

Chapter 3

ANNA MARIA CALHOUN CLEMSON: “A WIFE WORTHY OF ANY MAN THAT EVER LIVED”

Ann Ratliff Russell



Belgium-era portrait of Anna Calhoun Clemson in court attire. Attributed to Henri Jean Baptiste Jolly (1812-1853). Oil on canvas. Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Creighton Lee Calhoun Jr.

Among the many messages of sympathy Clemson received at the time of his wife Anna's death in 1875, one that must have meant the most to him came from James Rion, a Calhoun family friend and the man who would later become Clemson's own financial advisor and lawyer:

You have lost a wife, who was in every sense of the word a companion for you, not only worthy of affection but of the highest esteem. Her good nature, high spirit, elegance of manners, extensive information and reading, fine intellect, and all the more valuable female accomplishments, fitted her to be a wife worthy of any man that ever lived.

Rion, who had paid a visit to Fort Hill shortly before Anna succumbed to a heart attack, said further: “It is a great, though sad, consolation to me that I saw her so soon” before she died.¹

The grieving husband’s despair was movingly expressed in a letter to his friend Henry Gourdin, as noted in Ernest McPherson Lander Jr.’s work on the Calhoun family and Thomas Clemson: “How disconsolate and wretched I feel,” he wrote, “it is impossible for anyone to imagine.” There was little comfort for Clemson who buried his wife beside their son in the St. Paul’s Pendleton churchyard.²

Courtship and Marriage

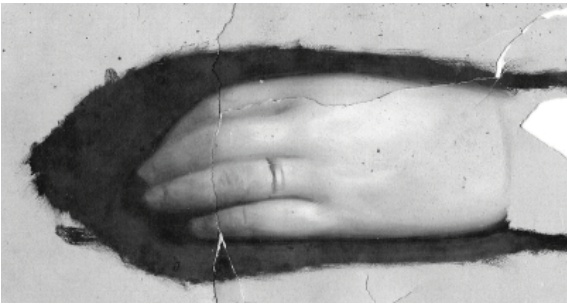
The marriage of Anna Maria Calhoun at age twenty-one and Thomas Green Clemson, ten years her senior, was undeniably an emotional union based on love rather than a family arrangement that had typified nuptials in the 1700s. Their courtship that began in Washington, D.C., in the spring of 1838 brought together a most unlikely couple. Working for three years with her father in the nation’s capital as the copyist of some of his correspondence along with other writings, Anna had expressed a determination never to marry. Usefulness to her father, she felt, was a primary purpose in her life, and the close companionship she shared with Calhoun could well have continued had she not fallen in love with Thomas Clemson, a worldly, well-educated confirmed bachelor from Philadelphia. Although said to have declared there was no woman whom he would ever marry, Clemson was apparently quite smitten by Anna’s character and loveliness. Captivated by her large, dark eyes, their extraordinary animation softened by sweetness, he wooed and won the woman who, as a southern lady, obviously identified with class over section in considering marriage to a “Yankee” such as Clemson.³

In all likelihood Anna met the man for whom she would consent to leave her father through Senator Louis Linn of Missouri, a colleague of Calhoun as well as a business associate of Clemson and an acquaintance of Anna since her days at Dowson’s Capitol Hill boarding house during her first winter in Washington. Whatever the circumstances of the introduction, sometime between Clemson and Anna’s meeting in May of 1838 and her departure for South Carolina with her father in mid-July, she had accepted the proposal of Thomas Clemson.⁴

Six weeks after their parting and with no word from Miss Anna Calhoun in response to his letters, Clemson passionately reaffirmed his feelings for her: “My very much beloved dear Anna—I live through you—you are more dear than life—your happiness is my only desire—you are the first and the last—the blessed

idol of my life.” Although they had apparently reached “an understanding” before she left Washington for her family’s Fort Hill plantation, the fact that he had heard nothing from her since then not only added to the ardor of his affections, but bewildered him as well. After almost a dozen epistles and no answer, Clemson, writing on August 19, likened his worry to “a load of excruciating suspense and accumulating anxiety” as to the welfare of one for whom he had declared his love. Fortunately, he heard from Anna the following day and experienced what he described as a most remarkable “revolution of feeling.” Happy that her mother and father and sister-in-law Margaret spoke kindly of him, he expressed with certainty his belief that “if love and devoted affection to Anna will veil my numerous and various faults, then I shall be perfect.”⁵

While true that Anna was likely closer to her father than anyone else and that her place in his life was never filled by another after she married Clemson, it can be said that in their case the father gained a son rather than lost a daughter. The smart and multi-skilled Clemson had many attributes characteristic of his illustrious father-in-law. According to some observers of Clemson’s tall, lean stature and dark hair, he even resembled Calhoun. Nevertheless the ultimate significance of giving away his daughter in marriage, albeit to a man he trusted, was not lost on Calhoun. According to his eldest son Andrew, his father was decidedly more “abstracted” than “affable” at the candlelight wedding ceremony and lavish celebration attended by many guests at Fort Hill on the evening of November 13, 1838.⁶



Study of a woman’s delicate hand with the wedding band of Anna Calhoun Clemson, the only extant artist-board portrait study by Thomas Green Clemson, Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.

Anna’s marriage to Clemson committed her as a wife and eventually as a mother to the traditional duties of domesticity, a virtue of increasing stature in the nineteenth century. Like all married women of her day, she would follow her man’s lead and hold their family together, despite the sometimes perilous path of the journey. The road she traveled with her husband was for her by far the most difficult one that she faced. She gave him her love and loyalty above all others as she relinquished “the cherished object” of her life in her father for a choice she thought to be “*the best*” in Clemson. Initially a man resolved in his actions, he was loving and supportive to her. But Anna soon realized that he was tormented in both mind and body by a misunderstood mental illness. Unable to fulfill her own

**Pedigree Chart for
Anna Maria Calhoun**

John Caldwell Calhoun

B: 18 Mar 1782 in Calhoun Mills, SC
M: 08 Jan 1811 in Charleston, SC
D: 31 Mar 1850 in Washington, DC

Anna Maria Calhoun

B: 13 Feb 1817 in Bath Plantation, Willington, SC
M: 13 Nov 1838 in Fort Hill, Oconee Cty, SC
D: 22 Sep 1875 in Fort Hill, Oconee Cty, SC

Floride Bonneau Colhoun

B: 15 Feb 1792 in Bonneau's Ferry, SC
D: 25 Jul 1866 in Pendleton, SC

Patrick Calhoun, II

B: 11 Jan 1727 in Donegal, Ireland
M: 02 Jun 1770
D: 15 Feb 1796 in Calhoun Mills, SC

Martha Caldwell

B: 1750 in Newberry, SC
D: 1802 in Calhoun Mills, SC

John Ewing Colhoun

B: 1750
M: 1776 in St John's Parish, SC
D: 26 Oct 1802 in Keowee Heights, Pendleton District, SC

Floride Bonneau

B: 08 Oct 1768
D: 1836

(James) Patrick Calhoun, I

B: 1680 in Donegal, Ireland
D: 1741 in Lancaster Cty, PA

Catherine Montgomery

B: 1684 in Ulster, Ireland
D: 01 Feb 1760 in Long Cane, Troy, SC

Ezekiel Calhoun

B: 1723 in Donegal, Ireland
D: 1762

Jean Ewing

Samuel Bonneau

B: 1726
D: 06 Nov 1789 in Bonneau's Ferry, SC

Mary

B: 1725
D: 05 Nov 1791 in Bonneau's Ferry, SC

individual identity in her relationship with her husband, she would ultimately find personal happiness in that of her children.⁷



Mrs. Thomas G. Clemson and her children, Floride Elizabeth and John Calhoun. Tinted photograph, ca. 1848. Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.

