

Chapter Three



THE “GLORY OF THE HOUSE”



Fort Hill mansion

James H. Rion, a Calhoun family friend, described Anna Clemson after her death “as a child who inherited more of her father’s great talents than any other of his children.” One of ten children in the family of John and Floride Calhoun, Anna’s birth followed the deaths of two baby sisters born after her brother Andrew. It would be this sibling who saw his sister at the time of her marriage to Thomas Clemson as the true “glory of the house.” At a time when gender conventions universally accepted female subordination, Andrew’s affirmation of Anna’s attributes did not alter the fact that her sphere as a woman was limited by the patriarchal society that promoted the potential of her brothers. Under her father’s tutelage and her mother’s supervision, she could shine as a southern lady, but she would never be allowed to assume authority over those considered to be of the superior sex.

Always one who cherished family life, Anna treasured her time in the midst of the Calhoun brood and did her best to promote harmony in the home. She especially doted on her brother Patrick and was particularly attentive to the special needs of her semi-invalid sister, Cornelia. In essence, she was a good sister who took her role as a sibling seriously, but loyalty to her husband superseded all else in his rift with her brother Andrew over money. Ironically, the ruined relationship between Anna and her brother would ultimately be resolved, in a different generation, by the marriage of her granddaughter to Andrew’s grandson in 1895. A close look at Anna’s relationship with her siblings will span the time from her birth, in 1817, to her return, to the Calhoun family’s Fort Hill home with Clemson, in 1872, three years before her death.



“Now mother is the only one left of all the seven children grandfather left when he died.”

Six years before her own untimely death in 1871, Floride Clemson had made the above remark in her diary after the death of her uncle Andrew in 1865.¹ With the passing of her grandmother, Floride Calhoun, the following year, her mother became the sole surviving member of the immediate family of John C. Calhoun. The unnatural tragedy of the loss of both Floride Clemson Lee and her brother, Calhoun, as young adults left Anna in despair, grown old beside her husband, as she returned with him to live at Fort Hill in 1872.

Although “dear old Fort Hill,” for which she had longed during her Belgian years, was the home of cherished family memories, it was not the place of her birth or early childhood years. Born at her father’s Bath plantation in the Abbeville District, little Anna Maria left the South Carolina upcountry at the age of nine months. In November 1817, she traveled by carriage with her parents and six-year-old brother Andrew to Washington, D.C. A member of the U.S. House of Representatives since 1811, during the presidency of James Madison, John C. Calhoun had accepted President James Monroe’s offer of the Cabinet post of secretary of war. Motivated by “a sincere desire to add” to the national prosperity, he arrived with his family in December in the nation’s capital, where they would reside for the next eight years.²

Living, at first, as the guests of a close political friend, Congressman William Lowndes, and his family, the Calhouns later moved into a big house in the center of Washington, at 6th and E streets, located halfway between the Capitol and the White House. During their return to South Carolina in 1819, Mrs. Calhoun gave birth to her fifth child in October. Anna’s baby sister, Elizabeth, who lived for only five months, died from complications with a cold on March 22, 1820, back at the family’s home in Washington. Two other baby girls, Floride and Jane, had died before Anna’s birth in 1817. Within less than a year, Patrick, the brother that Anna would later come to characterize by “his kind manners & noble heart,” was born on February 9, 1821, just a few days before her fourth birthday.³

Residing with the Calhouns in Washington was Mrs. Calhoun’s fifty-five-year-old mother, Floride Bonneau Colhoun, who would be a presence in the life of her granddaughter during Anna’s childhood and teenage years. Married in 1786 to lawyer John Ewing Colhoun, John C. Calhoun’s first cousin, Anna’s grandmother Floride had initially inherited, in 1788, King Street property in Charleston from her father, Samuel Bonneau, a wealthy rice planter of St. John’s Parish in Berkeley County. In this instance, her father ensured the protection of his daughter’s property after her marriage. According to historian Suzanne Lebsack’s study of the women of Petersburg, Virginia, the acquisition of a separate estate that gave a woman legal property was, at that time, rare. Mrs. Colhoun, who eventually acquired the family’s Cooper River plantation, Bonneau’s Ferry, the wedding place of Anna’s parents in 1811, was indeed a woman of privilege with inherited land holdings from both her father and husband, a United States Senator at the time of his death in 1802. She purchased for her daughter Floride’s family in 1822 a summer place in Georgetown Heights, a pretty part of the Washington area that bordered above the northern boundary of the town. The deed to the property signed on April 1, 1823, was registered in the name of her son, James Edward, then a midshipman in the United States Navy.⁴

For the next few years, the Calhouns divided their time in Washington between Georgetown and the city's center, close to the Capitol. In their house at 6th and E Streets the "addition of a fine boy" to the family on May 17, 1823, was reported ten days later by Anna's father to her uncle John Ewing Colhoun, Jr., back in South Carolina. Although as yet unnamed, the parents were disposed to call him John. The baby, baptized John Caldwell, joined young Andrew, Anna Maria, and Patrick in the family of John and Floride Calhoun. The next year in May, another letter from Calhoun to his brother-in-law in South Carolina noted that his sister Floride had "added a fine daughter to our family," with the birth in Georgetown of Martha Cornelia on April 22. Apparently, there was no indication at the time that this child, after whom Anna would one day name a daughter, would be deformed and deaf and live her life as something of a semi-invalid. Sources do not definitively indicate whether these defects were congenital, hereditary, acquired during development, or the result of an accident.⁵

Less than a year after Cornelia's birth and the day after Anna's eighth birthday, on February 13, 1825, President-elect John Quincy Adams, still serving in his capacity as secretary of state, notified Calhoun of his own election "to the office of Vice-President of the United States." In the same month of his inauguration, in March, he sold his Washington house at 6th and E Streets and, after a summer spent in South Carolina, returned to the nation's capital in November and settled his wife and children in Georgetown, in what became their principal residence. Named "Oakly" by Calhoun, the property, known today as "Dumbarton Oaks," was home to his family until they left again for South Carolina in July 1826. Their household at that time included a baby boy as well as Andrew, Anna, Patrick, John, and Cornelia, because Floride had given birth, on April 22 (coincidentally, on Cornelia's second birthday), to a son called James Edward, after his uncle.⁶

In a letter written in June to his mother-in-law in South Carolina, Calhoun informed her that he and Floride concluded their family's best interest would be advanced by moving to the South for a more healthful climate. Earlier, he had written to her about very severe colds with coughs that had plagued all of the children except baby James and about three-year-old John, Jr., who, despite his recovery, had been near death for almost a week in May. Although Floride preferred waiting until fall, when the roads would be dry, a relapse in John's condition, symptomatic of a serious lung infection for which there seemed no medical remedy, prompted the family's hurried departure, on July 19, for the up-country Pendleton District (now Anderson, Pickens, and Oconee counties). Once settled there, the children flourished, as Calhoun gladly reported to Floride's brother James, who was by then a navy lieutenant on the frigate *Macedonian*, off the coast of Brazil. Calhoun later mentioned that nine-year-old Anna Maria had gone to Edgefield, to attend a female academy, while Andrew was going to a local school and while Patrick, John, and Cornelia were being tutored at home. "Maria," he noted in another letter to James, written right after her tenth birthday, in February of 1827, acquired knowledge "with the greatest facility." This assessment, made by his long-time friend, Eldred Simkins, with whose family she stayed in Edgefield,⁷ undoubtedly pleased the proud father.

