lizzie, 96, 123
Cornish, Kate, 96
Cornish, Rev. William; see Cornish, Rev. Andrew H.
## Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crawford, Benjamin C.</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crawford, Samuel C.</td>
<td>36, 47, 48, 88, 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crawford, Mrs. Samuel C.</td>
<td>45, 88, 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craig, Mrs.</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crallé, Richard K.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunningham; see Cunninghan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunningham, Ann Pamela</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunningham, Benjamin (“Benjie”), 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunningham, Clarence (“Claire”), 100, 101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunningham, Emma Floride (“Flo-ride”), 100, 102, 109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunningham, Floride Calhoun Noble (Mrs. John Cunningham), 100, 101, 111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunningham, John, 100, 101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunningham, Mrs. John; see Cunninghan, Floride Calhoun Noble</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunningham, John (Jr.), 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunningham, Lizzie P., 100, 102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunningham, Louise B.; see Banks, Louisa B. Cunningham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunningham, Robert N. (“Bob”), 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curley, Miss, 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahlgren, Ga.; see Gold mine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dare, Dr., 31, 48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dare, Mrs., 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darricott, Frances; see Calhoun, Frances Darricott</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Daub, J. C.” (pseudonym used by John Calhoun Clemson), 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daub, Mr., 14, 23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daub, Mrs. Lisette (servant), 14, 22, 23, 45, 68, 98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Daub, Mrs. Lisette” (pseudonym used by Floride Clemson), 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daub, Wilhelmina Floride (“Mina”), 14, 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis, Pres. Jefferson, 81, 84, 85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis, Martha; see Colhoun, Martha Davis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis, Bishop Thomas F., 116</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Graffenreid, Catherine J; see Cal- houn, Catherine J. de Graffenreid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>del Prado, Eufarina Lisboa (Mme. Mariano del Prado), 31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>del Prado, Mariano, 31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diary, Anna C. Clemson’s, 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dickinson, Francis W., 123, 125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dickinson, Rachel Miles (Mrs. Francis W. Dickinson), 86, 123, 125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dickinson, Rachel; see Green, Rachel Dickinson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dickinson, Sarah; see Lee, Sarah Dickinson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dickinson, Susan, 123</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodge, Mrs. Mary E., 106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dosorts Island, N. Y., 6, 123</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dougherty, Caroline T. Hickey (Mrs. William Dougherty), 34, 63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dougherty, William, 34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>draft riot, 37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drayton, Eliza; see North, Eliza Drayton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duke, James J., 84, 108</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dundas, Mary Pamela Marron (Mrs. William O. Dundas), 93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dundas, Mary Y. (Mrs. William H. Dundas), 97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dundas, William H., 37, 43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dundas, Mrs. William H.; see Dun- das, Mary Y.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dundas, William O. (“Billy”), 21, 37, 43, 92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dundas, Mrs. William O.; see Dun- das, Mary Pamela Marron</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunscomb, G. H. (“A Southern Friend”), 10, 19, 20, 47, 48, 50, 51, 58, 60, 66, 67, 72, 76, 79, 82, 94, 106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earle, Elizabeth; see Maxwell, Eliza- beth Earle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earle, Mireia; see Mays, Miriam Earle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earle, Major Sam, 128</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earle, Sarah Anne; see Seaborn, Sarah Anne Earle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early, Gen. Jubal A., 58, 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easley, Caroline Sloan (Mrs. William K. Easley), 114</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easley, Gen. William K., 114, 115</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eeckhout paintings, 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egg Harbor Bay, N. J., 59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elliott; see Elliott</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elliott, Catherine Sadler Shanklin (Mrs. John H. Elliott), 86, 87, 125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elliott, the Rev. John H., 76, 78, 87, 97, 125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emack, A. G., 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emack, Capt. George, 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English’s boarding school, Miss, 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enterprise, Fla., 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evans, Lt. Col. D. M., 72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everette, Mrs., 93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eversfield, Dr. John T., 47, 48, 53, 54, 58, 58, 60, 63, 65, 66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fahnstock, Dr. William, 124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairfax, Dr. John C., 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