Following in Clemson's footsteps, Anna traveled in the North; then to Havana, Cuba; to a "*Miner's Hut*" in Georgia; to a dilapidated domicile on the Canebrake plantation in Edgefield District of South Carolina; and finally abroad to Belgium. The separation from her family, especially her father, during the six years of Clemson's diplomatic service at the court of King Léopold I in Brussels, was particularly painful for Anna who dreamed every night of the pleasure of seeing them all again. She felt deeply the distance from her parents and found herself unimpressed with whatever the Europeans valued as treasures. Limited by the responsibility of her two small children and the lack of money from living on her husband's government wages, Anna did not enjoy her experience abroad. She also was concerned for the operation of their Canebrake plantation. However, she supported Clemson's diplomatic endeavors by assuming secretarial duties for the American legation and by accepting social invitations for evening affairs, despite the domestic demands of her days. After a little more than six years spent in Belgium, she gladly returned to the United States with Clemson and their children, Calhoun and Floride, in April of 1851. Following a summer at Fort Hill, she moved about with her family for another two years to various locations in the North before finally settling on a farm near Washington in August of 1853. Un-

able to obtain a foreign post in the administration of President Millard Fillmore's successor, Franklin Pierce, Clemson had decided to resume farming after having sold his Canebrake property in South Carolina since returning from Europe. However, he still maintained an interest in government service.⁸

Life with a Troubled Man

Grateful to have her own home place, Anna designated the farm her husband had purchased in Bladensburg, Maryland, as simply "The Home" and proceeded to cope with the demands of managing her household there. During the following years Clemson's increasing irascibility made life difficult for those around him and particularly Anna, who tried to promote family love and harmony in every way. She had earlier revealed much about the nature of her relationship with her husband in a letter of sympathetic advice addressed from abroad to her ailing brother Patrick in 1850. "Don't give way to low spirits," she had written to Pat. She reminded him of her own ill health for four years, from the death of her first-born infant 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 humor and cheer up again. "The fits," she said, "are far apart & yield easily to my efforts."⁹

Anna's belief that her husband's mental state was much improved toward the end of their stay in Belgium was short-lived as his disposition back at home became increasingly moody. The condition of dysthymia from which Clemson apparently suffered caused a chronically depressed mood that negatively affected his actions, especially with regard to such medical symptoms as "subjective feelings of irritability or excessive anger," "poor appetite," and "feelings of hopelessness." It is not surprising that without pharmacological therapy, now recognized as effective treatment of a depressive personality, Anna's attempts to cheer her husband out of what she called the "*blues*" only succeeded in the short term. Today, with appropriate therapy, including not only drugs but also counseling and psychotherapy,

an estimated 80 percent of clinically depressed people can improve quickly. Life-long relief from this widespread psychological illness is, by all accounts, realistic. Unfortunately, however, in Clemson's case, without the care that is now available, the seriousness of his misunderstood condition worsened and caused personal distress and disability within his family, despite all that Anna could do to keep the familial peace she prized dearly.¹⁰

Anna wrote to her daughter Floride away at her Aunt Elizabeth Barton's boarding school in Philadelphia in September of 1856 that her father ate little but complained much, knowing that the thirteen-year-old would be glad to hear that he was still very kind and amiable. She admonished Floride not to mention this in her response that Clemson would probably read, because she did not wish him to think mother and daughter spoke of such matters. Aunt Barton, who was Clemson's younger sister, could be trusted to keep the subject of her brother's depression confidential. As he seemed to miss both Floride and her brother Calhoun, who at age fifteen was being treated for a spinal condition in Northampton, Massachusetts, Clemson was more devoted than ever to his little one-year-old daughter Cornelia (Nina) born in the fall of 1855. Anna, who knew Floride would know how lost she was without her and Calhoun, confided to her daughter that "If it were not for baby, I could not stand it." Despite being far from well, Clemson remained pleasant and amiable though as usual convinced, according to Anna, that he would "die in a poor house."¹¹ Anna obviously tried to spare her daughter from worry by softening verbally the realities of daily life she faced with her husband.

A typical example of expenses that worried Clemson was the calisthenics training that Anna thought necessary for Floride's educational curriculum. As Anna did not like to oppose Clemson's wishes, she regretted that his sister, rather than speaking to him about Floride's taking the course, had not simply billed him for the cost to which he typically objected beforehand. Distressed also at his refusal to give money for a cloak that his sister said Floride needed, Anna herself promised to send \$20 in March to pay for the item. She also sent her daughter \$5 bank notes that she had received from her widowed mother, Floride Calhoun, in South Carolina.¹²

With young Calhoun Clemson's return home from the North in November of 1856, Anna, along with Clemson, concluded that the young teenager's health must take precedence in their lives for the next few years. Unable to do any reading or writing because of headaches, Calhoun, like his parents, worried about his backwardness that Anna instructed Floride not to mention to him. Not only did Clemson try by conversation to interest his son in science, but according to Anna, he also continued to keep up with the water cure treatment that Calhoun had undergone in Massachusetts. Rousing the household at five o'clock in the morning with his preparations, Clemson proceeded to pack the unwilling boy for

one hour in a wet sheet, covered by five blankets. He then rubbed his son with a wet and then a dry sheet and later in the day supervised a sitz bath with Calhoun wrapped in a blanket in a tub of water for thirty minutes. A wet bandage worn around his waist and a diet of the simplest food completed the hated regimen that Calhoun called the “water tortures.” “I really feel for him,” Anna wrote to Floride, and added, “it is enough to run one crazy, to see the state of the two rooms, which I must right up.”¹³

Calhoun’s condition did improve by Christmas and New Year’s, and by the spring of 1857, Anna also had good news to report to Floride about her father’s having been approached by the Belgian minister, M. Bosch, in regard to the possibility of his being sent back to Europe. Upon instructions from the minister of foreign affairs and King Léopold I, Bosch had requested that the new U.S. president, James Buchanan, and his secretary of state, Lewis Cass, give the Belgian mission to Clemson, who felt highly complimented. As the matter appeared certain, Clemson made plans to sell *The Home* if possible and have Anna live with Floride in a house in Philadelphia near his youngest sister, Catharine North. Calling the mission a godsend for her husband, Anna thought it the best thing that could happen, as she told Floride that her father’s worrying and dissatisfaction made himself and everyone around him miserable. In particular, she said, “it is a good thing Calhoun should be separated from him for a while,” and, although she disliked greatly both the idea of leaving *The Home* and the trouble of moving, the pleasure of being with her daughter again reconciled her to the situation.¹⁴