The Clergy Hall residence of Mrs. Calhoun's mother was home for the Calhoun family on their return to South Carolina in the summer of 1826. The town of Pendleton, just a few miles away, provided "churches, an academy, merchants, artisans, a weekly newspaper, an agricultural society, a circulating library, twice-weekly mail, and connection with

the outside world by flatboat, freight-wagon, and regularly scheduled passenger stages to Greenville and Augusta.” Located upon land inherited from her husband, the late Senator John Ewing Colhoun, Floride Colhoun’s modest house, Clergy Hall, having been built originally as the Presbyterian manse for the nearby Old Stone Church, consisted of only four rooms. Also owned by Floride Colhoun, the Keowee plantation that her late husband built in 1792 was the residence of her son, John Ewing Colhoun, Jr.. Although her son-in-law John Calhoun intended to build a new house adjacent to the former rectory, he and his wife, Floride, ended up enlarging the simple structure to a total of fourteen rooms to accommodate their family’s needs. Their last child, named William Lowndes for Calhoun’s good friend, who had died in 1822, was born on August 13, 1829, in the renovated and expanded house that by 1830 Calhoun began to call “Fort Hill” in his home correspondence.

Interestingly, in the community today where the Calhouns and Clemsons once lived, there is an historical marker on the bank of Twelve Mile River at the juncture of Six Mile Highway and the Old Six Mile Road that identifies John Ewing Colhoun and the site of his Keowee plantation home which was inherited by his son, John Ewing. This marker, erected in 1966 by the Foundation for Historic Restoration in the Pendleton Area, makes the connection between Senator Colhoun’s daughter Floride and her husband, John C. Calhoun (Floride’s father’s cousin), and their Fort Hill plantation home (2 1/2 miles south). Also noted in the bygone community is the nearby Hopewell residence of Colhoun’s sister Rebecca, wife of the Revolutionary War hero General Andrew Pickens.

The birth in 1829 of the Calhouns’ last child, William Lowndes, coincided with Anna’s return from school in Edgefield and Andrew’s entrance into the junior class at Yale, along with their father’s resumption of the office of vice-president in the new administration of Andrew Jackson.⁸

Calhoun was surprised but delighted that his oldest boy, Andrew Pickens, named for his great-uncle the Revolutionary War General, had decided to enroll at his father’s own alma mater, Yale. Understandably, the vice-president found quite painful the unexpected news of his son’s expulsion in late August of 1830. Although fifty-five students apologized for the class disruption that had caused their dismissal from school and were consequently reinstated, Andrew was not one of them. Calhoun wrote Professor James Kingsley of his great distress at what had happened and directed Andrew to return immediately to South Carolina. The following year, both Anna and her brother entered schools in Columbia, with her enrollment at the South Carolina Female Collegiate Institute just outside the city and his at South Carolina College in the center of the capital. While she stood at the head of her class during her one-year stay, he left before the end of his senior year, in 1832, without a diploma.⁹



Andrew Pickens

Fifteen-year-old Anna returned home to Fort Hill, where she began to instruct her

younger brothers in reading and writing and to enjoy once again being in the midst of her family. The twenty-one-year-old Andrew, who had married Eugenia Chappell of Columbia, in January 1833, decided to settle at his father's Bath plantation in the Abbeville District. Unfortunately, his wife died a year later, not long after the birth of a baby daughter, followed by the child's death on New Year's Day, 1835. Andrew was once again left in a state of bereavement until his courtship with Anna's friend Margaret Green began in the spring. Anna had accompanied her father, then serving in the U. S. Senate, to Washington for the winter, and she returned to South Carolina in March with Margaret, whose father, *Telegraph* newspaper editor, Duff Green, strongly supported Calhoun's presidential ambitions.¹⁰

Visiting in Edgefield with Anna's close friend Maria Simkins while en route to Fort Hill, Anna and Margaret were joined there in late April by Andrew, who escorted them the rest of the distance to the Calhoun plantation. Romance flourished at Fort Hill between Margaret and Andrew, following what Anna described as "indeed a disastrous trip" in which one of the horses pulling their stagecoach drowned at a crossing on the Savannah River. When the girls returned to Washington with Calhoun in December, Andrew soon arrived to reside with his sister and father at Mrs. Lindenberger's Capitol Hill boarding house. Anna, though surprised to see her brother, had really expected him to come.

On May 5, 1836, Andrew Calhoun married Margaret Green in the nation's capital,¹¹ a happy event especially meaningful for Anna, whose friend Margaret was now her brother's wife. Two weeks prior to their wedding in Washington, the seventy-one-year-old Mrs. Floride Colhoun died in South Carolina, on April 21. The death of the family matriarch after a long illness was somewhat of a relief and the division of her large estate among her three children—John Ewing, Floride, and James Edward—resulted in her son-in-law, John C. Calhoun's gaining ownership of the Fort Hill property that he and his wife Floride had been renting for ten years. John Ewing took over the Keowee plantation and James Edward, who had ended his naval service in 1829 and was still a bachelor, acquired extensive landholdings held by his mother in the upcountry.¹²

Expecting their first child in the summer of 1837, Andrew and Margaret were reunited with Anna at Fort Hill as they awaited the birth of the baby. Having returned to South Carolina after another winter of working for her father in Washington, Anna had been on hand for the advent of President Martin Van Buren's administration. Back at home, she was surrounded by all of her siblings except for Patrick, who, at age eighteen, was a cadet at West Point. Determined to correspond faithfully with her dear brother, she wrote him regularly about events at home, beginning with the visit of British geologist Mr. George Featherstonhaugh.¹³

This entertaining gentleman, whom Anna described as being very amusing during his four-day stay at Fort Hill, had been in the Pendleton area once during the preceding year. Quite taken with the lovely mountain scenery, the healthy country air and the hospitality of his amiable hosts, Featherstonhaugh noted in the record of his travels that he found Fort Hill to be "a charming house, amidst all the refinement and comfort that are inseparable from the condition of well bred and honourable persons." He was appreciative of the exquisitely prepared Carolina cuisine served at Mrs. Calhoun's table, and his account of an admirable breakfast at Fort Hill complimented the "excellent coffee with delicious cream, and that capital, national dish of South Carolina, snow-white hominy brought to table

like macaroni, which ought always to be eaten, with lumps of sweet fresh butter buried in it!" In the most agreeable companionship and interesting conversation enjoyed on the portico after dinner in the evenings, he saw a big difference in the manners of the southern elite and those at the head of society in the middle and northern states. He observed an outlook in the South that was "always liberal and instructive" and also "a great solicitude" for the welfare of the slaves, especially on the part of the southern ladies, who, he said, showed a great deal of compassion and affection to all those born on the family plantation. In all likelihood, such feelings did exist but without reciprocating sentiment from the slaves themselves, so the veracity of Mr. Featherstonhaugh's view is subject to speculation. The scene at Sunday morning service at nearby Pendleton's Episcopal Church, "a neat temple prettily situated in a shady grove," reminded him of "an English country church in a good neighborhood." According to the visiting Englishman, the Episcopal church in Republican America, like England's own national church, was "a strong bond of union amongst the educated and well-bred."¹⁴

