

Chapter 11

THE FORT HILL YEARS

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In this stereopticon photograph, Thomas Clemson is shown seated in a rocking chair on the east lawn of Fort Hill, ca. 1880. Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.

Thomas Green Clemson was associated with Fort Hill for nearly half a century. From his marriage to Anna Maria Calhoun in the parlor on November 13, 1838, until his death in the master bedroom some fifty years later on April 6, 1888, Fort Hill was never far from his mind, even if he was a continent away. Thomas Clemson personally occupied Fort Hill for nearly twenty years at two distinct periods of his life. As newlyweds he and Anna lived at Fort Hill for almost four years, beginning in 1839. Later in 1872, Thomas and Anna

retired to Fort Hill where they both died, Anna in 1875 and Thomas some thirteen years later in 1888.

There is certainly a marked contrast from the optimistic outlook of Thomas Clemson at Fort Hill in the late 1830s, when he began his family life, as compared to his return to Fort Hill in 1872, the year after the deaths of their two adult children. The couple only had three years together back at Fort Hill before his beloved Anna passed away.

Early Married Life at Fort Hill

Thomas Clemson's first years at Fort Hill were a time of transition from bachelorhood to married life. Following his marriage to Anna Maria Calhoun at Fort Hill, the Clemsons returned to Philadelphia to establish a household. Anna evidently did not like the northern city life, and soon they returned to Fort Hill. The estate played an important part in Thomas Clemson's career as the place where he first saw agricultural production up close. Moreover, as Calhoun's dutiful son-in-law, Clemson oversaw much of the day-to-day management of the estate. His letters to Calhoun during this period are some of the best firsthand descriptions of life on the plantation. Furthermore he took a special interest in Calhoun's gold mine in Dahlonega, Georgia, where Clemson put his geological and mining studies into practice.

The first years at Fort Hill also saw the births of the Clemsons' first three children. Their first child, whose name is unknown, died as an infant in 1839. The next two children—John Calhoun Clemson born in 1841 and Floride Elizabeth Clemson born in 1842—were both named for their grandparents, and both lived to adulthood. The Clemsons' last child, Cornelia (Nina), was born over a dozen years later in Maryland.¹

At Fort Hill, the Clemsons occupied Anna's bedroom and the two adjacent rooms as a suite, with one acting as their nursery.² Anna had been born in 1817, so she was less than ten years old when the Calhouns moved to Fort Hill. While her father was in Washington for months each year, it was Anna who was his eyes and ears, recording the family events, weather, crops, and the local gossip from Pendleton. Fort Hill was a special place for Anna; her bedroom was in the middle of the second floor and was colorfully decorated with floral striped wallpaper topped with an intricately matching border.³ Anna's room also afforded panoramic views of the mountains in the distance toward Keowee Heights, their Cousin Colhoun's plantation to the north, and to the south, it overlooked her father's columned study and the formal garden planted for her sister Cornelia.

Clemson's marrying into this family and plantation also became special. After all, Anna was considered to be John C. Calhoun's favorite child, and Clemson was his only son-in-law. As a result of these circumstances and perhaps due to Clemson's father having died when he was only six years old, Clemson became a

protégé of the statesman. In addition to gaining agricultural experience, Clemson, with Calhoun's help, acquired an estate, Canebrake, near Saluda where the Clemsons lived briefly prior to going abroad to Belgium. And throughout their years in Europe and later in Maryland, Fort Hill was not far from his mind. The influence of Anna's father, both during and after Calhoun's lifetime, made the Fort Hill estate a crucial place in Clemson's memories and his deeds. Moreover, as Ben Robertson, the twentieth-century local folklorist, noted in his *Upcountry Memoir*, there was something about the red hills and cotton fields that drew Clemson to this particular vicinity.

Post-War Years in Pendleton, South Carolina

Thomas Clemson's later years at Fort Hill are an intriguing era in American history. The collapse of the southern economy following the Civil War and the turmoil of the Reconstruction era in South Carolina were the backdrop for his determination to rebuild his adopted state through scientific education. It is a heroic story of perseverance through overwhelming odds toward his lifetime goal to help rebuild the state.