However, after six weeks with no commitment by the administration to Clemson’s appointment to the Belgian post, the possibility of his resuming diplomatic service became much less certain. President Buchanan later said that great political pressure prevented him from acceding to Belgium’s request on behalf of Clemson. Whatever the case, since, according to Anna, he had been “so buoyed up” by the hope of getting “so essential” an office, she dreaded the effect this disappointment would have on him. Thus instead of preparing to move in June of 1857, she, along with the whole household, anxiously awaited Floride’s homecoming from school.¹⁵

Apparently the fourteen-year-old’s summer stay at *The Home* turned out to be a stressful one, ending in a family quarrel on the day she departed for Philadelphia in September. Described by Anna as “that thunder storm,” the unexplained dispute followed three months of friction and seemingly “left no material for further explosives.” Since her daughter’s departure “Quiet, if not peace, has reigned,” she wrote to Floride. Clemson’s failure to receive the diplomatic appointment to Belgium could well have resulted in a depressive spiral characterized by a dysphoric state of anxiety with an irritability that contributed to hostility between father and daughter.¹⁶

Even though Clemson would not improve much, Anna nevertheless wanted Floride back at school to let her mind be at ease. Calhoun, she said, was unusually affectionate and attentive to her at home, and they got on very well. In fact the arrival of Anna's brother Pat, "a favourite" with her husband, meant "no change or storm," since, as she reminded Floride, Clemson was always more pleasant in her uncle's presence.¹⁷



Carrara marble bust of Cornelia (Nina) Clemson. Sculpted ca. 1858 by Hiram Powers (1805–1873). Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.

Clemson's decision, despite Anna's disapproval, to send Calhoun to study with his uncle, The Reverend Baker Clemson, in Claymont, Delaware, led to a hard stint of loneliness for her. With Floride already away at her Aunt Barton's academy in Philadelphia, Anna wrote to her daughter, "If it were not for Nina, I do not think I could bear it." The little girl, at a year-and-a-half and "one of the smartest children," in her mother's eyes, would sit at length on her father's lap and call herself "papa's Nina."

Some months following both Calhoun and Floride's return to The Home, it was their little sister's unexpected death from scarlet fever on December 20, 1858, that provoked such despondency in Clemson that Anna's mother in South Carolina urged her daughter to do all in her power to prevent her husband from committing suicide. In a letter that she had received from him almost eight months after Nina's passing, Mrs. Calhoun found her son-in-law to be "still dwelling on going to his child," because "life is a burden to him." Fearing that he would put an end to himself, she admonished Anna that he would lose his mind or something worse if he did not lay aside those awful feelings. Apparently the severe emotional stress caused by his daughter's death had brought about a clinical condition of double depression with a major depressive episode superimposed on the distraught Clemson's dysthymic disorder.¹⁸

Shortly after Mrs. Calhoun's warning, Anna learned from Laura Leupp, the daughter of Clemson's close friend and financial advisor, Charles Leupp, that her own father had committed suicide. Leupp, a wealthy New York City leather merchant, had shot himself, partly the result of his involvement with financial schemer Jay Gould. This news deepened the despondency that Clemson had suffered since Nina's death. He sounded "so depressed in spirits" in a letter to his uncle Elias Baker, who expressed his astonishment at such language of despair from one whom he thought should be a happy and contented man. "You must not *always* look at the 'Black Side' of things," had been his uncle's response to

Clemson's grumbly complaints, as he advised him to look instead on the bright side. Although sympathetic to the pain of Clemson's loss of both his little daughter and friend Charles Leupp, Elias reminded his nephew that he had a wonderful wife and two fine children, a competence in money matters, and the enjoyment of a lovely home. "Why should you," he wrote, "grumble, complain, and make yourself miserable?" If all was well with Anna, then Clemson, his Uncle Elias maintained, should not complain about anything.¹⁹

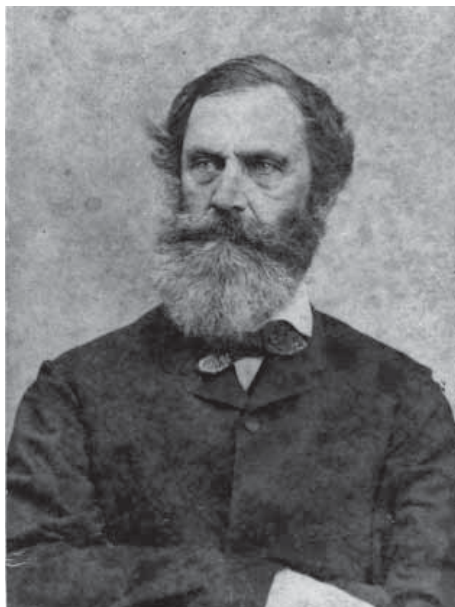
Anna may well not have shared fully with Clemson her personal feelings of sadness in the aftermath of Nina's death. In her personal album, however, she had written poignantly of her sorrow. Questioning where her "angel" Nina was, why she was taken, and what the nature of their relationship would be "in another world," Anna grieved at the thought that mother and child would never meet again. A child's devotion and sweet dependence, so special to a mother, would, she wrote, be lost forever, and any meeting of the spirit hereafter a disappointment to her heart. Recalling other loved ones as well in a reverie of the past when she was young and happy, she felt her heart close and life become once more sad and gloomy with the approach of a footstep (perhaps that of her husband).²⁰

Evident here in her album's private expression of sentiments is the effect, in part, of Clemson's desolation and despair on his wife, his "very much beloved dear Anna." Understanding what psychiatric scholar Kay Redfield Jamison describes as the "compelling, contagious, and profoundly interpersonal" nature of moods, one can see how Clemson's depressive disorder altered not only his own perceptions and behaviors, but Anna's as well.²¹

While Floride went south in the fall of 1859 to spend some time with her grandmother, Anna remained with Clemson and Calhoun at The Home. Apparently she must have indicated some apprehension about her daughter's not being there to her sister-in-law Sue, the wife of Clemson's younger brother William. Her sister-in-law, who hoped that she would have a pleasanter winter than anticipated, wondered why she had not kept Floride with her and sent Calhoun away as she had thought of doing. "Sister Sue" also urged Anna to confide openly about her son's condition. William Clemson, in a letter to his niece Floride, made his own caustic comments about her "*poor sick brother*," but expressed real concern that her "poor mother" would be "cooped up" during the winter with her husband and eighteen-year-old son. "I am afraid it will be more than she can bear," he wrote, trusting that God would "protect her." Irritated about Calhoun's not going to school and instead being allowed to hunt and ride and generally do as he pleased in order "to restore his *weak and shattered* frame and *strengthen* his delicate *constitution*," his uncle exclaimed, "Poor boy! what will he turn out to be?"²²

Calhoun in fact soon left The Home for a hunting and fishing expedition to Florida in the company of his English friend, G. H. Dunscomb. Anna, "cooped up with only her husband," wrote to Floride that her "father is uncommonly ami-

Thomas Green Clemson from a carte de visite, ca. 1860. Printed on the reverse: "Alex Gardner Photographer to the Army of the Potomac/Galleries/511 Seventh Street and 332 Pennsylvania Av/ Published by Philip & Solomons, Washington DC." Littlejohn Photographs, Special Collections, Clemson University Libraries.



able, as he always is when we are alone, both because he is dependent on me & when you children are not here, many reasons why I must interfere with him do not exist, & I can let him do as he chooses." Nevertheless she admonished her daughter to guard her comments in correspondence, as her father always asked to read her letters and seemed to be much interested in them.²³

When in January of 1860 Clemson accepted the offer of Secretary of the Interior Jacob Thompson to head the Patent Office's agricultural department, Anna felt that the occupation would be a great thing for him, and he in turn was much pleased by the opportunity. Finding her husband to be in excellent health and spirits at the time he assumed the duties of his position in February, she thought the government work would be rejuvenating for him, even though the \$2,000 salary was much less than he had anticipated.²⁴

Anna informed Floride that her father got on famously in his new office. And describing their preparation for spring planting on the farm, she wrote, "you know I am overseer," with Clemson giving the orders and she herself having them executed. Anna was also pleased to note her husband's inclination to improve the place and hoped that he would continue in that spirit.