Fairfax, Mrs. John C., 53, 55
Fairfaxes, 71, 92
Ferguson, Brig. Gen. Samuel W., 85
Flat Rock, N. C., 113
“Flat Rock” in Pendleton, 103
Florence, Mass., 9
“Florida” (Confederate warship), 68, 73
Ford, Eliza, 86, 94, 125
Ford, Louisa; see Ravenel, Louisa Ford
Ford, Margaret (“Maggie”), 86, 94, 95, 125
Ford, Mrs. of Cokesbury, 103
“Fort Hill” plantation, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 77, 83, 87, 90, 91, 93, 96, 109, 115, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123
Ft. Massachusetts, Md., 56
Ft. Ripley, S. C., 29, 30
Ft. Slocum, Md., 56
Ft. Sumter, S. C., 29
Ft. Totten, Md., 57
Fortress Monroe, Va., 72
Franklin, Tom, 59
Fraser, Sophia; see Warley, Sophia Fraser
Frederick, Md., 55, 59
Fredericksburg, Va., 52
Free, Mrs. (Grandma Clemson’s sister), 62
Frost, Anne Branford (“Anna”); see Lowndes, Anna Frost
Frost, Judge Edward, 85, 93, 95, 96, 125
Frost, Edwin, 93, 94, 96, 97
Frost, Lizzie, 95, 96, 98, 103
Gaillard, Benjamin S., 93
Gaillard, Elizabeth Lee (Mrs. William D. Gaillard), 96
Gaillard, Sallie T. Sloan (Mrs. William Henry Drayton Gaillard), 93, 108
Gaillard, William D., 96
Gaillard, Mrs. William D.; see Gaillard, Elizabeth Lee
Gaillard, William Henry Drayton, 88, 93, 108, 126
Gaillard, Mrs. William Henry Drayton; see Gaillard, Sallie T. Sloan
“The Gallant Defender,” 23
Galveston, Texas, 29
Georgetown, D. C., 8
Gettysburg, Battle of, 38
Gibbs, Dr. James B. (dentist), 31
Gibbs, Prof. (of Pendleton), 113
Giger, Hannah, 40
Giles, Lizzie; see Quarles, Mrs. Lizzie Giles
Giles, Mrs., 34
Gill, Dr. Theodore Nicholas, 55
Girard Hotel, 40
Gittings, Mrs. John S., 28
Glass, Mrs. Meta Sandford, 94
Clen Cove, Long Island, N. Y., 6, 123
Glover, Mr., 55
gold; see Confederate money and prices
gold mine, Dahlonega, Ga., 1, 107, 122
Goldborough, Richard (“Dick”), 44, 54
Goldborough, Robert, 79
Goldborough, William, 44, 54
Gottschalk, Louis Moreau, 32
Gourdin, Henry, 84
Grant, Gen. U. S., 34, 36, 46, 55, 59, 67, 85, 88, 93
“Great Eastern” (steamship), 29
Green, Duff, 77
Green, Margaret; see Calhoun, Margaret Green
Green, Mrs. Rachel Dickinson, 86, 125
Greenville, S. C., 81
Gresham, the Rev. G. T., 114
Gresham, Lucilla Septima Sloan (Mrs. G. T. Gresham), 114
Griswold, Capt., 122
Croaning, Lewis, 86
Hagerstown, Md., 30, 55
Hall, Dr., 29
Hall, S. D. (“Davy”), 44, 54
Hallowell’s School, Mr., 15
Hampton, Gen. Wade, III, 92, 93, 95, 114, 115
Hampton, Mary Singleton McDuffie (Mrs. Wade Hampton, III), 92
Hampton, Wade, IV, 91
Happoldt, Albertine, 123
Happoldt, B. C., 123
Happoldt, Emily (Mrs. B. G. Happoldt), 123
Happoldt, Marion, 123
Hardee, Anna, 86
Hardee, Gen. William J., 86
Harewood, Jefferson County, (West Virginia, 17, 18, 122
Harpers Ferry, W. Va., 58
Harris, Sallie, 20, 73
Harris, Mrs. Sarah Jeter, 20, 73, 116
Harrisburg, Pa., 38, 40

144
Index

Harvey, Charles, 30, 43
Harvey, Emma Yost (Mrs. Charles Harvey), 30, 98
Harwood, H. H., Capt., USN, 48
Harwood, Sallie; see Babcock, Sarah A. Harwood
Haskell, Col. Alexander Cheves, 102
Haskell, Mrs. Alexander Cheves; see Haskell, Alice Van Yeveren Alexander and Haskell, Rebecca Singleton
Haskell, Alice Van Yeveren Alexander (Mrs. Alexander Cheves Haskell), 102
Haskell, Rebecca Singleton (Mrs. Alexander Cheves Haskell), 102
Havana, Cuba, 122
Hawkes, the Rev. Francis L., D.D., 49
Hayne, Frances; see Sharpe, Frances Hayne
Hayne, Margaretta Stiles (Mrs. William Alston Hayne), 86
Hayne, Sen. Robert Y., 103, 126
Hayne, Col. William Alston, 103, 126
Hayne, Mrs. William Alston; see Hayne, Margaretta Stiles
Hays, Dr. Isaac, 61, 62
Hazzard, Fisher, 60
Hazzard, Lizzie Clemson (Mrs. Fisher Hazzard), 60, 68
Henedge, Mr. (of English legislation), 47
Herbert, Edward, 53
Herbert, Mr. and Mrs. Edward, 54, 55, 60, 71
Hickey, Caroline T. ("Carrie"); see Dougherty, Caroline T. Hickey
Hickey, Cecilia A. (Mrs. William Hickey), 34, 52
Hickey, William, 34
Hickman, Ann S.; see Stephens, N. C.
High Hampton Inn, 93
Hill, Gen. D. H., 73
Holmes, Anna Warley (Mrs. John H. Holmes), 84, 86, 94, 125
Holmes, John H., 84
Hood, Gen. John B., 67
Huger, Gen. Benjamin, 95
Hunter, Gen. David, 57, 59
Hyatt, Mrs. Christopher; see Hyatt, Frances
Hyatt, Frances (Mrs. Christopher Hyatt), 45
Hyattsville, Md., 40, 57
Ikleberger, Kitty Baker ("Ikleberger"), 40, 63
Ingham, Anna, 104
Ingham, Sally, 48, 49
I'on, Mary Ashby; see Wragg, Mary Ashby I'on
Jackson (slave), Ft. Hill, 93
Jackson, President Andrew, 52
Jackson, Gen. Thomas J. ("Stone-wall"), 33
Jefferson County, (West) Va., 28, 55
Jenks, Lizzie, 54
Jenks, the Misses, 54
Jenkins, Anna R. (Mrs. W. L. Jenkins), 115
Jenkins, Sarah Boon McBryde (Mrs. William Gaillard Jenkins), 115
Jenkins, William Gaillard, 115
Jenkins, Dr. W. L., 115
Jenkins, Mrs. W. L.; see Jenkins, Anna R.
Jennings, Lizzie, 95
Jeter, Sarah; see Harris, Mrs. Sarah Jeter
Jewelry, 109-12
Johns, Dr. Montgomery, 54
Johns, Mrs. Montgomery, 54
Johnson, Andrew ("Andy"), 83
Johnson, Brig. Gen. Bradley T., 56, 57, 58
Johnson, Gen.; see Johnston, Gen. Joseph E.
Johnson, Henry Elliott; see Johnston, Henry Elliott
Johnson's Island, Ohio, 41, 43, 47, 49, 51, 90
Johnston, Harriet Lane (Mrs. Henry Elliott Johnston); see also Lane, Harriet, 103
Johnston, Henry Elliott, 93, 96, 103
Johnston, Gen. Joseph E., 73, 81, 85
Jones' Rifles, 84
Jones, W. R., 84
Kate, Old Maum (from Fort Hill), 91
"Kearsarge" (U.S.S.), 56
Keech, Alexander, 45
Keech, Kate Hope; see Barnard, Kate Hope Keech
Keech, Rose Keech (Mrs. William S. Keech), 45
Keels, Julia; see Maxwell, Julia Keels
Keich, Mrs., 65
Kenner, Duncan, mission, 75
Kenrick, Most Rev. Francis Patrick, Archbishop of Baltimore, 37
Kenna; see Knauff
INDEX