Fort Hill was temporarily without an adult white male in residence, with Calhoun gone to Washington by the end of August. Andrew, by then the father of a baby boy, accompanied by Featherstonhaugh, was away for two weeks at his father's O'Bar gold mine near Dahlonega, Georgia. Fourteen-year-old John, as Anna wrote to Patrick, now sat at the head of the table as the "*oldest man*" in the house. On a more serious note about thirteen-year-old, crippled Cornelia, Anna confided to her brother that their poor sister, although no worse, was not at all improved and with little expectation that she ever would be. In reply to Patrick's account of a certain Miss Pettigrew's firing the canon at West Point, Anna's own response to such a notorious thing was as follows: "It is hard enough to avoid being talked of do what we will but I never should think of provoking observations by any of those things which many ladies are apt to think give them an air of independence when indeed they only show off their desire for notoriety."¹⁵

Although Anna had planned to spend the winter with Maria Simkins at her family's home in Edgefield, she ended up, instead, staying nearby at her cousin Francis Pickens's Edgewood plantation. Both his wife, Eliza, and Maria, her sister, were nursing their dying mother, Eliza Smith Simkins, at Edgewood. Thinking herself to be of assistance in helping them with Mrs. Simkins's constant care, Anna had decided that she would not be in the way at such a difficult time. The suffering Mrs. Simkins died of consumption on New Year's Day, 1838, and Anna planned to remain for a while at Edgewood with Maria and Eliza. About two weeks before the death of Mrs. Simkins, the child of Andrew and Margaret, "little John C.," had died unexpectedly at Fort Hill, on December 21.

No one had missed her dear Pat more than Anna had, and, as one who loved him very much and took great interest in his welfare, she hoped that he would follow her example of promptly replying when answering letters. She was preparing some "*scolding*" remarks when a letter that arrived at Edgewood from West Point saved his credit and prevented her from sending any such reprimands. She promised her brother that if she had the opportunity to go to Washington in the spring, she would beg their papa to take her to see him. "I do not know anything that would delight me more than to spend a few days with my dear brother," she told Patrick, towards the end of January.¹⁶

By early March, her plans to start for Washington were set so long as good weather continued. Accompanied by Maria's brother Arthur, Anna wrote to Patrick that she would

take to the capital what was said to be an excellent route from Charleston via steamboat and railroad, with very little stage traveling. She reassured him that she would do all in her power to make their reunion possible, having last received from him such a loving letter of anticipation at the idea of seeing his father and sister. "Indeed my dear Pat," she said, "I never knew how much I loved you, or how necessary you were to my happiness before." She promised not to indulge in useless sentiment, although feeling inclined to give way to her emotions and have a good cry remembering the many pleasant days they had spent together in the past and thinking how much time must elapse before they could enjoy such again. She told her brother that, had it not been for his affectionate expression that made her feel more acutely than usual the distance between them and the many changes that might take place during their time apart, she would not have unduly entertained such thoughts. Instead of encouraging what seemed to be his depression by showing how much her feelings were in accord with his, she wrote him that she should try to present a brighter prospect to his view. Their happy meeting and the pleasure that all could enjoy in his improvement would amply repay the separation from one another.

However, Anna urged her "dearest brother" to always cherish the attachment between them so that, whatever might occur, they could each feel that the other was a friend who truly cared. In a last bit of advice for one whose feelings she felt to be so honourable and just, she nevertheless stated the importance of not doing anything of doubtful propriety. At least by following strictly this rule of conduct one would never have to face his own guilt at any unintentional error.¹⁷

Anna continued to correspond with Patrick at West Point once she was settled by mid-April in Washington with her father and was sympathetic about the regulations with which he had been expected to comply under the authority of his commanding officer. Praising her brother for what she knew to be his good sense in realizing that obstinate behavior did not show either spirit or independence, she was glad that he had acquiesced in the requirements rather than rebelled against them. In her own words to him on the purpose of education, she expressed the following opinion: "You do not go to school to show your spirit, but to improve your mind, and render yourself a worthy member of society, and leave it to your future life, to exhibit on all proper occasions, that you possess true courage, which is always accompanied by gentleness." Proud to tell him that their father was very happy with his son's conduct and standing, she felt certain that Patrick, like herself, would be much pleased and inspired by the praise of a loved one.

Cornelia seemed to be contented and happy while staying with the Duff Greens, the family of Andrew's wife Margaret, and receiving treatment from Baltimore physicians for her crooked spine. In Anna's view, little hope of a cure existed for the fourteen-year-old's condition; however, arresting the disease at its present state, she believed, would be worth every effort. The general prognosis of the examining specialists in what was beginning to be termed orthopedics was promising, and, within five weeks time, Cornelia's continuing improvement had prompted the doctors to give the family much greater hopes of her recovery. Their sister, as Anna reported to Patrick, was more animated than she had ever seen her. Anna even had hope that the "dear little creature" could perhaps be cured. Although the treatments were beneficial and the wearing of braces enabled her to move about much more normally than she ever had, Cornelia's spine was never completely straightened.¹⁸

After spending the winter so quietly at Edgewood, Anna confessed to Patrick that

she presumed she would enjoy very much the capital city's many spring events. She rather dreaded, however, the humorous thought of "commencing the round of dissipation" that lay ahead for her in May. Sometime during this month, amidst races, balls, and the theater, the twenty-one-year-old Anna met Thomas Clemson, the man she would marry and whose courtship of her must have been well under way by the start of summer. In letters to both her friend Maria and brother Patrick, there are only intimations to the relationship that would become one of the most meaningful in her life. At the same time Anna was apparently falling in love with Clemson, she openly expressed her feelings of delight to Patrick about the prospect of seeing once more a brother she loved so much. Quick to communicate the good news that their father had arranged a leave of absence for Patrick to join them in Washington towards the end of June, she wrote: "I am so happy at the idea of seeing you, that I can scarcely write coherently." Unaware of Patrick's pranks while on a recent brief leave in New York City, Anna praised her brother for his good conduct and high-class standing that she thought had prompted Calhoun to think of this plan as a reward. The seventeen-year-old cadet settled the extravagant debts he had incurred while drinking and gambling by borrowing funds from his mother's wealthy merchant cousin, Edward Boisseau. Having thus paid for his illicit expenses, Patrick obviously escaped the censure of his father, who had somehow learned of his son's escapades but still followed through on the procurement of a furlough for him.¹⁹

Apparently, sometime between the reunion with her brother in June and her return to South Carolina with her father in mid-July, Anna had accepted the proposal of Thomas Clemson. From Fort Hill, she wrote to Maria, on July 22, about the wedding "*event*" planned for the fall, and she wrote to Patrick, a month later, about her concern over his feelings for Clemson. "I am anxious you should love him for *my sake*," she said, "and am sure you will do so when you know him better." With the onset of fall at Fort Hill, she missed Patrick more than ever. The sight of trees slightly tinged with color and the hazy atmosphere recalled memories of their nice rides and walks. "If you were only here," she wrote, "what a delightful gallop we might take." Melancholy at the thought of how long it might be before she should ride with him again, she asked God to bless her dearest brother.²⁰

By late October, the wedding date had been set for November 13. The gathering of family and friends for the nuptials brought Andrew back from Alabama, where he had found land to his liking in Marengo County. In need of money to purchase the Canebrake plantation there, he arranged for the matter of financing with his father and future brother-in-law during the trip home for the festivities. At the same time that Clemson's love for Anna brought him into the Calhoun family, the fateful business venture that he entered into essentially ruined the relationship between his wife and Andrew who did not pay him back for the loan. Loyal to her husband, Anna felt keenly his resentment of her brother, in whose eyes she shone on her wedding day as truly "the glory of the house."