She made no direct mention of the fact that she was pregnant with her fifth child, although she indicated needing household help for the summer. In early March 1860, at age forty-three, she suffered a miscarriage. "I cannot imagine what *caused the accident*," she told Floride and Mrs. Calhoun. Since she had felt badly for three months, she supposed "it was to be." Even though still somewhat weak and confined to bed by the doctor, she was, she said, wonderfully well. "Your father," she assured Floride, "is as kind as he knows how. He was terribly frightened & stranger still very much *disappointed*." Perhaps Anna's considering Clemson's disappointment as strange could signify a greater sense of relief rather than grief on her part in the matter.²⁵

While recuperating after her miscarriage, she had a vision of her father John C. Calhoun, who had been dead for ten years; Anna subsequently recorded in her album his appearance to her in the dream:

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 measure your soul, & when you come on this side all will be clear.

Anna seemed to hear from her father the words she wished to speak but did not dare say to her husband:

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 should 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 1860²⁶

We will have to surmise the actual meaning of this encounter with her father for Anna, but there are various levels of interpretation given by The Reverend Bob Haden, an authority in dream analysis for therapists, clergy, and individuals. Haden suggests that, from the spiritual perspective, the dream primarily reflects communication with a world beyond this one and therefore is reassuring of its existence. In a secular sense, it shows the strong bond that Anna shared with Calhoun. Representing the “wise old man” with a message for Anna and Clemson, her father is a positive, “primary animus” (animating or actuating spirit) figure, advising each “to strive to know & do the right, & elevate by every measure your soul.” In that phrase, Anna could well have thought she heard an echo of Calhoun’s often expressed motto, “The duties of life are greater than life itself.” Clemson, the “other primary animus figure,” represents a certain negative aspect of Anna’s

“critical nature within” that somehow restricts the development of her character to its possible potential. The dream in part is about her need as a wife to work with Clemson in order to fulfill her own individual identity, and it seems to be calling for her to “receive the wisdom” from Calhoun and convey its message to Clemson. Her alienation from the man she had once thought to be “*the best*” is evident, since the vision of Calhoun directs Anna to tell him, first, that he must heed his advice “or those he loves will be as invisible to him on this side as they are now,” and, second, that “he has not fulfilled the trust” with which Calhoun gave him his daughter. Although Anna recorded the dream soon after its occurrence, she did not show it to anyone until she gave a copy to close family friend, James Rion, fifteen years later in 1875, fully aware that he would later show it to Clemson.²⁷

During her recuperation after the miscarriage, Anna received understanding and affectionate letters from Floride. She basked in her daughter’s love since she got “so little of that kind of thing.” Despite the fact that Clemson’s disposition had improved dramatically since his suicidal sentiments had so concerned Mrs. Calhoun and his uncle Elias Baker, he apparently could not communicate with his wife. The “feelings of hopelessness” symptomatic of Clemson’s condition of dysthymia caused “clinically significant distress or impairment” in his relations with others and could well have prevented the expression of emotions Anna longed to hear.²⁸

Soon after the return of both Floride and Calhoun to The Home in the spring of 1860, Clemson went to Europe on official government business that summer.



Left: Photograph of John Calhoun Clemson, age 20, lieutenant in the Confederate Army, in Civil War uniform, ca. 1861. Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University. **Right:** Daguerreotype of Floride Elizabeth Clemson, age 15, ca. 1858. Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.

Back home from abroad at the end of October, he was, according to Anna, in a “*wonderfully good humour*,” although “how much longer it may last,” she said to Floride, “there is no knowing.” With Calhoun off to South Carolina to spend time in the company of his grandmother and great-uncle James and Floride in New York City visiting her friend Laura Leupp, Anna was getting anxious to have her daughter at home again. Floride’s cooperation, she felt, would be necessary if the household was to live tranquilly as Clemson seemed most desirous to do. “Let it not be our fault,” she continued, “if he again breaks out” in anger. Begging her daughter for both of their sakes to act patiently with her father upon her return home, she asked of Floride no more than she demanded of herself. “I make no reference to past events, & strive to avoid all subjects of discussion,” Anna wrote.²⁹

Glad that Calhoun, now in fine spirits, was going to do all in his power to please his Uncle James in South Carolina and hopeful that all might turn out well for her son in the year ahead, Anna still worried what action would result from the recent election of antislavery Republican President Abraham Lincoln. Sympathetic to southern sentiments that felt Lincoln’s election pushed to extremity the reasons to secede, she acknowledged that South Carolina and all the South “could not perhaps draw back from their solemnly expressed determination without dishonour.” Anarchy and confusion seemed inevitable since Anna had no faith in disunion as a “*remedy*.” Nevertheless she gloried to think that her state preferred “death to dishonour” and trusted that all might turn out better than she could imagine possible. She did not want to be blamed if the Office of Superintendent of Agricultural Affairs that was “*all important*” to her husband was terminated. She said little about what Clemson should do, leaving him, she said to Floride, “free to act as he pleases.”³⁰

The Civil War Years and Its Aftermath

Clemson resigned his government position on March 9, 1861, following the formation of the Confederate States of America in February. South Carolina had led the way by seceding in December under the political leadership of Anna’s cousin, Governor Francis Pickens. The promise for the future that Anna had felt when her husband received his government appointment in January of 1860 was now overshadowed with peril as war erupted in April of 1861, dividing the country for four years and separating families, such as the Clemsons. Clemson and Calhoun left Maryland in June and ultimately joined the Confederate forces, although Anna and Floride did not go south until near the end of the fighting.³¹

Mother and daughter moved temporarily in June of 1864 to a comfortable five-room place outside of Beltsville, near Baltimore and on the railroad. Having rented out The Home and its land, they had the troublesome task of packing up personal possessions that they could not carry with them. Anna must have been particularly concerned about her husband’s collection of paintings acquired dur-

ing his diplomatic tenure in Brussels. Along with his own amateur works in oil, some of them copied from King Léopold's acquisitions in the Royal Art Galleries, were pieces attributed to such notables as Rubens, Hals, Robbe, and Bossuet. Anna carefully packed and sent them to relatives in Altoona, Pennsylvania, where they safely survived the war.³²