“Keowee” plantation, 93, 113
Kilpatrick, Eliza; see Lorton, Eliza
Kilpatrick
King of the Belgians, 11
King, Dr. Benjamin, 44, 53, 65, 71
King, Mrs. Benjamin, 53, 65, 71
King, Jennie; see King, Virginia
King, T. M. (“Tom”), 44, 103
King, Virginia (“Jennie”), 44, 45, 53, 66, 92
Kirby-Smith, Gen. Edmund, 89
Knauff (Kenny), William James, 84

Lake Erie, 39
Lancaster, Pa., 11, 23, 40, 62, 63
“Laney, Harriet” (revenue cutter), 29
Lanee, Miss Harriet, 21, 40, 55, 60, 62, 63, 68, 93, 94, 96, 99, 103, 105; see also Johnston, Harriet
Lane
Latrobe, Benjamin H., 27
Latrobe, Benjamin H., Jr., 34, 123, 124
Latrobe, Benjamin H., Jr. family, 28, 63, 123, 124
Latrobe, Charlotte Virginia Claiborne (Mrs. John H. B. Latrobe), 27, 49
Latrobe, John Hazlehurst Boneval, 27
Latrobe, John H. B. family, 24, 27, 72
Latrobe, Kate, 124
Latrobe, Mary Elizabeth, 34, 35, 40, 48, 51, 66, 72, 82, 92, 94, 99, 106, 124
Latrobe, Nora; see Vinton, Maria
Eleanor Latrobe
Latrobe, Osmun, 27
Latta, Angela Wetherell (Mrs. James T. Latta), 87
Latta, James T., 88, 87, 125
Laurel, Md., 40
Lee, Elizabeth; see Gaillard, Elizabeth Lee (“Lizzie”)
Lee, Floride Isabella; see Calhoun, Floride Isabella Lee
Lee, Gideon, 28, 29, 97, 98, 117-18, 119
Lee, Gideon, Sr., 28, 117
Lee, Mrs. Gideon (Sr.), 98
Lee, Gideon, III, 118
Lee, Dr. Lawrence, 96
Lee, Mrs. Lawrence; see Lee, Sarah
Dickinson
Lee, Gen. Robert E., 37, 46, 67, 81, 83
Lee, Sarah Dickinson (Mrs. Lawrence Lee), 86, 96, 125
Lee, W. Creighton, 28, 67
Lee, Williamson Whitmer, 118
Leo (Floride’s dog), 6, 68
“Leeside,” 118
Letcher, Gov. John, 57
Letters, catalog of, 130-38
Leupp, Charles M., 18, 33, 117
Leupp, C. M. Company, 22
Leupp family, 16
Leupp, Isabella (“Bella”), 117, 123
Leupp, Laura S. (later Mrs. Frank Marbury), 17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 33, 39, 67, 117, 123
Lewis, Andrew F., 86, 94, 127
Lewis, Mrs. Andrew F.; see Lewis, Susan Sloan
Lewis, Helen; see Sloan, Ellen Lewis
Lewis, Jesse Payne, 115, 128
Lewis, Mrs. Jesse Payne; see Lewis, Susan Taylor
Lewis, Mrs. Jr. (unidentified), 86, 128
Lewis, Sarah; see Cherry, Sarah Lewis
Lewis, Sue A., 94
Lewis, Susan Sloan (Mrs. Andrew F. Lewis), 94
Lewis, Susan Taylor (Mrs. Jesse Payne Lewis), 86, 115, 128
Lincoln, President Abraham, 32, 49, 56, 68, 83
Lisboa, Mme. Isabel (Mrs. Miguel M. Lisboa), 31
Lisboa, Miguel M., 31
Littitz, Pa., 62
Livingston, A., 88, 127
Long Beach, N. J., 59
Longstreet, Gen. James, 27
Lookout Mountain, Tenn., 46
Lorini, Signora (singer), 31, 32
Lorton, Eliza Amanda Kilpatrick (Mrs. John S. Lorton), 86, 96, 128
Lorton, Ella F. (the second Mrs. Gideon Lee), 96-97, 98, 109, 113, 118
Lorton, John S., 96, 128
Lorton, Mrs. John S.; see Lorton, Eliza Amanda Kilpatrick
Lowndes, Anna Frost (Mrs. Thomas Pinckney Lowndes), 95, 96
Lowndes, Benjamin O., 105
Lowndes, Margaret Washington (Mrs. Thomas Pinckney Lowndes, Sr.), 96
Lowndes, Thomas Pinckney, 96