The total cost of \$20,000 for the Alabama property was primarily financed by a bank loan procured by Clemson on the backing of a joint bond held by Calhoun and his son Andrew. Clemson was frustrated that by the fifth year of the investment, when he needed money to finance his own plantation in the Edgefield District, he had yet to receive "the first cent" of profit from Andrew. To purchase additional slaves, he had to resort to loans negotiated by himself and his father-in-law. Anna, writing to Patrick at his Fort Towson

post in Arkansas Territory, admitted that her husband's troubles worried her, as well, especially since they came, as she said, "from *my* family." Wistfully, she expressed the hope that they would "prove but summer clouds & blow away leaving the heavens but the brighter from contrast."²¹

Ever since her marriage, Anna had looked forward to having her dear Pat spend as much time as he could with Clemson and herself. Before his graduation from West Point in 1841, she informed him of her pleasure in hearing that he had become more comfortable with the ladies. Believing that all women of any breeding exhibited a certain ease and social grace which they imparted to their associates, she approved of Patrick's presence in their company. Of course, she told him, "I mean in moderation. I should regret much to see you a *mere ladies man*," a "despicable character," in her view.

In the fall of 1842, thirteen-year-old William ("Willie") Lowndes was the oldest boy about the house at Fort Hill, with Patrick serving as an army lieutenant and John and James attending a Quaker boarding school in Alexandria, Virginia. Anna, who awaited there the birth of her third child, found her youngest brother to be as "full of tricks as a little monkey" and proposed to "box him up & send him" to Patrick for his amusement. Even though she herself was indisposed in her last month of pregnancy, the rest of the household was quite well. Cornelia, she thought, could hear a little better, thanks to a pair of ear cornets and would hopefully improve still more when she consented to have her ear cleaned and treated with oil.

After only four months away at boarding school in Alexandria, sixteen-year-old James, according to nineteen-year-old John, had become, like his brother Patrick, careful in his dress and comfortable with the ladies. However, with James's return home in the spring of 1843, Anna expressed to Patrick her concern that this brother would fall back into his aimless hunting habits. John, on the other hand, showed signs from his letters at the Virginia University, where he had entered in March, of acquiring a true understanding of what really mattered in life. His rapid progress in school was unfortunately offset, she said, by poor health from his old throat infection and constant cough and chest pain.



James Edward Calhoun

Andrew returned to Fort Hill for a week in the fall to conclude some business, exhibiting enthusiasm and unusual good will. Anna wrote to Maria, by then the wife of James Edward Calhoun, that her brother looked as well as she had ever seen him and had cordially conducted negotiations with their father and her husband concerning the money owed to Clemson. The three men signed a statement that seemed to settle Calhoun's and Andrew's indebtedness by the terms of a due bill on demand and two promissory notes, payable in installments. Calhoun continued to view Andrew's Alabama plantation as profitable and productive and believed that cotton sales could cover all their financial obligations.²²

The illness of his son John was another source of personal concern to Calhoun in 1843. The young man seemed to Anna to be improving when home from Virginia on summer vacation, but he was soon forced to withdraw from school for health reasons. Trying to recuperate, he traveled around among family and friends and, early in 1844,

joined the Clemsons, who had just moved into Canebrake, their Edgefield District home. During John's four-month stay, Anna found her brother to be a fine young man whose presence was truly a pleasure. Mistaken, at first, by his almost three-year-old nephew, Calhoun Clemson, for his "uncle Paddy," John endeared himself to his sister's little boy. Her son especially missed him after his departure with Patrick, in late spring, to join a troop of dragoons at Fort Bent, a distance of some 700 miles from St. Louis. Very worried about John, who went west with Patrick for his health, Anna hoped that he might get better during the trip.

While John and Patrick spent the summer months on the plains, Anna prepared to move her family to Europe because her husband had accepted a diplomatic appointment as *Chargé d'Affaires* to the Belgian court. Both the Clemsons' arrival in Brussels, in late fall of 1844, and the coincidental enrollment of James at the University of Virginia, in Charlottesville, required personal adjustments. Anna's longing for her family in America, especially her father, made adaptation to life abroad somewhat difficult for her. Within seven months, the nineteen-year-old James's aversion for study and academic discipline led to his expulsion from school, much to the chagrin of his parents. Just as Andrew's refusal to apologize for his part in a class disturbance, fifteen years earlier at Yale, had resulted in his dismissal from college in 1830, James's refusal to testify against fellow students involved in disorderly behavior had the same consequence at Virginia in 1845. Evidently, Andrew and James did not share their sister Anna's belief that a stubborn attitude rebelled against the purpose of education to "improve your mind, and render yourself a worthy member of society."²³

As Anna struggled from abroad with the teaching of her own youngsters, Calhoun and Floride, and admitted to her father that she found them boisterous and sometimes unruly during their morning lessons, he contended with the educational problems of two of her brothers. James and Willie, after only a few days in attendance, dropped out of Erskine College, in Due West, in the fall of 1845. Having been taken to the school by their Uncle James, they proceeded to spend the following months at his Millwood plantation in the Abbeville District and eventually enrolled at South Carolina College. Within two years of his matriculation in 1846, James, now a serious student, was a class leader. His nineteen-year-old brother, Willie, after testing well, was admitted to the sophomore class. By the time the Clemsons arrived home for a visit in the fall of 1848, not only were James and Willie doing fine, but John had received his medical diploma in Philadelphia. His tubercular condition, seemingly arrested since his summer trip west with Patrick and a winter spent with Andrew and Margaret in Alabama, had not prevented him from studying medicine in Charleston and moving to Philadelphia for the completion of his degree.

Unfortunately Anna, who after a six-months' stay in America had set sail with her family from New York in May, was unable to attend John's wedding at Fort Hill on July 3, 1849. From afar in Brussels, she made note of the general consensus that the bride, popular Anzie Adams of Pendleton, was thought to look like her and had the qualities of a good woman. Glad that all appeared to be very fond of Anzie, she hoped that her brother had a wife who would make him happy and take care of him throughout his life.²⁴

Followed by John's good fortune, the news from Patrick, stationed in New Orleans for four years since 1845, made Anna increasingly uneasy about her brother. He was not only recovering from cholera, the dread disease that had taken the life of his command-

ing officer, but was also struggling with tuberculosis. Declared in his condition unfit for service for a few months, he left New Orleans in November to convalesce, much as John had done, at Andrew's Alabama plantation. There, in the winter of 1850, the ailing Patrick received from Anna a letter of sympathetic advice in which she revealed much about the nature of her relationship with her husband.