Six months after their harrowing journey south in the summer of 1865, Anna and Floride were reunited first with Calhoun and then Clemson at Mrs. Calhoun's "Mi Casa" home in Pendleton. Mrs. Calhoun had sold Fort Hill to her son Andrew back in 1854, and his death shortly before the war's end in the spring of 1865 left Anna as the survivor of all of her siblings and Andrew's debt for the purchase of Fort Hill still owed to his mother. To Floride, her brother Calhoun who came back from the Civil War on foot looked "very handsome & well, considering his privations" in a Yankee prison on Johnson's Island in Lake Erie for twenty-one months. Her father, she thought, also looked "pretty well for a man well on to 60." Clemson, who was discharged from the Army of the Trans-Mississippi Department, had signed his Parole in very shaky script in Shreveport, Louisiana, on June 9. He arrived in Pendleton on July 1, riding unceremoniously in an open wagon on the morning of his fifty-eighth birthday. A little over two weeks after their reunion at Mi Casa, Floride found her father to be nicer and more pleasant than she had ever seen him. She described him as really affectionate and amiable and "a dear old fellow."³³

The Clemsons during the war had experienced hardship and adversity, but although the crisis of conflict was now over, perhaps the most difficult days were yet to come. The war had staggered South Carolina's economy; the post-bellum result was widespread suffering throughout the state. The once prosperous Pendleton was now a place of misery and need, and those who had lived the good life there were reduced to varying stages of abject poverty. The white citizens of Pendleton and throughout South Carolina continued to fight for the right to control their community's affairs and restore its order and harmony. Both Anna and Thomas Clemson had a strong social sense that was sympathetic to the distress of those around them. She especially participated in every good endeavor and distinguished herself among her neighbors. In the role of community leader that she undertook alongside her husband, her service was a true credit to the memory of her father whose maxim (mentioned earlier), "The duties of life are greater than life itself," she had often imparted to her son as a young boy. Not surprisingly then, amid the community's prevailing poverty, the Clemsons contacted some of their wealthy northern friends and asked for money to provide relief for the pitiful plight of their neighbors. The friendships of the elite that had transcended the sectionalism between the North and South both before and during the war continued in its aftermath as well.

Acknowledging the receipt of \$500 in April of 1866 from Washington banker William Wilson Corcoran, Anna not only thanked him for his noble gift, but also for the pleasure it gave her to bring comfort to so many. Clemson also appealed to Corcoran for financial aid in rebuilding the shattered economic life of South Carolina and was hopeful that the state would still live with help from many such supporters as he.³⁴

Anna encouraged her husband's interest in the promotion of scientific education in the South by making their home a focus of life in Pendleton and providing hospitality to those who shared his vision of an animated system of agriculture as the main remedy to the distress which the region was suffering. However, her primary concern in the summer of 1866 was the constant care required by her mother, whose yearlong ordeal with cancer mercifully came to an end on July 25. According to the terms of Mrs. Calhoun's will, inclusive of codicil, read on August 6, Anna was her mother's principal heir. She was the first recipient of three-fourths of the bond and mortgage claim on Fort Hill owed to her mother by her brother Andrew's estate, along with most of the extant personal property and furniture, silver, and jewels. Given the right to dispose of the Fort Hill inheritance in "a last will and testament duly executed by her," Anna could do with the Calhoun home place as she saw fit. Floride, who acknowledged her grandmother's generous part on her own behalf, received outright a fourth part of the Fort Hill property title and was the designated successor to her mother's separate estate that would go to her brother Calhoun only if Floride died without either a will or an heir.³⁵

Some four months before her death, Mrs. Calhoun had filed suit against her son Andrew's family for his estate's unpaid, almost \$40,000 debt for Fort Hill. A few weeks before her death in July of 1866, the court decision for foreclosure against her daughter-in-law Margaret and grandchildren was issued. Andrew's heirs immediately appealed the verdict against them and began a legal battle for reversal that would last until early in 1872. Since Anna had inherited from her mother three-fourths of the securities in dispute, the case in question was of special significance for the Clemsons.³⁶

A Shared Project in the Midst of Tragedies

Despite the fact that Clemson was a plaintiff in the problematic litigation over the ownership of Fort Hill, he continued to make the case for scientific education in the South his priority. Well qualified for leadership in the Pendleton Farmers' Society with his expertise in agricultural affairs, he was elected in 1866 and again in 1868 as its president, a position formerly held by John C. Calhoun. As part of a committee he appealed by "Circular" for the founding of "an institution for educating our people in the sciences to the end that our agriculture be improved, our worn impoverished lands be recuperated, and the great natural resources of the South developed." Concluding that the location of such an institution would

appear best adapted to upper South Carolina, “not excelled, if equalled” for health and climate by any other part of the continent, the “Circular” claimed the picturesque mountain region comparable to Switzerland. Unfortunately the distribution of this printed directive did not generate the widespread support needed for such an enterprise. Clemson became utterly discouraged by the seeming lack of interest in scientific education in the South and withdrew from the Pendleton Farmers’ Society in 1870. He would later renew his efforts for a school with his wife’s support.³⁷

Anna was sympathetic to her husband’s goal and understood the discouragement he felt at his inability to promote an interest in the scientific study of agriculture. At the same time she was pleased that Floride, who in 1869 had married Gideon Lee Jr. of New York, was happy in her new life at their “Leeside” home in Carmel. The birth of a baby girl, Floride Isabella, on May 15, 1870, not only brought much joy to the family, but also made more meaningful than ever the relationship Anna shared with her daughter. Writing from Leeside early in 1871, Floride assured her mother that the baby, who had been ill and weak and without any liveliness, was trying to play, calling her father, sitting up feebly, and even giving faint smiles. In a telling reference to Clemson’s apparent antagonism toward his daughter, Floride wrote, “As to father’s anger with me, it is probably not real.... I am sorry for it, but know nothing I could do would help it. I know if the chance comes you’ll make the best of it.” Very likely Clemson’s frustration at the failure to interest others in the scientific study of agriculture not only aroused his ire toward the South, but affected his attitude toward Floride as well. The effect of this important issue on Clemson also must have had an impact on Anna.³⁸

Unfortunately, the untimely death of twenty-eight-year-old Floride Clemson Lee (probably from tuberculosis peritonitis) on July 23, 1871, left a grief-stricken family who mourned her loss and a child who would never know her mother. Stunned by the demise of their daughter, the Clemsons were even further devastated by the sudden death of their thirty-year-old son Calhoun, who was killed instantly in a train wreck only seventeen days later on August 10. Referring to the tragic accident in a note of sympathy, friend Henry Gourdin said simply, “Humanity cannot comprehend the justice of such terrible calamities.”³⁹

Anna, now alone beside her husband, faced a man grown old and bitter. Disheartened by his earlier failed efforts to establish an agricultural school for South Carolina and now despondent at the death of his children, Clemson depended upon his wife to sustain his sagging spirits. His discouragement about the school he had envisioned was overshadowed by the unnatural tragedy they had endured. However, his dream of an agricultural and mechanical college for South Carolina now became increasingly important to Anna who began to think of it as a merited monument to her father and their son. Despite the legal controversy that prevailed with her brother Andrew’s family over her inheritance of the property

from her mother's estate, she knew that the land needed for such an institution would be hers when the matter was settled and she took possession of Fort Hill. Making her last will and testament within two months after her son's death, Anna left ownership of all present and future property in her own estate, as well as the right to give away said inheritance, to her "beloved husband." Should she survive him or should he as the survivor die intestate, her "granddaughter, Isabella Lee," would become her heir.⁴⁰