146
Lowndes, Mrs. Thomas Pinckney; see Lowndes, Anna Frost
Lowndes, Thomas Pinckney (Sr.), 98
Lowndes, Mrs. Thomas Pinckney, Sr.; see Lowndes, Margaret Washington
Lynch, Sallie, 114

Maccari (opera singer), 31
Mackubin, Eleanor; see Calvert, Eleanor Mackubin
Mackubin, Hester Worthington (Mrs. Richard C. Mackubin), 104
Mackubin, Dr. Richard C., 105
Magoffin, Anna Nelson Shelby (Mrs. Beriah Magoffin), 45
Magoffin, Gov. Beriah, 45, 103
Magoffin, Gertrude; see Singleton, Gertrude Magoffin
Magruder, Dr. Archibald S., 32
Magruder family, 52
Magruder, Gen. John Bankhead ("McGruder"), 29
Maguire, Nannie; see Merrick, Nannie Maguire
Mahone, Maj. Gen. William, 66
Marbury, Frank, 39
Marbury, Mrs. Frank; see Leupp, Laura S.
Marie (Floride's maid), 99
Marietta, Ga., 58
Markoe, Francis, 72
Markoe, Mary (Mrs. Francis Markoe), 72
Marron, Mary Pamela; see Dundas, Mary Pamela Marron
Marvel, Frances Josette Calhoun (Mrs. J. W. Marshall, "Fanny"), 102
Marvel, Dr. J. W., 102
Mary (Calhoun servant), 80
Maryland Agricultural College, 30, 44, 53, 54
Mauch Chunk, Pa., 60
Maverick, Lydia Ann; see Van Wyck, Lydia Ann Maverick
Maxwell, Catherine Sloan (Mrs. Frank Maxwell), 104
Maxwell, Elizabeth Earle (Mrs. John Maxwell), 78, 90, 104
Maxwell, Frank, 104
Maxwell, Mrs. Frank; see Maxwell, Catherine Sloan
Maxwell, Capt. John, 78, 90, 104, 125
Maxwell, Mrs. John; see Maxwell, Elizabeth Earle
Maxwell, Dr. John H., 78, 86, 91, 93, 106, 107
Maxwell, Julia Keels (Mrs. Samuel Maxwell), 104
Maxwell, Keels, 104
Maxwell, Mrs. Keels; see Maxwell, Maud Shelton
Maxwell, Lucy Sloan (Mrs. Robert Maxwell), 86, 125
Maxwell, Maud Shelton (Mrs. Keels Maxwell), 104
Maxwell, Rob., 86, 126
Maxwell, Dr. Robert, 125
Maxwell, Robert A., 126
Maxwell, Samuel, 86, 90, 104, 125
Maxwell, Mrs. Samuel; see Maxwell, Julia Keels
May, Hon. Henry, 28
Maynard, Dr. Edward, 31, 44
Mayrant, Placidia; see Adams, Placidia Mayrant
Mays, James Butler, 126
Mays, Miriam Earle (Mrs. James Butler Mays), 86, 126
McBride; see McBryde
McBryde, Mary McClery (Mrs. Thomas L. McBryde), 115
McBryde, Sarah Boon; see Jenkins, Sarah Boon McBryde
McBryde, the Rev. Thomas L., 84, 115
McBryde, Mrs. Thomas L.; see McBryde, Mary McClery
McCeney, Edgar Patterson, 30, 47, 50, 71
McCeney, Eliza Coombs Bowie (Mrs. Edgar P. McCeney), 30, 33
McCeney, George, 30
McCeney, Harriet Patterson (Mrs. George McCeney), 30, 50
McCeney, Henry Cole, 30, 47, 53, 71
McClellan, Gen. George B., 23, 64
McClelland, Carrie, 38
McClerky, Mary; see McBryde, Mary McClerky
McCree, Mrs., 73
McDuffie, Mary Singleton; see Hampton, Mary Singleton McDuffie
McGill place, 32
McIlvain, Lizzie; see McIlvain, Lizzie
McIlvain, Lizzie, 38
McKnew, Capt. Morris, 53
Meade, Gen. George G., 46
Memminger, Christopher G., 113
Memminger, Mrs. Christopher G.; see Memminger, Mary Wilkinson
MEMMINGER, Lucy; see Pinckney, Lucy Memminger
Memminger, Mary Wilkinson (Mrs. Christopher G. Memminger), 113
Merrick, Dick, 49
Merrick, Nannie Maguire (Mrs. Dick Merrick), 49
Merrick, Judge William Matthew, 35, 49
Merrick, Mrs. William Matthew, 72
Metropolitan Hotel, 39
Mexican War, 117
"Mi Casa," 15, 17, 18, 22, 30, 34, 109, 117
Middleton, E. J., 42
Middleton, Mrs. E. J.; see Middleton, Ellen R.
Middleton, E. J. (Jr.), 42
Middleton, Ellen R. (Mrs. E. J. Middleton), 42, 52
Middleton, E. J. family, 51, 54, 105
Middleton, Mary V. ("Jennie"), 42, 57
Miles, Anna Pickens (Mrs. Jerry J. Miles), 88
Miles, Betty Beirne (Mrs. William Porcher Miles), 112
Miles, Jerry J., 88
Miles, Mrs. Jerry J.; see Miles, Anna Pickens
Miles, Keziah A.; see Pickens, Keziah A. Miles
Miles, Lt., 87
Miles, Rachel; see Dickinson, Rachel Miles
Miles, William Porcher, 112
Miles, Mrs. William Porcher; see Miles, Betty Beirne
Miller, Caroline ("Carrie"); see Simons, Caroline Miller
Miller, Caroline Taliaferro (Mrs. Henry C. Miller), 114
Miller, Dr. Henry C., 114
"Millwood" plantation, 8, 22, 96, 104, 109, 114, 122
Mimi, the fat Belgian nurse, 3, 4, 5, 7
Missionary Ridge, Tenn., 46
Mitchell, Caroline Pinckney (Mrs. Julian Mitchell), 113
Mitchell, Julian, 113
Mobley, Mr. (at Canebrake), 2
"Monitor" (U. S. warship), 28
Moore, Elizabeth Robinson (Mrs. John V. Moore), 88, 127
Moore, Major John V., 127
Morants, Dr., 32