"Dont give way to low spirits," she wrote her dear Pat. She reminded him of her own ill health for four years, from the death of her infant child in 1839 to the months following the birth of her daughter Floride at the end of 1842, and attributed her recovery primarily to her attitude in the face of adversity. Furthermore, she continued, "we all know the state of the mind influences greatly the body, & nothing is more injurious, even to those who are in good health, than habitual despondency," her own husband, "Mr C.," being "a case in point of *that*." Although he was, she told Pat, liable to the "*blues*" and "dyspeptic & *ailing*" at the time of their marriage, "he is now as hearty a man as you will meet in a summer's day." She always believed that his ill health arose mainly from his mental state and confided "*entre nous*":

I commenced by never worrying him myself, & trying to prevent his having any real cause to fret, & then, when he got low spirited, I amused him, & joked with him, & tho' *I took him too old*, & can never make him a gay or amiable man it is really wonderful how much he has improved.

In telling comments to her brother about her husband's behavior, Anna admitted that Clemson, though sometimes "*cross*" in spells of gloom, was much easier to humour and cheer up again. "The fits," she said, "are far apart & yield easily to my efforts."²⁵

Patrick's illness was undoubtedly troubling for his family, but of even graver concern was the condition of the patriarch himself, John C. Calhoun. In declining health ever since a bout with congestive fever in 1845, he died of consumption on March 31, 1850, with his son John the only family member present at his bedside in Washington. Grieved at the passing of her dearest father and at being so far away from those who shared the loss of such a sympathetic parent, Anna wrote from Brussels to her brother James that in a grief like theirs they should "cling the closer to those who are left." Deeply interested in his success in life, she asked her dear brother still in college to write her about what he intended to do. "Perhaps my experience in life," she wrote, "may enable me some times to give you good counsel." Maturity, she thought, would help him to appreciate the importance of family. Should James and Willie, also in school, think they could profit from a year or so in Europe before beginning their life's work, she assured James that they would always be welcome at the home of the Clemsons.²⁶

Grief-stricken at the death of her father, Anna was also saddened at the thought that Fort Hill, encumbered by debt, would be dismantled. She was pained that some of the slaves, for whom she thought her father had been such a kind master, might now be sold or at least separated. Clemson's main concern, however, centered around the money for the Alabama investment, valued at \$16,000 with interest, still owed to him jointly by Calhoun's estate in conjunction with Andrew.

In a letter to Patrick at Fort Hill, Clemson acknowledged, in June, that Anna's father had left no will with the rest of the estate not to be divided until Willie came of age in

August. Since he had heard from no one on the subject of Calhoun's affairs, Clemson informed Patrick that he had asked Armistead Burt, a lawyer and family relation, to represent his interests regarding the settlement of the debt due him. Clemson also wrote Andrew P. Calhoun, via a letter forwarded by Burt at Clemson's request. His position was a very hard one, as he wrote in a letter to Patrick. The Edgefield plantation, which he had proposed to stock with funds owed to him by Calhoun and Andrew, had, he said, "but little more than paid its expenses, & the interest on the debt so irregularly paid." He had lost money and was forced to live very frugally in his diplomatic post. Requesting that the amount in arrears be paid by January 1851, Clemson asked Patrick to aid him in concluding the painful matter.²⁷

Clemson also asked for a personal leave of absence from Secretary of State John Clayton, as he needed to be in the United States to assist in settling Anna's interest in her father's estate. Another reason that made his return home almost a necessity, he told Patrick in early August, was the need to dispose of his Edgefield plantation. The property, he said, had been a burden on his back, had given him much trouble, and had brought no profits. By this time, however, the fact that he had had no response to his petition to the secretary of state was, he supposed, owing to the death of the president and the change of the cabinet. President Zachary Taylor had died on July 9, 1850, and Daniel Webster had become the secretary of state in the new administration of Millard Fillmore.

Fortunately for the Calhoun family, a group of Charlestonian friends had presented "a purse of \$27,000" to the statesman's widow in July 1850. Money collected to relieve Calhoun's debts and send him to Europe for his health was used to save Fort Hill. Clemson encouraged his mother-in-law to accept the generous gift on behalf of one who had worked his whole life at the sacrifice of private interests for the welfare of his state and nation. In a letter to her granddaughter Floride, Mrs. Calhoun wrote on August 11, two days before her youngest son Willie's twenty-first birthday: "The State has made Grandmother a present of \$27,000 dollars, to do as she pleases with. Have they not been very kind?"²⁸

Mrs. Calhoun received title to the Fort Hill property of 1,341 acres for the token sum of \$10,000 in a "Deed of Conveyance" signed and sealed on August 27, 1850, by all of her children except Anna, who was in Brussels. Along with Cornelia and John, who were to live at Fort Hill, Anna shared in the ownership of the property with their mother while the other sons were partners in the Alabama plantation.

In October, Anna learned from her mother the sad story of the death of John's wife Anzie in childbirth and his plan to move to Florida for his health. As Cornelia was hard of hearing, Mrs. Calhoun planned to look for a white woman companion to live with her. The angry exchange of letters between Clemson and her son Andrew would not affect her love, she assured Anna. "Being the Husband of a daughter, I love *devotedly*," she wrote, "would induce me to think well of him, so long as he treats her well and is kind to me." The rest of the family also, she said, "think highly of Mr. Clemson and nothing Andrew can say to us would make us think the less of him." As to her husband's feelings towards his son-in-law, she had never heard sentiments that echoed Andrew's views, nor did she believe that Calhoun ever had them.

Apparently Clemson's letter to Andrew by way of Armistead Burt in June had provoked what he considered to be an unheard of and injurious reply from his irate brother-

in-law. Clemson, in turn, had written to Patrick at the end of August and defended himself to his wife's family, for whom he professed the sincerest affection. He could not bear to think that anything could cause a coolness in their future relations and maintained that, if he and Calhoun had acted alone in the Alabama venture, they would have had no difficulty between them. Having loved and respected Calhoun as his own father, Clemson was, he said, more hurt than he could express by Andrew's accusations that he had been critical and unkind.²⁹

Meanwhile, according to a letter from Mrs. Calhoun to Andrew in Alabama, Anna was worried to distraction by her brother's correspondence with her husband. In very precarious health, she had sustained heart and chest spasms and anticipated not living long. She had told her mother that, although her father's death had shocked her nervous system, the matchless feelings she had on reading Andrew's letter had put her under a doctor's care ever since. Every insult to her husband she took personally. Admonishing Andrew about a temper that would always mislead him, Mrs. Calhoun hoped that this occurrence would forever after be a lesson learned through life. She said, "Should you be the reason of your sister's death, I know you will never get over it, while you live." Reminding Andrew that, above all else, Clemson "is your sister's husband and your brother-in-law, and one she is devotedly attached to," Mrs. Calhoun advised her son to let Clemson do what he wanted. In the attempt to soothe things between her children, she encouraged Andrew to write immediately to Anna and apologize for his angry words. Furthermore, Mrs. Calhoun had written her daughter to say that her brother would be pained if he knew how much his sister had been wounded by his letter.³⁰ No extant correspondence suggests what action Andrew may have taken to mend relations with Anna.