Litigation involving Anna and Clemson, acting as her trustee, in connection with her brother Andrew's family over the estate of Floride Calhoun, was settled by an auction of the Fort Hill property in nearby Walhalla on January 21, 1872. Mrs. Calhoun's executor, lawyer Edward Noble, secured Fort Hill for Anna by his bid on the property with the mortgage willed to her as its principal recipient. Her deceased daughter Floride's fourth part of the Fort Hill deed had passed to her own child, Anna's granddaughter. Except for insignificant court costs, no money was involved as Anna inherited her three-fourths share of the estate and Floride Isabella Lee, her mother's one-fourth. The following year Anna and Gideon Lee, as his daughter's guardian, officially apportioned the property with Anna receiving 814 acres, including the Fort Hill home where she and her husband were already living, and young Floride 288 acres. With Clemson as the heir to Anna's real property and estate, the opportunity for him to establish the agricultural college that he had long desired was thus made possible by the bequest of his wife, signed and sealed on September 29, 1871.⁴¹

The long spell of cold and disagreeable weather that followed the settlement of Mrs. Calhoun's estate in January of 1872 was, as Anna reported to her Uncle James at his Millwood plantation, "very hard on Mr Clemson's health & spirits—confining him to the house, & preventing persons coming in to distract his mind." Despite Clemson's continuing very indifferent disposition and her own discomfort with neuralgia, she was looking forward to a visit from her son-in-law who planned to escort her and her husband back to his home in New York. In the midst of preparations to move from Mi Casa to Fort Hill, the stay at Leaside was a happy interlude after a wearisome, four-day journey by land from Pendleton to Carmel. Clemson's health was better and his spirits somewhat improved at first. However, he seemed to Anna "gradually falling back into the old hopeless state," and she greatly feared he would never be better. Their "dear little grandchild," she found "very bright & interesting," "very affectionate," and "wonderfully little spoilt, *considering*."⁴²

Finally to Fort Hill

The Clemsons returned to Mi Casa after more than two weeks in the North and were able to move to Fort Hill at the end of June 1872. They found the farm in much disorder after several years of tenant occupancy, with the exception of the

main house. In Anna's view, the "utter neglect, & wanton mutilation of the place" by her brother Andrew's family was a disgrace. Clemson's rift with Anna's brother Andrew over money had ultimately ruined her relationship with him and his family over the years. Loyalty to her husband superseded all else for this essentially good sister who had always taken her sibling role seriously. Once again a planter, Clemson, like others in the South during the post-bellum period, was forced to enter into contractual relationships with free black laborers in an attempt to find replacements for their former slaves. However, his central concern, like Anna's, was the promotion of interest in the school they both wanted to establish.⁴³

On August 9, 1874, Anna personally selected a committee to issue a "Circular" calling for statewide support of a plan to build on land at Fort Hill a scientific agricultural institution whose existence would commemorate the career of her father. Prepared by William Henry Trescot, one of the leading scholars of the state, the "Circular," as cited in the 1937 Clemson biography by Alester G. Holmes and George R. Sherrill, was entitled "Scientific Education" and noted the Calhoun legacy at Fort Hill and the statesman's role in South Carolina history. "No nobler monument could be raised to the great Carolinian," asserted the Circular, "than such an institution on the spot where the tradition of his great and beautiful life would be most strongly felt." Four years later in a letter to his Washington friend, W. W. Corcoran, Clemson himself would ask for help with the school project that he and Anna, lacking funds, had been unsuccessfully promoting.⁴⁴

Anna complained little about her health problems. She was much overweight and suffered from neuralgia and heart trouble that could take her life suddenly, as it had that of her brother Andrew. On September 22, 1875, while Clemson was away from home, he received word from a messenger that his wife was quite sick. Hurrying home in his buggy, he met a servant just outside the inner gate of the yard who told him respectfully, in answer to his inquiry about her condition, that she was dead. Horrified at the news, he rose up and gave his horse a tremendous cut. As the animal dashed through the gate, the wheels of the buggy hit the gate post so that Clemson was pitched some distance from the vehicle, causing some to think for a time that he, too, was dead.⁴⁵

At age fifty-eight Anna had succumbed to a heart attack as she had predicted she would. Family and acquaintances of the Clemsons were formally invited to attend afternoon funeral services for her at St. Paul's Church in Pendleton on September 24, the same day that the *News and Courier* in Charleston carried the announcement of her death, under the heading *Death of Mrs. Clemson*:

Mrs. Clemson, the last surviving child of the Hon. John C. Calhoun, died at Fort Hill, Pendleton on Wednesday evening at 5 o'clock. The tidings of her death, which will be universally regretted, carry the people of South Carolina back, in thought, to the time when her illustrious father guided the destinies of

the State, and remind them how often, in the trying days since the war, we have vainly longed for a single hour of that 'dead Dundee.'⁴⁶

Apparently the month before Anna's death, close family friend James Rion had visited Fort Hill, and it was then that Anna gave him a copy of the dream, recorded in her album, in which a vision of her father had appeared to her fifteen years earlier. Presumably she expected Rion to share with Clemson her father's message to her and her husband, which Rion later did. Thinking that the end could possibly be near for her, as it proved to be, and aware of what difficult days would lie ahead for Clemson, she obviously wanted him, in the words of her father, "to continue to strive to know & do the right." With concern for his welfare in light of all that they had lost and perhaps fearful of what he might do when left alone, she left out from Rion's copy of the dream the direction from her father to tell Clemson that he had "not fulfilled the trust" with which he had given him his daughter. Thomas Clemson would never know how much he had failed his "very much beloved dear Anna." Cursed with chronic depression throughout their marriage, he could neither control his belligerent behavior nor convey convincingly the "love and devoted affection" he had professed for her on the eve of their marriage.⁴⁷

Three months after Anna's death, Clemson sent a copy of his wife's vision of her father to spiritualist Dr. John J. F. Gray for an explanation of its meaning. The two men had met a few years earlier when Clemson, while visiting at his son-in-law's in Carmel, had attended séances in New York City. Evidently interested in spiritualism, he had, according to Anna, enjoyed "wonderful experiences" communicating with the spirit world. Glad to hear from Clemson personally and to possess a copy of the vision, Dr. Gray replied with absolute certainty that "Mr. Calhoun appeared to & spoke with his daughter, as related by her." The powerful phenomenon of Calhoun's presence was apparently more meaningful to Dr. Gray and presumably to Clemson as well than the dutiful message of Calhoun's spirit to "continue to strive to know & do the right."⁴⁸ However, Thomas Clemson's later founding of the school Anna wanted to commemorate the illustrious career of her father, John C. Calhoun, witnessed her husband's commitment to the words she had hoped he would hear.