Out of the ashes like the phoenix, South Carolina needed to reconstruct itself, and, in response, Thomas Clemson would eventually make a significant difference in the economic course of the state. Although born a Philadelphian, Clemson had cast his lot with the South.⁴ Now, its infrastructure and educational systems were in a shambles. However, Clemson's lifelong study of science and agriculture had equipped him with the skills to provide invaluable leadership at this crucial moment.

His return to the Pendleton District following the Civil War was not directly to Fort Hill. The Clemson family reunion on July 1, 1865, coincidentally marking Thomas's fifty-eighth birthday, took place near the village green of Pendleton at Mi Casa, the home of his mother-in-law, Floride Calhoun (Mrs. John C. Calhoun). As Clemson's daughter Floride recorded in her diary, her father "looks pretty well, but is about iron grey now, though not bald, which is pretty well for a man well on to 60." Just a few days later, Floride noted, "Father has wonderfully improved in playing on the violin & really composes some quite good common place tunes. He does look so well, & has given up smoking. He is a dear old fellow."⁵

Unlike other older war veterans might have done, this "dear old fellow" did not retire or rest on his laurels for past honors and activities. In fact, his transition from citizen soldier of the lost cause to an advocate for his adopted state makes one think of Cincinnatus, the ancient Roman farmer-dictator. Clemson also saw the benefits of the Palmetto State's reconstructing itself by turning swords into plowshares. His lifelong goals of scientific agriculture and public education were again on his mind. The Morrill Land Grant Act, which Clemson had supported,

had finally been passed by Congress in 1862, but the timing wasn't right for either Thomas Clemson or South Carolina.

His most pressing immediate tasks were to check on how his financial holdings had fared during his absence. Clemson relied on a host of financial advisors during his career. Many of them are a who's who of national and local business leaders. Some were lifelong friends, some were relatives, and some also had been advisors to Calhoun. Leading the list of financial advisors were Charles Leupp and William Wilson Corcoran. Fortunately, both Leupp and Corcoran were fellow art collectors, which provided close personal relationships as well.

Charles Leupp represented Clemson's finances on a national level from his offices in New York. Incidentally, Leupp's wife was Isabella Lee, daughter of an early New York mayor, Gideon Lee Sr. Leupp's brother-in-law, D. W. Lee, would also represent Clemson's assets. Interestingly, Leupp's other brother-in-law, Gideon Lee Jr., would later marry Clemson's daughter, Floride Elizabeth Clemson. Charles Leupp was a partner in several enterprises with financier Jay Gould for many years. Tragically, Leupp took his own life, but the Leupp firm continued investments for Clemson. Corcoran likewise had been Clemson's longtime friend and from his offices in the Washington area also handled investments which remained secure during the war. An intriguing part of the story is that, through many shrewd financial moves, Thomas Clemson was able to shelter his finances during the Civil War years and likewise to hold on to the majority of his assets throughout the turbulent Reconstruction era. In other words, his financial dealings throughout his life were often very calculated and astute.

His assets, including his Bladensburg home, had been managed as well as could be expected. He asserted to his friend Tazewell Taylor, "my name has been tabooed by the powers that be" and went on to say that "I would go to Maryland if I was not apprehensive that my presence there would excite them to further vindictiveness all of which I desire to avoid."⁶ In a follow-up letter to Taylor some six months later, Clemson confided, "It would appear from what my friends tell me that before I can have citizenship, that it would at least be polite to secure a pardon."⁷ As Clemson relayed to his uncle by marriage James Edward Calhoun, "the North is no place for a Confederate."⁸ Clemson had made his choice to support the Confederacy. Now the consequences of the conflict were evident everywhere, and Clemson was determined to use his scientific and agricultural talents in the rebuilding of South Carolina.