By the end of the year Clemson received notification from then Secretary of State Daniel Webster of the appointment of a new American Chargé d'Affaires to the Belgian Court. However, having already made arrangements to spend the winter abroad, he and his family did not leave Europe until the spring of 1851. Now that James Calhoun, studying law in Charleston, was the administrator of his father's estate, it was to him that Clemson again affirmed his desire for the still-outstanding debt held jointly by that entity and by Andrew. Wishing to satisfy his brother-in-law's request in a single payment, James approached Andrew about a simultaneous transaction of shares. Although Andrew came to Fort Hill in the summer in the attempt to conclude a final settlement with Clemson, the controversial matter remained in the hands of a mediator; meanwhile, Anna reached an agreement with her mother to sell her interest in Fort Hill to Mrs. Calhoun for the sum of \$10,000. A bequest from the estate of her cousin Edward Boisseau would cover at least half of this amount for Mrs. Calhoun. About ten months after arriving home from Europe, Clemson received payment, in February of 1852, on the debt owed him from Calhoun's estate. There is no record of a settlement between Andrew and Clemson on the disputed debt, over \$8,000, and, in later years, Clemson often declared "that he had been cheated."

Back from abroad, Clemson bought a farm close to Washington, near Bladensburg, Maryland. After traveling around with his family from south to north for two years, he made a purchase in June of 1853 that enabled him to try his hand again at agriculture. The sale of the Canebroke property had been completed shortly after his family's return from Europe and with no present prospect of another diplomatic post, he decided to try plant-

ing crops again. At the same time that Anna was establishing a new home for her family in Maryland, her mother in South Carolina was considering giving up her responsibilities as mistress at Fort Hill. Since Andrew, in Alabama, had been advised that his wife, Margaret, needed a healthier climate in which to live, he approached his mother in 1854 about buying the Calhoun family plantation. Because John had moved away to Florida a few years earlier, Mrs. Calhoun and Cornelia agreed to the sale for \$49,000, inclusive of fifty slaves and supplies, along with the house and land, with living quarters in the home reserved for both mother and daughter. Unfortunately for Andrew's finances, the contract that he had negotiated for the sale of his plantation was rescinded by the prospective buyer after he had already approached his mother about selling her home. The resulting settlement between the two men left Andrew stuck with the ownership of his Alabama property at the same time that he had entered into the agreement with his mother and sister Cornelia to buy Fort Hill. Despite a large debt and the management of two plantations, he moved his family back to South Carolina and left an overseer in charge of his land in Alabama.³¹

Several months before Anna settled her family in Maryland, her brothers Willie, in love with Margaret Cloud of Columbia since his years at South Carolina College, and John, a widower for over two years, had both married in January 1853. Sadly, Willie's wife died of unknown causes a little over two years later in the spring of 1855. Knowing how hard the death of Margaret would be on the devoted Willie, Anna invited him to visit and suggested that Floride also write to her uncle and tell him how very sorry she was. "He loves you so much," Anna said, "it will gratify him." By the time of Willie's wife's death, John, a physician turned planter in Florida, was in the final throes of his life-long struggle with lung disease. He had wed Kate Putnam of St. Augustine, only child of lawyer Benjamin Putnam, one of Florida's wealthiest men, after his first wife's death. When he died at thirty-two years of age, on July 31, 1855, after two-and-a-half years of marriage, he left behind a wife and two sons.

Shortly after her brother's death, Anna gave birth to a baby girl on October 3, with Mrs. Calhoun and Cornelia having traveled from South Carolina to Maryland to help her with the household. The little girl, called "Nina," named for her auntie Cornelia, became the darling of the family and an angel in her mother's eyes. With both the baby and Anna doing well, her mother and sister soon returned to Pendleton, where they had moved early in 1855. Mrs. Calhoun, who had quarreled violently with Andrew and her daughter-in-law, Margaret, following their move to Fort Hill in 1854, had left the plantation in anger and rented the house that she called "'Paradise.'" Before coming to Bladensburg for her daughter's confinement, she had informed Anna of how very much she and Cornelia liked their new home and how they wanted the Clemsons to come and see them.³²

Not only did little Nina delight her family during the three years of her short life, but also her uncle Patrick, whom she called "Paba," found her to be the smartest and happiest little child he ever saw. Writing to Floride away at her Aunt Barton's boarding school in Philadelphia in the fall of 1856, Anna expressed the wish that her brother could stay with them all winter. Pat, on active army duty since 1851 and a captain two years later, was forced by ill-health to take another military leave in 1855. The following year, he sought an assignment in Florida. Considering his dreadful cough, Anna voiced the fear to her daughter that her uncle's health was very delicate.

Correspondence to the Clemsons from James, who had gone to California after com-

pleting his legal study in the early 1850s, conveyed the impression that his health also was not very good. Early in 1857, Anna told her daughter that Cornelia had described Willie's health as wretched and John's widow, Kate, who was visiting with her children from Florida, as quite ailing. After a several months' stay with her late-husband's family, Kate was ready to return home with her two little boys on the first of January.

During the time Kate and her children spent in South Carolina, a romantic affection had developed between Anna's youngest brother Willie and their sister-in-law. Despite the poor health of both, they had decided to marry. Cornelia's news in the spring that Willie had gone to Florida to wed Kate upset Anna, who viewed the marriage with disdain. Mrs. Calhoun and Cornelia were to await the return of the honeymooners at Willie's newly decorated Savannah River "Brier Thicket" plantation, which was close to that of Uncle James's at Millwood. "*I am disgusted,*" Anna wrote Floride, because she thought that, notwithstanding the bond of sympathetic grief between them, Willie and Kate should have "waited a *little* longer." Admonishing Floride to be careful of what she said about their marriage in correspondence, she admitted that finding fault would only hurt and offend them. Yet she personally thought their behavior to be "*indecent.*"³³

Agitated in her response to Willie's marriage in the spring of 1857, Anna was shocked and sorrowful to hear from Uncle James that thirty-three-year-old Cornelia had died unexpectedly on May 2. While awaiting the return of her brother from Florida at his Brier Thicket home, she had passed away peacefully after little suffering. Anna reminded Floride how much she loved her sister and admired her fine character and disposition, which was so cheerful despite her afflictions. Although acknowledging Floride's deep attachment to her aunt, Anna maintained that the one most affected by the family's loss was her mother. Without Cornelia as a constant companion whose care had been an occupation for many years, Mrs. Calhoun, Anna knew, would be sadly lonely. She urged her mother to come North and live with the Clemsons so that, as her mother grew older, Anna could dutifully and with pleasure add to her every comfort. As in the case of Elizabeth Baker Clemson, Anna's mother-in-law, who had died two weeks earlier, in April, Anna found solace thinking that Cornelia was safe in heaven. However, Anna admitted to Floride that the passing of two such fine and dear loved ones within so short a time was hard to bear.³⁴

Instead of accepting Anna's invitation to live with the Clemsons in Bladensburg, Mrs. Calhoun shocked the family by buying an adjoining place in Pendleton, the "Dunnean" home of Mrs. William Adger, for the sum of \$8,000. Although Anna remembered it to be beautiful as the former "Friendville" home of her girlhood companion Catherine Campbell, she was quite concerned about her mother's ability to keep up a much larger household that required more servants and more money. Anna knew that her brother Patrick would be worried as well.