Notes

1. Jas. H. Rion to Thos. G. Clemson, 25 September 1875, in Clemson Papers, Special Collections, Clemson University Libraries, Clemson, SC (hereafter cited as SCCUL).
2. Ernest McPherson Lander Jr., *The Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson: The Decline of a Southern Patriarchy* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1983), 242.
3. Glenna Matthews, *Just A Housewife: The Rise and Fall of Domesticity in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 9–10. Anna to Maria Simkins, 2 August 1838, in Julia Wright

- Sublette, "The Letters of Anna Calhoun Clemson, 1833–1873," vol. 1 (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1993), 188 (hereafter cited as Sublette); Lander, *Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson*, 3. TGC to Anna Calhoun, 5 August 1838, in Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
4. Lander, *Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson*, 3. "Anna Maria Calhoun's Album," 1 October 1838, in Clemson Papers, SCCUL. Anna Calhoun to Maria Simkins, 21 May 1838; Anna Calhoun to Patrick Calhoun, 21 May 1838; Anna Calhoun to Patrick Calhoun, 30 May 1838; Anna Calhoun to Maria Simkins, 22 July 1838, in Sublette, vol. 1, 166–168, 171–172, 175n1, 181, 181n1–182, 182n2.
 5. TGC to Anna Calhoun, 5 August 1838; TGC to Anna Calhoun, 19 August 1838; TGC to Anna Calhoun, 20 August 1838, in Clemson Papers, SCCUL. [Signature faded] to Maria Simkins, 22 July 1838, in Sublette, vol. 1, 182n2.
 6. Clyde N. Wilson, ed., *The Papers of John C. Calhoun*, vol. 14 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1981), xv–xvi. Mary Bates (wedding guest) to Anna C. Clemson, 19 April 1850, in Calhoun Papers, SCCUL. Richard W. Simpson, *History of Old Pendleton District* (Anderson, SC: Oulla Printing & Binding Company, 1913), 18. Compiled by Edwin H. Vedder, *Records of St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Pendleton, South Carolina* (Greenville, SC: A Press, Inc., 1982), 36. *The Pendleton Messenger*, 16 November 1838.
 7. Matthews, "Just A Housewife": *The Rise and Fall of Domesticity in America*, 9–10. Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 37, 40. Anna Clemson to Maria Simkins, 2 August 1838, in Sublette, vol. 1, 188.
 8. Anna Clemson to John C. Calhoun, 1 June 1844; Anna Clemson to John C. Calhoun, 24 January 1846; Anna Clemson to John C. Calhoun, 20 April 1846; Anna Clemson to John C. Calhoun, 27 September 1846, in Sublette, vol. 1, 410–411, 415. Lander, *Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson*, 138–139, 141–142.
 9. Anna C. Clemson to Patrick Calhoun, 1 February 1850, in Sublette, vols. 1–2, 464–465, 476, 476n1.
 10. Patti Connor-Greene, Alumni Professor of Psychology, Clemson University, telephone conversation, 21 May 2003; *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, Fourth Edition (Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association, 2000), 376–379; John M. Davis, M.D., Ph.D., and James W. Maas, M.D., eds., *The Affective Disorders* (Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press, Inc., 1983), 236, 238, 406; Public Document, National Institutes of Health, *Depression: Effective Treatments Are Available* (Rockville, MD: NIH Publication No. 96–3590, U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, 1996); Rich Wemhoff, Ph.D., ed., *Anxiety & Depression: The Best Resources To Help You Cope* (Seattle, WA: Resource Pathways, 1999), 2, 30. Depression is often "misunderstood" by both those sufferers and "their loved ones who share the pain."
 11. Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 14 September 1856; Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 21 September 1856, in Sublette, vol. 2, 494, 497, 500.
 12. Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 16 November 1856; Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 20 September 1857, in *Ibid.*, 531, 601.
 13. Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 9 November 1856; Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 21 December 1856; Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 28 December 1856, in *Ibid.*, 524–525, 537, 542.
 14. Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 4 January 1857; Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 5 April 1857, in *Ibid.*, 545, 576, 576n1–578.
 15. Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 17 May 1857; Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 14 June 1857, in *Ibid.*, 586, 596.
 16. Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 12 September 1857; Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 20 September 1857, in *Ibid.*, 598, 600. Davis and Maas, eds., *The Affective Disorders*, 236.
 17. Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 20 September 1857; Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 27 September 1857, in Sublette, vol. 2, 600, 604, 606.
 18. Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 31 May 1857; Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 19 October 1857; Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 1 November 1857, in *Ibid.*, 592, 617, 621–622. Lander, *Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson*, 179. Floride Calhoun

- to Anna Clemson, 12 August 1859, in Clemson Papers, SCCUL. *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 373, 377.
19. Laura Leupp to Anna C. Clemson, 6 October 1859; Elias Baker to TGC, 24 October 1859, in Clemson Papers, SCCUL. Lander, *Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson*, 183.
 20. "Anna Maria Calhoun (Clemson's) Album," in Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
 21. TGC to Miss Anna Calhoun, 19 August 1838, in *Ibid.* Kay Redfield Jamison, *Touched With Fire: Manic-Depressive Illness and the Artistic Temperament* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 18, 25.
 22. Sister Sue to Anna Clemson, 24 October 1859; Wm. F. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 13 November 1859, in Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
 23. Lander, *Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson*, 184. Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 13 November 1859; Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 11 December 1859, in Sublette, vol. 2, 730, 743.
 24. Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 8 January 1860; Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 12 February 1860, in *Ibid.*, 754, 766.
 25. Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 26 February 1860; Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 8 March 1860, in *Ibid.*, 769–772, 772nn2–3.
 26. "Anna Maria Calhoun (Clemson's) Album," in Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
 27. The Reverend Bob Haden, Individual Analysis of "Anna C. Clemson's Vision Of Her Father, John C. Calhoun, Ten Years After His Death." Bob Haden, director of the Haden Institute in Charlotte, NC, is a Jungian pastoral counselor, Episcopal priest, and diplomate of the American Psychotherapy Association. His master's thesis was entitled *The Use of Dreams in Spiritual Direction*, and he studied at the C. G. Jung Institute in Switzerland. Ann Russell, "Her Father's Daughter, Anna Calhoun Clemson," *Carologue* (Charleston, SC: South Carolina Historical Society, Autumn, 1996), 14, 23. Anna to Maria Simkins, 2 August 1838, in Sublette, vol. 1, 188. James Rion's August 1875 copy of Anna C. Clemson's "Vision," March 1860, Calhoun Papers, The South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina.
 28. Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 18 March 1860, in Sublette, vol. 2, 774. *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 380–381.
 29. Lander, *Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson*, 196, 198. Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 4 November 1860; Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 11 November 1860, in Sublette, vol. 2, 794–795, 798–799.
 30. Anna C. Clemson to Floride Clemson, 11 November 1860, in *Ibid.*, 799–800.
 31. Ann Russell, "'Holding Court' at a Yankee Prison: Anna Calhoun Clemson Behind Enemy Lines," *Carologue* (Charleston, SC: South Carolina Historical Society, Spring 1990), 4.
 32. Compiled by Mrs. P. H. Mell, "The Clemson Collection of Paintings Donated To Clemson Agricultural College," Clemson Papers, SCCUL. Labels of identification that Anna wrote and pasted on the back of each picture, along with a manuscript inventory of personal property made after returning to the United States from abroad, would later form the basis of a catalog for "The Clemson Collection of Paintings Donated To Clemson Agricultural College." Alester G. Holmes and George R. Sherrill, *Thomas Green Clemson: His Life and Work* (Richmond, VA: Garrett & Massie, 1937), 35.
 33. Russell, "Anna Calhoun Clemson and the Origins of Clemson University," *The United Daughters Of The Confederacy Magazine* (Richmond, VA: United Daughters of the Confederacy, June 1990), 13. Charles M. McGee Jr. and Ernest McPherson Lander Jr., eds., *A Rebel Came Home: The Diary and Letters of Floride Clemson 1863–1866*, Revised Edition (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 88–89, 89n41, 90–91. Parole of Thomas G. Clemson issued by United States government, 9 June 1865, in Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
 34. Russell, "Anna Calhoun Clemson and the Origins of Clemson University," *The United Daughters Of The Confederacy Magazine*, 13–14. Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 377, 396. Holmes and Sherrill, *Thomas Green Clemson*, 27–29, 145. Anna C. Clemson to William Wilson Corcoran, 28 April 1866, in Sublette, vol. 2, 865, 865n2.
 35. Holmes and Sherrill, *Thomas Green Clemson*, 28, 143, 145. D. W. Lee to TGC, 29 January 1867, in Clemson Papers, SCCUL. Anna C. Clemson to William Wilson Corcoran, 28 April 1866, in Sublette, vol. 2, 865–866. McGee and Lander, eds., *A Rebel Came Home*, 109.