Clemson was elected president of the Pendleton Farmers' Society on October 8, 1868,⁹ and one of the duties of the society under Clemson's leadership was to promote "aid to found an institution for the diffusion of scientific knowledge, that our civilization may advance, and that we may once more become a happy and prosperous people."¹⁰ In a letter to Professor Joseph Henry of the Smithsonian Institution, Clemson stated bluntly, "There is in my opinion no hope for the

South short of wide spread scientific education. Our condition is wretched in the extreme.”¹¹ Clemson’s appraisal of South Carolina is not flattering when he writes of the “lethargic epidemic, which appears to have fallen upon all the population of the state.”¹²



**Photograph, ca. 1890, of Farmers Hall, constructed 1826-1828, in Pendleton, S.C.
Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.**

One longtime supporter of Clemson, D. W. Lee, wrote to Clemson that “the great misery which the South is suffering is arousing a strong feeling of sympathy,” and he goes on to echo Clemson’s thinking: “as you say the remedy lies mainly in an improved system of Agriculture.” However the current political situation in Washington was grim. Lee observed that “the quarrel between congress and the President [Johnson] is most unfortunate, but there is here no belief that the latter will be successfully impeached, or indeed impeached at all. This movement of the extreme republicans would only add another element to the existing confusion.”¹³ Indeed the rifts in politics of the Reconstruction era were both extremely unfortunate and confused.

While Clemson began promoting agriculture on a state and national level, Fort Hill was also in dire straits. The Civil War occupants of Fort Hill had been Andrew Pickens Calhoun, eldest son of the statesman, and his family. Andrew had been in the process of purchasing the estate from his mother; however, he had not paid off the mortgage. Thus with his death began a curious and complicated

course of events that eventually would result in the foreclosure on the Fort Hill mortgage initiated by Floride Calhoun against the estate of her daughter-in-law Margaret Calhoun. The intricacies of the details of the various legal proceedings and resulting animosity between the family of Andrew Pickens Calhoun and the Clemsons are all well documented.¹⁴

The ongoing feud between Floride Calhoun and her eldest son Andrew is also captured in the family letters. One of the more poignant letters during this episode was from Anna to her brother:

Mother is very ill, my brother, & has been for months, a great sufferer. She is now confined to her room & almost constantly to her bed, & tho I do not consider the disease, under which she labors, so serious, still, the intense pains, & consequent wear on her constitution, make us anxious about her. She, herself, thinks she will never recover, & under the influence of this feeling said yesterday—‘I wish Andrew would come & see me. I should like to be reconciled to my only son before I die.’

Anna went on to state pleadingly that “you will feel & appreciate the motives which have activated me, & believe in the sincere desire to establish family harmony, felt by your sister Anna.”¹⁵



Photograph of Andrew Pickens Calhoun, ca. 1865, the year he died. Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.

Ironically, it was Andrew who predeceased his mother in the spring of 1865. That left his widow Margaret Calhoun to face the Union forces who eventually made their way to the Pendleton District.¹⁶ Floride Clemson recounted in her diary on Sunday, May 28, that “a thousand Yankees under General Brown passed through this place” in Pendleton and noted, “they were at Fort Hill, & took Johnny’s fine horse, & others I believe, did little or no other damage.”¹⁷ Fort Hill had survived the war, but there was some doubt about whether the estate would survive the peace intact.¹⁸ Floride Calhoun, Mrs. John C. Calhoun, died prior to the closure on the contract, which placed the financial matter in Clemson’s lap, since Anna Calhoun Clemson was the last of the Calhouns’ children and to whom Mrs. Calhoun had willed the bulk of her estate.¹⁹

Clemson, in one way or another, soon became involved in the everyday events at Fort Hill. On January 1, 1868, Clemson signed a contract with the sharecrop-

pers and tenant farmers working the place. The subsequent “Articles of Agreement between Thos. G. Clemson and the Freedmen and women of Fort Hill Plantation” was signed with fifteen workmen.²⁰ As the end of 1868 drew near, Clemson recounted the previous three years: “When Mrs. Clemson and my daughter arrived in Pendleton before the surrender at the commencement of 1865 they found Mrs. Calhoun (J. C.) my wife’s mother entirely destitute and it became her duty (Mrs. Clemson) to find the means of support. At that time there was living in the house Mrs. Kate Calhoun two children and servant make six in family. I supported them for fully a year until my means were exhausted.”²¹