Having spent some time in South Carolina while awaiting assignment to a new military post, Patrick had been in Hot Springs, Virginia, in September of 1857 taking the waters for his health. He then traveled from Washington to his sister's home in Bladensburg. His thinness and cough disturbed Anna who found him to be somewhat debilitated, rather than rejuvenated, by the baths at Hot Springs. Pat's low spirits in part could be attributed to the break-up of his latest romance with Miss Betty Beirne, daughter of very rich Virginia planter, Oliver Beirne. "Dont tease him about it, for he does not like it," Anna instructed Floride, who was soon to see her uncle in Philadelphia on his trip to

New York. “We get on very *quietly*,” she commented to her daughter, with “no change or storm” since the last letter. “Your uncle P., is you know, a favourite, & he [Clemson] is always more pleasant when he is here.”³⁵

Continuing to be uneasy about Pat’s condition, Anna was also concerned about the health of her brother James in California, as he wrote little about himself. By this time Clemson was becoming increasingly alarmed about the stability of investments he had made through his brother-in-law, beginning almost three years earlier, in February of 1855. Impressed then with James’s knowledge of San Francisco real estate, he had initially invested over \$8,000, later increased to \$13,000, in a business venture he thought would be profitable. Sporadic contact with James, over the next few years, troubled Anna in terms of her brother’s well-being, especially with regard to the little hacking cough he had had all his life. By virtue of the fact that her husband’s money was once again jeopardized by a member of her family, Anna undoubtedly felt frustration in the face of impending discord. Early in 1860, an angry Clemson called James’s hand in the matter by requesting a cash remittance of \$5,000. With no reply received until June, Clemson followed through with a series of sharp enquiries that greatly embarrassed his brother-in-law, who did admit that there was some reason for Clemson’s harsh treatment of him.³⁶

Anna, in the meantime, suffered a miscarriage in March 1860 and, in a letter to Floride, who was visiting her grandmother in Pendleton, expressed surprise and some relief at “*the accident*.” Within less than two years, Anna also sustained the loss of her brothers Patrick and Willie and her own little girl, Nina. Patrick, who had been assigned, early in 1858, to army duty in Utah, had gone South that spring to escort their mother to Maryland before going to take up his new post. While wintering in St. Augustine, Florida, with Willie and Kate at the Putnam family home, Mrs. Calhoun informed Anna that Patrick had taken sick after his arrival and was unable to travel. In a letter to Clemson, Pat spoke of being weak but indicated that he planned to consult with a Charleston physician, Dr. Eli Geddings.

Anna was “very anxious” about her brother. She wrote to Floride, who was at school in Philadelphia, that “his affection seems so much like that of your grandfather & uncle John’s – Irritation of throat finally extending down to the lungs.” She hoped that Pat would take Clemson’s suggestion to take a steamer from Charleston to Baltimore and come stay in Bladensburg where she could nurse him. According to Dr. Geddings, who had been consulted by Clemson, Pat’s situation was “precarious & his lungs deeply affected.” Willie had described his brother as dreadfully emaciated yet able to make the trip from the humid, hot air of Charleston to Pendleton. Only three days after arriving there, at Mrs. Calhoun’s “*Mi Casa*” home, which had been purchased a few months before, Patrick died on June 1, 1858, at the age of thirty-seven. Floride heard from Anna about Pat’s death and about her concern for her mother’s situation. In Mrs. Calhoun’s brief letter to announce her son’s passing, she also mentioned to Anna that Andrew and Margaret had come from Fort Hill to pay their respects.³⁷ Overcome with emotion, Andrew had seemed in earnest about wanting to make up for the past.

Less than four months after Patrick’s death, Willie, after suffering poor health for almost two years, also succumbed to an inflammation of the chest. He died at his Brier Thicket plantation on September 19, a little over a month after his twenty-ninth birthday. Once again, his wife, Kate, was left a widow as she had been some three years earlier, when

her first husband, John, died in July, 1855. Now the mother of three sons—John’s two and Willie’s little namesake, born prematurely in November of 1857—Kate would spend the next several years at her family home in St. Augustine and at Mrs. Calhoun’s *Mi Casa* abode in Pendleton.

Although, at about the time of Patrick’s death in June of 1858, Anna had heard from James in California to the effect that he was expected to come home soon, he did not return to the East Coast nor did he continue to correspond. With no extant response from him to Clemson’s request early in 1860 for a small part of the money entrusted to him to invest, an irate Clemson now threatened to sue his brother-in-law in defense of his own interests. Embittered about the whole matter, he engaged in June an Oakland entrepreneur, J. Mora Moss, to act on his behalf in an investigation of James’s business affairs. Moss’s unpromising report revealed James’s muddled finances and confirmed Clemson’s fears that he had in fact lost the money. However, Leopold Reis, the Clemson’s former Belgian tutor, who had gone to California in 1858, defended James in a letter to Clemson in July 1860. Though he “may have acted in your case” in an unjustifiable way, as a kind-hearted man, James’s intentions were good, nevertheless. Reis further stated that he had no doubt that, if James’s current speculation proved successful, he would pay his debts to Clemson. He pointed out that Mrs. Clemson did not approve of an investment made through her brother when the opportunity had presented itself in 1855. Reis reminded Clemson that he had heard her repeatedly make the remark that, in the interest of peace and harmony, she did not wish that any more members of her family should have a hand in her husband’s money matters. Although there is no extant copy of Reis’s letter in the collection of Clemson correspondence, this “Extract of a letter from Mr. Reis dated California July 11th 1860” was copied, in Anna’s album by her own hand.