- "Digest of Court Opinions," in *The Clemson Agricultural College Bulletin*, vol. 21, no.1 (Post Office, Clemson College, SC: The Clemson Agricultural College of South Carolina, January 1925), 22–25.
36. Lander, *Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson*, 142–143, 233, 239. In 1854 Mrs. Calhoun and her daughter Cornelia had agreed to the sale of Fort Hill to Andrew for the sum of \$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 in Alabama 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 with the ownership of his Alabama property at the same time that he had entered into the agreement with his mother and 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.
 37. In March of 1866 Clemson as administrator for his late sister-in-law Cornelia had joined with his mother-in-law Mrs. Calhoun to bring suit against her son Andrew's family for the money owed on the Fort Hill debt. With Mrs. Calhoun's death in July, Clemson was the plaintiff in the matter along with Edward Noble as Mrs. Calhoun's executor. Lander, *Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson*, 233. Holmes and Sherrill, *Thomas Green Clemson*, 145. The first president of the Pendleton Farmers' Society founded in 1815 was Col. Thomas Pinckney, son of former Governor Thomas Pinckney and grandson of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, "who had long ago introduced indigo culture into South Carolina." Compiled by Mary Stevenson, *The Diary of Clarissa Adger Bowen, Ashtabula Plantation, 1865, and... The Pendleton-Clemson Area, South Carolina, 1776-1889* (Pendleton, SC: Research and Publication Committee Foundation, 1973), 105. "Circular," Pendleton Farmers' Society, 24 November 1866; Minutes of the Pendleton Farmers' Society, 8 October 1868, in Clemson Papers, SCCUL. Ernest McPherson Lander Jr., "The Founder, Thomas Green Clemson, 1807–1888," in *Tradition: A History of the Presidency of Clemson University*, Second Edition, Donald M. McKale and Jerome V. Reel Jr., eds. (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998), 14–15. Russell, "Anna Calhoun Clemson and the Origins of Clemson University," *The United Daughters Of The Confederacy Magazine*, 14.
 38. Book of Common Prayer and the Calhoun Family Bible, at the Fort Hill historic house museum at Clemson University. Anna C. Clemson to James Edward Calhoun, 3 October 1869, in Sublette, vol. 2, 881. Lander, *Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson*, 237. Floride C. Lee to Anna C. Clemson, 4 February 1871, in Clemson Papers, SCCUL. Lander, "The Founder, Thomas Green Clemson, 1807–1888," in *Tradition*, eds., McKale and Reel, 14–15.
 39. Ernest McPherson Lander Jr., *The Life And Times Of Ella Lorton, A Pendleton SC Confederate* (Clemson, SC: Clemson Printers, 1996), 111. Russell, "Anna Calhoun Clemson and the Origins of Clemson University," *The United Daughters Of The Confederacy Magazine*, 15. H. Gourdin to TGC, 12 August 1871, in Clemson Papers, SCCUL. Lander, *Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson*, 152.
 40. Russell, "Anna Calhoun Clemson and the Origins of Clemson University," *The United Daughters Of The Confederacy Magazine*, 15. *United States Circuit Court District of South Carolina, Isabella Lee vs. Richard W. Simpson*, 11, in Richard W. Simpson Papers, Special Collections, Clemson University. The State of South Carolina, "Will of Anna C. Clemson," 29 September 1871, Probate Court Records of Oconee County, Walhalla, South Carolina.
 41. Lander, *Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson*, 239. "Will of Anna C. Clemson." "Digest of Court Opinions," in *The Clemson Agricultural College Bulletin*, vol. 21, no.1, 14.
 42. Anna C. Clemson to James Edward Calhoun, 8 February 1872; Anna C. Clemson to James Edward Calhoun, 24 March 1872; Anna C. Clemson to James Edward Calhoun, 26 May 1872; Anna C. Clemson to James Edward Calhoun, 23 June 1872, in Sublette, vol. 2, 882, 884–886, 888. Lander, *Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson*, 241. Russell, "Anna Calhoun Clemson and the Origins of Clemson University," *The United Daughters Of The Confederacy Magazine*, 15.
 43. Lander, *Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson*, 240. Anna C. Clemson to James Edward Calhoun, 24 February 1867, in Sublette, vol. 2, 868. At the time of Clemson's marriage to Anna, he had entered into a fateful business venture with her father and his future brother-

in-law Andrew. Clemson thought that he was ultimately cheated by Andrew, and Anna felt keenly his resentment of her brother. James L. Roark, *Masters Without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), 163. Labor Agreement, Jan. 1874–75, State of South Carolina, County of Oconee, “Articles of Agreement between Thos. G. Clemson Trustee on the one part and the undersigned freedman, and women on the other part,” Clemson Papers, SCCUL. Holmes and Sherrill, *Thomas Green Clemson*, 150.

44. *Ibid.*, 150–153. Russell, “Anna Calhoun Clemson and the Origins of Clemson University,” *The United Daughters Of The Confederacy Magazine*, 15.
45. Lander, *Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson*, 241–242. R. W. Simpson to W. M. Riggs, 5 November 1911, in Riggs Papers, Special Collections, Clemson University.
46. Russell, “Anna Calhoun Clemson and the Origins of Clemson University,” *The United Daughters Of The Confederacy Magazine*, 15. Handwritten invitation: “The friends and acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas G. Clemson are invited to attend the funeral services of the latter at St. Paul’s Church today at 3 o’clock P. M. Sept 24th 1875,” Clemson Papers, SCCUL. *News and Courier*, 24 September 1875.
47. TGC to Anna Calhoun, 19 August 1838; TGC to Anna Calhoun, 20 August 1838; “Anna Maria Calhoun (Clemson’s) Album”; Jas. H. Rion to TGC, 25 September 1875, in Clemson Papers, SCCUL. James Rion’s August 1875 copy of Anna C. Clemson’s “Vision,” March 1860, Calhoun Papers, University of South Carolina.
48. *Ibid.* Anna C. Clemson to James Edward Calhoun, 23 June 1872, in Sublette, vol. 2, 889. Dr. John J. F. Gray to TGC, 28 December 1875, in Clemson Papers, SCCUL.