Thomas and Anna had the additional expenses in 1869 for the wedding of their daughter Floride Elizabeth Clemson to Gideon Lee Jr. of Carmel, New York. Thomas and Anna Clemson gained a son-in-law on August 1, 1869, when Floride Elizabeth Clemson became Mrs. Gideon Lee in a ceremony at St. Paul’s Episcopal Church in Pendleton. As chronicled in her personal diary, she had lived a busy life as a young debutant prior to the war. However, the Civil War had diminished the number of eligible bachelors of her own age. Now, perhaps for financial security, she had chosen to marry a Mexican War veteran whose family had had lengthy financial dealings with Clemson. As mentioned earlier, Gideon Lee’s brother, D. W. Lee, had handled Clemson’s investments as had their brother-in-law Charles Leupp. Gideon Lee’s father, a politician, had been an early mayor of New York. Thus, the wealthy northern groom could provide much which the war-torn South could not. Still, Thomas Clemson was not entirely supportive of Floride’s marrying a man nearly twenty years older than she.

Anna had other reservations about the marriage. She had become very close to her daughter during the war years, both by lengthy letters and their cohabitation in Maryland and at *Mi Casa*. As Anna wrote about the impending marriage of her daughter Floride to Gideon Lee of Carmel, New York, “I feel very sad at parting with F., for I shall have very little inclination to go north to visit her, & shall have to depend on her coming here. We live together like sisters, & companions, & I shall miss her greatly.”²²

Gideon and Floride Lee’s marriage was, in fact, tragically short. A daughter christened Floride Isabella was born to the couple on May 15, 1870. A little over a year later, Gideon Lee became a widower when his wife Floride died suddenly on July 23, 1871. The cause of her death was most likely tuberculosis. The Clemsons later blamed her poor health, in part, to an early misdiagnosis and her untreated condition while she studied at her aunt’s boarding school in Baltimore before the war. Anna wrote, “Her father & myself have never doubted she owed her confirmed ill health and early death to the shock her system received during the two years spent at Mrs. Barton’s.” She added that when Floride finally did go to the doctor, he “said she had a severe attack of inflammation of the lungs which *from neglect* had become *serious*.”²³

A little over two weeks after Floride's death, John Calhoun Clemson was killed in a train wreck in Seneca.²⁴ A picture ca. 1870 of Calhoun Clemson shows a handsome young man with a mustache similar to his father. He also was a tall man, nearly 6 feet 4 inches—just two inches shorter than Clemson and two inches taller than his grandfather John C. Calhoun, for whom he had been named. Calhoun Clemson, who had survived the Civil War and imprisonment in a POW camp, had not married and left no heirs.²⁵



Left to right: Photographs of Floride Elizabeth Clemson Lee and her brother, John Calhoun Clemson, ca. 1870, the year before both died. Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.



Left: Floride Isabella Lee, young daughter of Floride Elizabeth Clemson and Gideon Lee Jr. *Right:* Gideon Lee Jr. Photographs are ca. 1873 and ca. 1880, respectively. Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.

The Later Years at Fort Hill

This tragic chain of events took an emotional toll on the Clemsons. They finally returned to take up residence in Fort Hill in 1872. But how different the old home place must have felt to both of them. The sights and sounds of Fort Hill were a marked contrast to their earlier occupation in the antebellum years. They were now not only alone, but also childless following the tragic deaths of Floride and Calhoun in 1871 and the earlier death in 1858 of their three-year-old daughter Cornelia (Nina).

In many ways their thoughts about Fort Hill might be transposed to Margaret Mitchell's epic novel of the Reconstruction era where the father of the novel's protagonist, Scarlett O'Hara, exclaims, "Why, the land is the only thing in the world worth workin' for, worth fightin' for, worth dyin' for, because it's the only thing that lasts." And the same was true with Fort Hill: the land mattered to the Clemsons as a part of their heritage and history, and they sought to ensure that it would last, if not for their own children, then perhaps for others'. Scores of young South Carolinians needed assistance to break out of subsistence farming. Thus, Thomas and Anna Clemson determined that they would collectively make education-related plans for the estate after their deaths.