Moravians; see Lititz, Pa.
Moreisi, Signora (singer), 31
Morgan, Gen. John Hunt, 42, 49
Morris, Gov., 95
Mosby, Gen. John Singleton, 65
Mount Vernon Ladies Society, 116
Mullally, the Rev. F. Patrick, 99, 114-15
Mundé, Dr., 9, 117
Murfreesboro, Tenn., 28
Murfrees Station, 72
Murphys Depot; see Murphree's Station
Nelly ("Slave Nelly"), 6
Nevin, the Rev. Mr., 62
Newman, C. M., 54
Newport, R. I., 16
New York City, 16, 37, 39
Niagara, 99
Nitre and Mining Bureau, 41
Noble, Bell, 96, 101
Noble, Mrs. Catherine Calhoun, 80
Noble, Edward, 80, 96, 100, 101, 109
Noble, Mrs. Edward; see Noble, Mary Means Bratton
Noble, Edward (Jr.), 101
Noble, Elizabeth Bonneau; see Simons, Elizabeth Bonneau Noble
Noble, Elizabeth Bonneau Pickens (Mrs. Patrick Noble), 80
Noble, Floride, 101, 113
Noble, Floride Calhoun; see Cunningham, Floride Calhoun Noble
Noble, Martha; see Noble, Mary Means Bratton
Noble, Mary Means Bratton (Mrs. Edward Noble), 101, 113
Noble, Gov. Patrick, 80, 100
Noble, Mrs. Patrick; see Noble, Elizabeth Bonneau Pickens
Noble, Patrick ("Pat"), 101, 113
Noble, Pinckney (or Mary), 101, 113
Norfolk, Va., 88, 72
Norris, Charlotte Augusta; see Calvert, Charlotte Augusta Norris
North, Bessie, 40, 60
North, Catharine Clemson (Mrs. George W. North, "aunt North"), 3, 7, 11, 37, 40, 59, 60, 61, 105
North, Clarence ("Clarrie"), 40, 60, 71
North, Clem, 38, 60, 94, 96
North, Dr. Edward, 97, 127
North, Mrs. Edward; see North, Valeria

148
INDEX

North, Eliza Drayton (Mrs. John
Laurens North), 112, 126
North, Eliza Emily; see Thurston,
Eliza Emily North
North, George, 11, 59, 60
North, George W., 37, 40
North, Mrs. George W.; see North,
Catharine Clemson
North, Herbert, 40, 60, 61
North, John Laurens, 97, 112, 126
North, Valeria ("Vallie"), 86, 97, 127
North, Valeria (Mrs. Edward North),
97
North, Walter, 37, 40, 60, 61
North, Willie, 38, 40, 61
Norths (of Pendleton), 88
"North Star" (steamer), 66
"Northumberland" (sailing packet),
4
Norwood, Dr. W. G., 116
Norwood, Sarah M.; see Calhoun,
Sarah M. Norwood
Not, Su, 46

oath of allegiance, 22
O'Brian, Mr. and Mrs., 60
Oldham, Mrs., 37
Onderdonk, Henry, 30, 38, 47, 50, 51,
53, 54, 55, 58, 59, 60, 66, 67, 99, 124
Orr, Gov. James L., 74, 99, 100
Orr, Martha ("Mattie"), 99, 100
Orr, Mr. of Chapel Hill, 19
Owens, Richard, 54

Palatka, Fla., 104
Parker, Dr. Edwin, 101
Parker, Mrs. Edwin; see Parker, Eu-
genia Calhoun
Parker, Edwin Jr. ("Teddy"), 101
Parker, Ellen L. ("Helen"), 101
Parker, Eugenia Calhoun (Mrs. Ed-
win Parker), 101, 102
Parker, Hetty, 63
Parker, Lucia G. (Mrs. William H.
Parker), 102
Parker, Martha C. ("Mattie"), 101
Parker, Thomas ("Tom"), 101
Parker, William C. ("Willie"), 101
Parker, William H., 102
Parker, Mrs. William H.; see Parker,
Lucia G.
Patent Office, 20, 55
Pendleton, S. C., 6, 7, 8, 9, 15, 18,
19, 20, 22, 30, 42, 123
Penn, Dr., 32
Pennington, Mrs. (Su Nott's sister),
46