A year or so later, Moss, who had pursued the situation and gone to see James, found the thirty-five-year-old man dying with consumption, destitute, and dependent upon the generosity of his southern friends. Moss advised Clemson that there would be no point to press his brother-in-law anymore about the financial loss he had sustained. Sadly, “this most promising” of all John C. Calhoun’s sons, according to biographer Margaret Coit, died in San Francisco on November 29, 1861. In a letter of sympathy to James’s brother Andrew, a longtime family friend, Henry Gourdin, attributed James’s early death to excessive labor and, even more so, to the mental strain of excessive anxiety. According to Gourdin, James had undertaken too much in California.³⁸

At that point, Andrew and Anna were all that remained of the children of John C. and Floride Calhoun. The rift in the relationship between brother and sister that dated from the early years of her marriage to Clemson had not healed. During a brief trip to South Carolina in the spring of 1861, seven-and-a-half months before James’s death, the Clemsons did not hear from Andrew and his family at Fort Hill. As the Clemsons prepared to return to Maryland on April 11, aware that Civil War was at hand, Anna at *Mi Casa* wrote to Floride in Bladensburg that there had neither been a message from nor a sighting of anyone at Fort Hill. Regretting the rebuff that she claimed was the talk everywhere, she told Floride that her grandmother worried about the offense as she had made sure that Andrew’s family knew that Anna was there. Anna did not expect to see any of “The Fort Hillions” although, until recently, it was their custom to visit Mrs. Calhoun.³⁹

By the time Anna returned to South Carolina, at the end of 1864, the terrible ordeal

of Civil War, which had begun during her short stay in the spring of 1861, was still being waged as she and Floride joined her mother and sister-in-law, Kate at *Mi Casa*. During the final months of the four-year conflict, Anna became the surviving sibling of her family, following the sudden death of her brother Andrew at Fort Hill, on March 16, 1865. Less than a week earlier, on March 10, she had sent him a secret note, asking that he consider coming to see his ailing mother, as the two had been estranged for over a year in an argument about the debt still owed for Fort Hill. Mrs. Calhoun's wish to be reconciled with her sole surviving son before she died compelled Anna, in good conscience, to contact him without her mother's knowledge. First, she told Andrew that she wished to have him free to act as he thought best, and, then, she was sure their mother would be more gratified if he came of his own accord, having heard that she was sick. If he did not come, Anna's note would remain in confidence between them. Whatever his decision, Anna hoped that he would feel and appreciate her motives and believe in her sincere desire to establish family harmony. According to Floride's diary, her uncle's visit with her grandmother, who did not know of Anna's intervention, went well. Although Mrs. Calhoun thought her death to be imminent at the time, ironically, her son died of a heart attack three days later. Andrew—survived by his wife and seven children, whose grief, as Floride described it, was really harrowing—was fifty-three years old.⁴⁰

Mrs. Calhoun's health continued to fail throughout the following year, and her death, in July 1866, left Anna as the lone surviving child of John C. and Floride Calhoun. By the terms of a January 22, 1866, codicil to her mother's original will of June 27, 1863, Anna was named her principal heir as the recipient of three-fourths of the bond and mortgage title on Fort Hill—documents which were held in trust by lawyer Edward Noble, a cousin from Abbeville. Mrs. Calhoun had appointed a trustee to hold the Fort Hill property for her daughter because, at that time, "this was necessary under the law of South Carolina relating to married women." Anna was empowered "to change trustee at will" and was given the right to dispose of the Fort Hill inheritance as she saw fit in "a last will and testament duly executed by her." Upon her mother's death, the Calhoun home place would therefore be hers to have and, subsequently, to give. Floride, as the designated successor to her mother's separate estate in the codicil to her grandmother's will, was also therein given the power to dispose of the property as she pleased by "a last will and testament, duly executed by her." Mrs. Calhoun's remaining quarter share of the Fort Hill bond and mortgage title, left outright to Floride, was to go to Mrs. Calhoun's grandson, Calhoun Clemson only if Floride died without issue. Should either Floride or Anna die before Mrs. Calhoun, their respective bequests from her would not revert to the residue of her estate but, rather, be passed to the survivor. Therefore, no doubt remained as to Mrs. Calhoun's intention concerning ownership of the property to which she still held the bond and mortgage of her deceased son, Andrew.⁴¹

In March of 1866, four-and-a-half months before her death, Mrs. Calhoun, along with Clemson as administrator for his late sister-in-law Cornelia, brought suit against Andrew's family for the nearly \$40,000 his estate owed on the Fort Hill debt. The court decision to foreclose against Andrew's heirs, issued early in July, was immediately appealed by the defendants, who began a legal battle for reversal. With Mrs. Calhoun's death, the case for Clemson, now the plaintiff in the matter—as well as for Edward Noble, as Mrs. Calhoun's executor—was of special significance since Anna had inherited three-fourths of

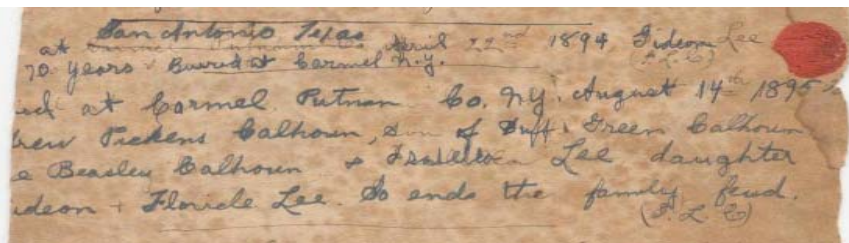
the securities in dispute.

Litigation over the ownership of Fort Hill, which now centered on Anna in contention with her brother Andrew's family, lasted until early 1872. In December 1871, she named her husband as "trustee of her inheritance," thereby relieving Edward Noble of the responsibility. Anna, as her mother had intended, inherited in January 1872 three-fourths of the property. Floride, whose two-year marriage to Gideon Lee, Jr., of New York had ended tragically in her untimely death in 1871, left behind a baby daughter, Floride Isabella, who inherited her mother's one-fourth share. With the settlement of the long-standing legal dispute over Fort Hill resolved in Anna's favor, the Clemsons prepared to move there and away from Mi Casa, Anna's residence since the end of 1864 and her husband's since his return from Confederate service in the summer of 1865. There is no recorded response to the suggestion from family friend Henry Gourdin, that Clemson might lease the Calhoun home to one of Andrew's sons in the attempt to reunite the family. After a trip to New York to see their little granddaughter, Anna and Thomas Green Clemson moved to Fort Hill in June of 1872.⁴²

In 1895, at age twenty-five, Floride Isabella Lee, daughter of Floride Clemson Lee, would wed her cousin Andrew Pickens Calhoun II, son of Duff Green Calhoun, thus uniting in matrimony Anna's granddaughter with her brother Andrew's grandson. The bride's record of their marriage in the Calhoun Family Bible concludes with the following inscription: "So ends the family feud. (I. L. C.)" Although references in this book to the Clemsons' granddaughter are in the name "Isabella," she was called Floride, after her mother. The only grandchild of Floride Lee and Andrew Pickens Calhoun II, Creighton Lee Calhoun, Jr., is the sole surviving descendant of Anna and Thomas Clemson.



Floride Isabella Lee



After a career in the United States Army, Creighton Lee Calhoun, Jr., is the former owner of Calhoun's Nursery in Pittsboro, North Carolina, where he lives with his wife, Edith, and their adopted son, Andrew Duff. The author of a book entitled *Old Southern Apples* (Blacksburg, Virginia: McDonald and Woodward, 1995), Lee is an authority on the subject and is responsible for the development of the Southern Heritage Apple Orchard at the North Carolina Horne Creek Living Historical Farm, north of Winston-Salem. From family lore, he learned of the commanding presence of his grandmother, Floride Lee Calhoun, who died when he was only one. He has his own fond memories of his gentlemanly grandfather, Andrew Pickens Calhoun II, who died when Lee was eight years old.⁴³