In 1873, Clemson returned steadfastly to the encouragement of agricultural education. In response to a letter from Clemson, William Henry Trescot wrote: "I have thought a good deal over our conversation at my last visit to Fort Hill and am of the opinion that a better opportunity will not again occur to urge upon the state the adoption of your suggestion." Trescot goes on to insist, "Some vigorous effort must be made to establish a new institution." Pendletonian Trescot ended his letter to Clemson with an interesting comparison: "You have noticed I suppose that Ashland Mr. Clay's home has been converted into a college for Kentucky."²⁶ Clemson might have surmised that if Clay's estate was utilized as a college, why not Calhoun's? Reminders of the Great Triumvirate abounded at Fort Hill, including Henry Clay's gift of a sideboard made of wood from the *U.S.S. Constitution*, the famous ship affectionately called "Old Ironsides."

In 1874, Clemson was again calling upon old friends and colleagues for support of his educational vision. One such respondent to his cause was Joseph Henry of the Smithsonian, who wrote to Clemson, "It will give me much pleasure to do anything in my power to assist in developing your commendable project of establishing a first class institution of learning in South Carolina." Henry offers some advice when he asked of Clemson, "Could something be done for the enterprise through the Peabody bequest?"²⁷ He goes on to state, "I have just read a work by Pike, on the state of South Carolina under its present rulers and am much import with its deplorable condition. Nothing but education and immigration can apparently assist you but the result of these will require time to become apparent."²⁸ Finally, Henry offers his assistance "to indorse your propo-

sition as fully as you may desire.”²⁹ Such assistance and Clemson’s efforts faced even further obstacles. South Carolina’s conditions during postwar Reconstruction, especially what contemporaries and historians have referred to as the radical or republican Reconstruction, were known for corruptions, especially in the eyes of white Carolinians.

In all of his agricultural and educational efforts, Thomas G. Clemson had found a willing partner in his wife. Tragically, on September 22, 1875, Anna Maria Calhoun Clemson died. Her funeral service was held at St. Paul’s two days later.³⁰ Clemson was understandably shaken by her sudden death from a heart attack. Anna, in her last years, no longer had the girlish figure shown in her Belgium portrait, and photographs show her as being noticeably overweight in the 1870s, probably contributing to her untimely death. Clemson’s confidant and family friend James Rion emotionally expressed his condolences to Clemson: “You have lost a wife, who was in every sense of the word a companion for you not only worthy of affection but the highest esteem. Her good nature, high spirit, elegance of manner, extensive information and reading, fine intellect, and all the more valuable female accomplishments fitted her to be a wife worthy of any man that has ever lived.”



Photograph of Anna Calhoun Clemson, ca. 1875, the year of her death. Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.

Rion continued to reminisce about Anna, “I well remember how her father’s eyes would brighten up, when he would speak of ‘Anna.’ In reading over his letters it is very touching to see with what pride he wrote of her, when a mere child. She was by all properly regarded as the child who inherited more of her father’s great talents than any other of his children. ‘His children,’—They are now all gone!”³¹

Following the death of Anna, Thomas Clemson’s determination toward his goal became a more singular passion. His renewed impetus included the enlistment of William Wilson Corcoran. In a letter to Corcoran, Clemson recounts a history of his ambitions, but, more important, fully defines his current objectives:

Since the surrender an effort has been making in South Carolina to establish an institution for teaching the Sciences and Arts, theoretical & practical, & thus raise the people of the state from ignorance & demoralization to prosperity the hope of the well born. Had the intentions first—formed by our mutual friend Mr. Peabody,³² been carried out the State of South Carolina would have been in a very different condition from her present status. Up to present writing our efforts have been without avail.

For sometime it was hoped that funds would be raised for founding such an institution at Fort Hill, the former residence of Hon. J. C. Calhoun. Either from ignorance or poverty the necessity and importance of the project was not realized. Last winter a proposition came before the legislature of So[uth] Carolina to organize a University at Columbia but for like causes it failed.