Peter (the cook at Mi Casa), 98
Petersburg, Va., 59, 68
Philadelphia, Pa., 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11,
13, 15, 37, 59, 60, 123
Pickens, Anna; see Miles, Anna Pick-
ens
Pickens, Gov. Francis W., 5, 124
Pickens, John Miles, 82, 98
Pickens, Keziah A. Miles (Mrs. Thom-
as J. Pickens), 82, 91, 108
Pickens, the Misses, 96, 97, 98
Pickens, Col. Samuel B., 82, 104, 109
Pickens, Col. Thomas J., 82, 84, 85,
88, 90, 91, 108, 109, 125
Pickens, Mrs. Thomas J.; see Pickens,
Keziah A. Miles
Pickens, Dr. Thomas J., Jr., 91, 107
Pike, Mrs. Daniel, 17
Pinckney, Anna, 118
Pinckney, Caroline ("Carrie"); see
Mitchell, Caroline Pinckney
Pinckney, Caroline; see Seabrook,
Caroline Pinckney
Pinckney, Charles ("Charlie"), 102,
113
Pinckney, Mrs. Charlie; see Pinckney,
Lucy Memminger
Pinckney, the Rev. Charles Cotes-
worth, 86, 102, 104, 113, 125
Pinckney, Lucy Memminger (Mrs.
Charlie Pinckney), 113
Pinckney, Gen. Thomas, 104
Pinckney, Elizabeth (Mrs. William
Pinckney), 45, 105
Pinckney, Bishop William, 45, 105
Pittman, Dr., 14
Pittsburgh, Pa., 38
Porcher, Richard S., 86, 127
Porcher, Selina Eliza; see Ravenel,
Selina Eliza Porcher
Porter, Mrs., 86, 128
Port Hudson, La., 34, 36, 37
Price, Gen. Sterling, 68
Putnam, Kate Kirby; see Calhoun,
Kate Kirby Putnam
Putnam, Mrs., 17
Quarles, General, 35
Quarles, Mrs. Lizzie Giles, 34, 35
Ravenel, Caroline ("Carro"), 97
Ravenel, Dr. Edmund, 97
Ravenel, Mrs. Edmund; see Ravenel,
Louisa Ford
Ravenel, Emily Thurston (Mrs. Wil-
liam C. Ravenel), 95
Ravenel, Henry Edmund, 125
INDEX

Ravenel, Mrs. Henry Edmund; see Ravenel, Selina Eliza Porcher
Ravenel, Louisa Ford (Mrs. Edmund Ravenel), 97
Ravenel, Selina Eliza Porcher (Mrs. Henry Edmund Ravenel), 86, 125
Ravenel, Dr. William C., 86, 95, 125
Ravenel, Mrs. William C.; see Ravenel, Emily Thurston
Reis, Leopold, 8, 8, 9
Reives; see Rives, John C.
Relay House, Md., 6, 123
"Rertribution" (privateer), 29
Richmond, Va., 67, 81
Riddle, Mr., 72
Riggs, Alice, 49, 71
Riggs, Cecilia, 49, 71
Riggs family, 50, 88, 93
Riggs, George W., 49
Riggs, Mrs. George W.; see Riggs, Janet
Riggs, Katherine ("Kate"), 49, 71
Riggs, Janet (Mrs. George W. Riggs), 49
Riker, Capt., 122
Ritchie, Margaret; see Stone, Margaret Ritchie
Ritchie, Thomas, 32
Rives, John C. ("Reives"), 51-52
Roberts, L., 54
Robinson, Cary, 33, 66
Robinson, Conway, 33, 66
Robinson, Mrs. Conway; see Robinson, Mary
Robinson, Conway family, 65, 66, 67, 71, 105, 116
Robinson, Elizabeth ("Lizzie"), 33, 43, 46, 47, 51, 52, 53, 54, 65, 71, 80, 92, 94, 99
Robinson, Elizabeth of Pendleton; see Moore, Elizabeth Robinson
Robinson, Henry, 92
Robinson, Leigh, 33, 92
Robinson, Lizzie; see Robinson, Elizabeth
Robinson, Mary (Mrs. Conway Robinson), 33, 53
Robinson, Miss of Virginia, 103
Robinson, Dr. William, 86, 127
Robinson, William ("Willie"), 33, 44
Rock Creek Church; see St. Paul's Rockville, Md., 36, 58
Rodgers, George, 104
Rodgers, Mrs. George; see Rodgers, Susan Earle Campbell
Rodgers, Susan Earle Campbell (Mrs. George Rodgers), 104
Rosanna (Irish maid), 23
Rosecrans, Gen. William S., 28
Ross, Lizzie, 42
Ross, Mary, 66
Roswell, Ga., 58
Russell family (in Lancaster, Pa.), 40, 62
Russell, Fanny, 86, 104, 105, 127
Russell, Kate, 58, 62, 104
Russell, Louise, 62
Russell, Margery, 62
Rutledge, Archibald, 97
Rutledge, Col. Henry Middleton, 97
Rutledge, Margaret Seabrook (Mrs. Henry Middleton Rutledge), 97
Sadler, Catherine Ann; see Shanklin, Catherine Ann Sadler
Sadler, Mrs., 86, 87, 125
St. Alphonsus Catholic Church, 37
St. Augustine, Fla., 15
Saint Cecilia Ball, 19
St. James School, Hagerstown, Md., 30
St. John's College, Annapolis, Md., 17
Saint John's River, Fla., 19
St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Pendleton, 117
St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Rock Creek, 37, 66, 78
Sanders, Mrs. Caroline C., 30, 53, 54, 56, 65, 71
Sandford, Meta; see Glass, Meta Sandford
Sandusky, Ohio; see also Johnson's Island, 41, 43, 44, 48, 51
Saratoga Springs, N. Y., 39
Sauer, Babette, 10
Savannah, Ga., 74, 75, 81
Schenck, Dr. Noah H. (Rev.), 49
Scott, Gen. Winfield, 23
Seaborn, Major George, 84, 86, 126
Seaborn, Sarah Anne Earle (Mrs. George Seaborn), 84
Seabrook, Archibald Hamilton and family, 86, 97, 127
Seabrook, Caroline Pinckney (Mrs. Archibald H. Seabrook), 97
Seabrook, Margaret; see Rutledge, Margaret Seabrook
Semmes, Capt. Raphael (Simms), 86
Seward, Sec. of State William H., 83
Seybourn, Major; see Seaborn
Seymour, Sir Hamilton, 3
Seymour, Mr. (Jr.), 37, 47, 52, 53, 55, 58, 60, 67, 71
INDEX

Shanklin, Catherine Ann ("Kate"), 97
Shanklin, Catherine Ann Sadler (Mrs. Joseph A. Shanklin); see also Elliott, Catherine Ann Sadler Shanklin, 97, 125
Shanklin, Rev. Joseph A., 87, 97, 125
Shanks, Mr., 64
Sharpe, Elam, 86, 126
Sharpe, Frances Hayne (Mrs. Elam Sharpe), 126
Shelby, Anna Nelson; see Magoffin, Anna Nelson Shelby
Shehton, Maud; see Maxwell, Maud Shelton
Shepley, Gen. George Foster, 68, 72
Sherman, Gen. William T., 58, 67, 75, 76
Shreveport, La.; (see references Nov. 26, 1868, Feb. 17, 1869, May 15, 1864), 52
Shubrick, Edward, 127
Shubrick, Elizabeth C. (Mrs. Edward Shubrick), 86, 127
Simkins, Maria; see Colhoun, Maria Simkins
Simms; see also Symmes
Simms (unidentified), 86
Simms, Captain; see Semmes, Capt. Raphael
Simms, John, 57
Simonds, Andrew, 101
Simonds, Sarah Martin Colhoun (Mrs. Andrew Simonds), 101, 102
Simons, Caroline Miller (Mrs. W. W. Simons), 114
Simons, Elizabeth Bonnafo Noble (Mrs. Thomas Grange Simons), 85, 124
Simons, Thomas Grange, 85
Simons, W. W., 114
Simons, Mrs. W. W.; see Simons, Caroline Miller
Simpson, Major Richard F., 82, 84, 86, 87, 126
Simpson, Richard W., 82, 120, 126
Singleton, Gertrude Magoffin (Mrs. William Frank Singleton), 45, 193
Singleton, John W., 42
Singleton, Rebecca; see Haskell, Rebecca Singleton
Singleton, William Frank, 103
Singleton, Mrs. William Frank; see Singleton, Gertrude Magoffin
Slack, Mrs., 80
Sloan, Ball; see Sloan, John B. E.
Sloan, Benjamin Franklin, 108
Sloan, Mrs. Benjamin Franklin; see Sloan, Eliza Earle
Sloan, Benjamin Franklin, Jr. ("Frank"), 115
Sloan, Mrs. Benjamin Franklin, Jr.; see Sloan, Ellen Lewis
Sloan, Caroline; see Easley, Caroline Sloan
Sloan, Catherine; see Maxwell, Catherine Sloan
Sloan, Eliza Earle (Mrs. Benjamin Franklin Sloan), 108
Sloan, Ellen Lewis (Mrs. Benjamin Franklin Sloan, Jr.), ("Helen"), 115
Sloan, John B. E. ("Ball"), 86, 126
Sloan, John T., 86, 126
Sloan, Julia, 104
Sloan, Nancy Blassingame (Mrs. Thomas Majors Sloan), 86, 104, 114, 126
Sloan, Sallie T.; see Gaillard, Sallie T. Sloan
Sloan, Seppie; see Gresham, Lucilla Septima Sloan
Sloan, Susan; see Lewis, Susan Sloan
Sloan, Thomas Majors, 104, 114, 126
Sloan, Mrs. Thomas Majors; see Sloan, Nancy Blassingame
Smith, Jennie, 49
Smithsonian Institution, 55
Southgate, Bishop, 66
Sprague, Kate Chase (Mrs. William Sprague), 92
Sprague, Gov. William, 92
Squaw Beach, N. J., 55
Stanton, Sec. Edwin, 43, 44, 68
Stark, Mrs., 65
Stephen, Mrs. 60
Stephens, N. C. (trustee for Ann S. Hickman), 6, 48
Sterrett, Sadie, 38, 40
Stiles, Margaretta; see Hayne, Margaretta Stiles
Stone, Margaret Ritchie (Mrs. Robert King Stone), 32, 34, 71, 88
Stone, Dr. Robert King, 32, 50
Stoneman, Gen. George, 83
Stoneman's Raiders, 84
Stonestreet, the Rev. Charles, 37
Stuart, J. E. B., 55
Susini (opera singer), 31
Symmes family, 125
Syracuse, N. Y., 39
Taliaferro, Caroline; see Miller, Caroline Taliaferro
INDEX