The efforts, which we made at the Smithsonian Institution before the war to found such institutions in each state was passed in 1862, donating to each state, land scrip for the purpose....

The necessity is paramount, and I have been solicited again to use my feeble exertions to convert Fort Hill into such as purpose, and thus save from desecration that beautiful hallowed spot, and pass it down for future time to the diffusion & investigation of the laws of the Creator.

When the subject was first agitated we—Mrs. Clemson and self, were willing to donate sixty or eighty acres, but it was thought that the entire place would be necessary to carry out the project, in a manner commensurate with its importance....

Independent of the historical sentiments attached to Fort Hill it has been much favored by nature. It has an exceptional position for health at the junction of two rivers the Seneca & 12 mile. In this Piedmont region with a climate unsurpassed having a magnificent panoramic view of the highest mountains east of the Mississippi. In the language of our friend Professor Henry, 'this upper Carolina is the garden spot of the North American Continent.'

Fort Hill has come to be a second Mecca and is visited by thousands, who come to catch an inspiration from its history. We have kept the place from desecration.

If the project here presented should go into operation it would insure the prosperity of the State and be an additional light to the world, and be surely counted to its founders in that life which we hope to realize hereafter....

When Thomas Jefferson was requested to know what inscription he desired to be inscribed upon his tomb he answered 'Founder of the Charlottesville University [University of Virginia]; author of the Declaration of Independence and mover of the statute for religious freedom.'³³

Thomas Clemson, in his later years, saw himself as an elder agricultural statesman of sorts and even let it be known to the administration of President Grover Cleveland that he still had a desire to finish what he considered unfinished business in regards to agriculture on a national level. Clemson's confidant Rion noted

to Clemson that “it would not be wise in Mr. Cleveland, to appoint a son-in-law of John C. Calhoun and especially one who left his Office at Washington (even though at the point of the bayonet, and with a halter in view) and joined the Rebellion and kept the Trans-Mississippi Department a-going until the close of the war. But if Cleveland will have the independence to make the appointment so much more to his credit.”³⁴ However, William Henry Trescot who was ever the politician in Washington informed Clemson that South Carolina was pushing Mr. Aiken as the “probable appointment to the Agriculture Bureau were Democrats ever restored to power.”³⁵ Clemson did not get the appointment; instead he refocused his energies on agriculture at Fort Hill.

Clemson’s own management of the Fort Hill estate extended well beyond the tenant farmers who contracted with him. He continued his personal experimentation with agriculture and even spawned an interest in aquaculture. For instance, after having been shipped California salmon from the Maryland Commission of Fish and Fisheries, he made additional requests for carp.³⁶ There are further Fort Hill accounts of his feuding with neighbors over roaming cattle and stagnant water in millponds.

During his last years, Thomas Clemson also began tying up what he saw as loose ends related to money and property. It would be going too far to say that Clemson was in the mold of Dickens’s famous character Ebenezer Scrooge. However Clemson did have a long memory when it came to loans. One particular account is insightful. In a sharp letter to George North, who was a brother-in-law, Clemson wrote,

As a man advances in life he naturally feels a desire to square accounts with this world, and as I loaned you money more than the third of a century since, on your honor supposing you were an honest man...Some persons are forgetful of moneyed obligations. Not imposing that a conscientious Christian man desires to shirk a moral obligation. I now remind you that the money, which you have used for your own benefit and at the expense of myself and family, is needed, and as no reasoning, time can absolve you from paying a debt I think it high time for you to think of paying me what is justly due. There also is another small matter which however small I demand the return of an original letter by General G. Washington loaned to you long since, which you may have forgotten.³⁷

Obviously, Clemson also had a long memory in regards to objects. One such object that Clemson obsessed about was another Washington memento—this time a gold medal that he once had in his possession. As Clemson recounted,

I purchased the gold medal at public auction of my own volition and without instruction of any kind or form. The medal was one, which was presented to General George Washington and inherited by Samuel Walter Washington and sold at Harewood to increase the aspect of his estate. Considering that after the

sale, regrets were expressed at the relics leaving the family, I left it at Harewood having no recollection of having given it to any one. My conduct was motivated by a sentiment of feeling. Further I advanced many thousands of dollars, in gifts and loans and that I have stood between the family of the widow of Samuel Walter Washington and utter destitution now for near half a century.³⁸

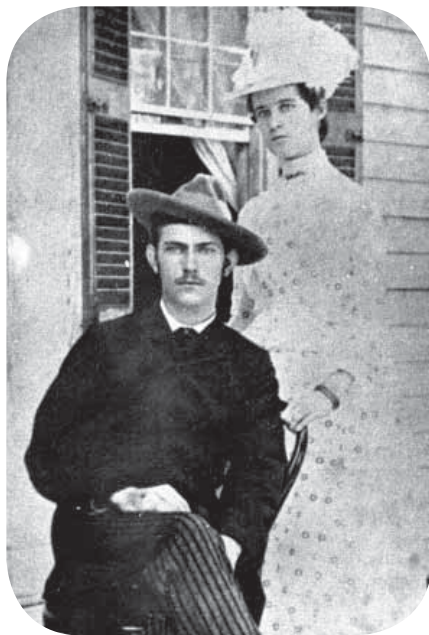
Clemson sought restitution for his loss, but, as his attorney noted, he had waited too long on this matter. Clemson also had acquired from and left with his sister Louisa Clemson Washington a Windsor chair that supposedly belonged to President Washington and a unique sofa that has an eagle motif from their Harewood estate. For these and other objects, Clemson did not agree with any statute of limitations on recovery of his prewar funds or possessions.

Fortunately, Clemson was more successful in keeping ownership of his art collection, which had been shipped at the start of the Civil War to his uncle Elias Baker in Altoona, Pennsylvania. At the urging of his attorney, Clemson was instructed to request of his uncle's son "a list of your paintings in his charge in order to have in black and white an acknowledgment of ownership." Rion had a personal interest in the paintings beginning in 1883, as he also wanted Clemson to clearly "write me a letter and in it have an offer to give me one of your pictures at Mr. Bakers." Clemson's own annotation on the back of the letter noted the subject as "concerning my pictures which my dear uncle had boxed up when I was driven from Washington & when my wife and daughter were left alone surrounded with northern troops on my place."³⁹ It is interesting to note that in 1876, after having visited the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Clemson had made some overtures for the sale of these paintings to Mr. MacLeod, the curator of the Corcoran Gallery.⁴⁰ MacLeod, however, had to decline the offer because he had no funds for acquisition. Nevertheless, this collection of oil paintings meant much more to Clemson than an investment, and he worked tirelessly until the artworks were retrieved.

The last decade of Thomas Clemson's life was spent, in his own words, as a hermit. In response to Clemson's personal commentary, his close friend attorney James Rion shot back, "You say you are living the life of a hermit, and wishing to visit among those who have left this world. I must say you are a very *comfortable* hermit, with a splendid estate, elegant home and a faithful and intelligent housekeeper, your income greater than you can use, with books French and English to read and with good friends scattered about it is true." As Clemson grew older, he grew more lonely and reclusive. Suffering from depression, he also longed for the company of those who had passed on. Rion, not attuned to Clemson's interests in what was known as spiritualism in the nineteenth century, then lamented, "It is true however that you can not visit those on 'the other side,' except in thought and dream, but you have many friends on *this side*, who you can visit."⁴¹

Thomas Clemson was not known as an outwardly religious person. Indeed there is very little known about his personal beliefs. Whatever the case, both Anna

and Thomas, who had been raised as Episcopalians, had some interest in the nineteenth-century forms of spiritualism.⁴² Clemson sent a copy of a vision that Anna had recorded to John Gray who responded to Clemson, “I have no doubt whatever of the fact that Mr. Calhoun appeared to & spoke with his daughter, as related by her.”⁴³ Whether Clemson had similar revelations is impossible to know. However, Clemson did correspond with others about spiritualism and was referred to works including “Cromwell Modern Spiritualism and Ancient Christianity.”⁴⁴ In Clemson’s last years, Jane Prince, his caregiver and housekeeper, said only of Clemson’s spiritual life that he was often visited by a traveling Methodist minister and read the Bible.