Taliiferro, Mrs., 60
Taliiferro; see Taliiferro
Tasubes, the Misses, 72
Taverner, Mr., 53
Taylor, Susan; see Lewis, Susan Taylor
Taylor, Tazewell, 68
Taylor, President Zachary, 4, 5
Templeton, Mrs., 49
Terry, Gen. H. D., 51
Texas Rangers, 117
Thackeray, William Makepeace, 48
"The Home," 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 53, 117, 121
Thomas, Mrs., 49
Thomas, Zarvona, 49
Thurston, Mrs. E. E., 94-95
Thurston, Ed. (Mr. and Mrs.), 94
Thurston, Eliza Emily North (Mrs. Robert Thurston), 95
Thurston, E. M., 94-95, 128
Thurston, Emily; see Ravenel, Emily Thurston
Thurston, Emily F., 94
Thurston family, 88
Thurston, James, 94
Thurston, John C., 94
Thurston, Maria, 94
Thurston, Robert, 94, 95, 126
Thurston, Mrs. Robert; see Thurston, Eliza Emily North
Tillman, Benjamin R., 102
Tonneau; see Tunno
Toomer, Anne; see Wragg, Anne Toomer
Toomer, Eliza R.; see Wragg, Eliza R. Toomer
Towers, Edward, 53
Trenton, N. J., 6, 123
Trescot, William H., 74, 86, 87, 126
Tunno, Dr. John C., 127
Tunno, Mrs. John C., 86, 127
Turpin, W. T. P., 54
Upshur, Judge Abel, 2
Valandingham; see Vallandigham
Vallandigham, Sen. Clement L., 64
Vandenhoff, George, 49, 54
Van Dorn, Gen. Earl, 33
Van Wyck, Augustus ("Gussy"), 18, 73, 74, 97
Van Wyck, Benjamin ("Bennie"), 73, 74
Van Wyck family, 9, 86, 99, 114
Van Wyck, Lydia ("Lilly"), 73, 74
Van Wyck, Lydia Ann Maverick (Mrs. William Van Wyck), 39, 73, 125
Van Wyck, Margaret C. Broyles (Mrs. Samuel M. Van Wyck), 73
Van Wyck, Robert, 73
Van Wyck, Dr. Samuel M., 73
Van Wyck, Mrs. Samuel; see Van Wyck, Margaret C. Broyles
Van Wyck, William, 17, 18, 39, 73, 74, 125
Van Wyck, Mrs. William; see Van Wyck, Lydia Ann Maverick
Van Wyck, William (Jr.), 19
Van Wyck, Zeruah; see Banks, Zeruah Van Wyck
Vicksburg, Miss., 34, 36, 37
Vinton, Maria Eleanor Latrobe (Mrs. Hammond Vinton), 45
Virginia Military Institute, 18
Vivier, Mlle. Louise, 32
"Wachusett" (U.S. sloop of war), 68
Walhalla, S. C., 93
Walker, Elizabeth ("Lizzie"), 45, 47, 50, 65
Walker, Mrs. Mary, 45
Wardlaw, Clark, 102
Wardlaw, Eliza (Mrs. Robert H. Wardlaw), 102
Wardlaw, Joseph C., 102
Wardlaw, Dr. Joseph J., 102, 115
Wardlaw, Mary A. (Mrs. Joseph J. Wardlaw), 102, 115
Wardlaw, Mary W. ("Marie"), 115
Wardlaw, Robert H., 102
Wardlaw, Mrs. Robert H.; see Wardlaw, Eliza
Wardlaw, W. C., 102
Warley, Anna; see Holmes, Anna Warley
Warley, Elizabeth; see Bourne, Eliza-
Warley
Warley, Hamilton ("Ham"), 84
Warley, Jacob, 42, 84, 125
Warley, Sophia Fraser (Mrs. Jacob Warley), 42, 84, 86, 113, 125
Washington, Anna Clemson (Mrs. George L. Washington), 55, 111
Washington, Augustine, 65
Washington, Christine (and son Johny), 65, 66
Washington, D. C., 3, 6, 33, 49, 56
Washington, George L., 21, 55, 111
Washington, Mrs. George L.; see Washington, Anna Clemson
Washington, Lewis, 27
INDEX

“Washington, Mrs. Lisette Daub” (pseudonym of Anna Clemson), 22
Washington, Louisa Clemson (Mrs. Samuel Washington), 17, 21, 27, 65, 66, 103, 122
Washington, Lucy, 65
Washington, Margaret; see Lowndes, Margaret Washington
Washington, Mary, 49
Washington, Richard, 103
Washington, Mrs. Samuel; see Washington, Louisa Clemson
“water cure,” 9
Weldon, N. C., 72, 73
Wells, Dr., 41
Weston, Cornelius, 124
Weston, Henry M., 123
Wetherell, Angela; see Latta, Angela
Wetherell
Wharton, Elizabeth (“Lizzie”), 35, 48
Wharton family, 48
Wharton, Dr. G. O., 35
Wharton, Sarah, 35, 48, 54
Wharton, William, 35
“Wheatland” (home of President Buchanan), 40, 64, 103
Wheeler, Gen. Joseph, 83
White, House, 21, 83
White, Mr. (Clemson hired man), 67
Wigfall, Gen. Louis T., 73
Wigfall, Louise, 73
Wilkinson, Mary; see Memminger, Mary Wilkinson
Wilson, Mr. (of Abbeville), 115
Wiltberger, Charles H., 50
Wiltberger, Mrs. Charles H.; see Wiltberger, Verlinda M.
Wiltberger, Edith, 50, 66
Wiltberger, Emma, 50, 66
Wiltberger, John B., 50
Wiltberger, Mary E. (Mrs. John B. Wiltberger), 50
Wiltberger, Verlinda M. (Mrs. Charles H. Wiltberger), 50
Winchester, Va., 58
Wood, Mrs. Elizabeth D., 23, 50, 54
Wood, Emily, 64, 71
Wood family, 48, 66, 67, 93, 105
Wood, Gertrude, 54
Wood, Jefferson, 54
Wood, Virginia (“Jennie”), 54, 66
Worthington, Hester; see Mackubin, Hester Worthington
Wragg, Anne Toomer (the first Mrs. William T. Wragg), 91
Wragg, Eliza R. Toomer (the second Mrs. William T. Wragg), 91
Wragg, Mary Ashby Ion (Mrs. Samuel Wragg), 86, 91, 127
Wragg, Samuel, 91, 127
Wragg, Dr. William T., 91, 118
Wragg, Mrs. William T.; see Wragg, Anne Toomer and Wragg, Eliza R. Toomer
Yost, Benedict, 30
Yost, Elizabeth (Mrs. Benedict Yost), 30
Yost, Emma; see Harvey, Emma Yost