***Left:* Jane Prince, Thomas Clemson’s caregiver for the last seven years of his life. Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University. *Right:* Jane Prince’s daughter Hester (“Essie”) and Hal Boggs at their May 1888 wedding at Fort Hill. Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.**

Jane Prince and her daughter Hester “Essie” Prince were much more than simply employees; they had become an adopted family while Clemson’s only grandchild Floride Isabella Lee was growing up in Carmel, New York. Floride Isabella kept up a regular correspondence with her Grandfather Clemson. She wrote about everyday life growing up with her father and her stepmother, Ella Lorton, formerly of Pendleton, who had been a childhood friend of Floride Elizabeth Clemson. Her daughter Floride Isabella’s letters to her grandfather are full of accounts of the weather and the seasons as the years passed without her being

able to make the trek to Fort Hill. Floride, in answering one of her grandfather's letters, says,

I am very sorry that you are so lonely. I should like to go south every winter to see you, but if Papa can not go, & you know I can not go alone. It is not my fault. I remember you very distinctly and besides I have your nice photograph which you sent me some time ago. Your dogs must be very pretty; I should like to see them. You say you have but one cat, I wish you might have some of ours. We have about eight of them. One is an immense fellow the largest cat I ever saw. He is striped black & gray and we call him Tiger... I am glad Jane and Hester Prince take such good care of you.⁴⁵

Often Floride recounts books she was reading, including *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea* and *Around the World in Eighty Days* by Jules Verne. While Clemson made provisions for his granddaughter in versions of his will, he had other plans for Fort Hill.

Thomas G. Clemson's last years were also marked by a burning desire to preserve the legacy of his illustrious father-in-law. Clemson spearheaded the commissioning of a biography on Calhoun, kept an eye on efforts of the Calhoun Monument Association in Charleston for erecting a monument at Marion Square in front of the Old Citadel, and even attempted to have Calhoun's body exhumed for reburial either at St. Paul's next to Floride or at Fort Hill, in addition to making provisions for the historic preservation of Fort Hill in drafts of his will.

Thomas Clemson had greatly admired his father-in-law, who was an important influence on Clemson. Therefore he sought in many ways to preserve Calhoun's legacy. His efforts in that regard ranged from his preservation of Fort Hill and its contents to preserving the papers of John C. Calhoun for scholars. One of those efforts was the commissioning of a biography of John C. Calhoun. Although this was a time-consuming effort for Clemson to underwrite, this activity eventually proved unsuccessful through the course of three authors. Thomas Clemson first engaged the services of R. M. T. Hunter⁴⁶ and later W. P. Starke. James H. Rion even offered that he "could write two Chapters—'Mr. Calhoun on Slavery' & 'Mr. Calhoun.'"⁴⁷

Robert Mercer Taliaferro Hunter had been a politician, congressman, and U.S. senator from Virginia. With Hunter's close working knowledge of John C. Calhoun, Clemson thought he would be able to fashion a biography of his father-in-law. Often working at a distance from Fort Hill beginning in 1876, Hunter spent an extensive amount of his research digging through the speeches and public addresses of Calhoun. His downfall may have been that he got bogged down in his research after completing what he considered a first volume on Calhoun. The great delays caused consternation for Clemson, and Hunter eventually withdrew his services.

Clemson went on to hire William Pinckney Starke who lived at Fort Hill from 1883 to 1886 and created a manuscript in shorthand before he died after a swim in the river. Starke's shorthand was utilized by later scholars, including Professor Franklin Jameson with whom Clemson corresponded. Jameson later noted that the collection "embraced 430 letters written by Calhoun, a certain amount of miscellaneous manuscripts. And about 2,300 letters written to him."⁴⁸ Clemson's preservation of Calhoun's correspondence has been useful for generations of scholars.

Thomas Clemson's wish to have his father-in-law's body moved from Charleston to the Upstate had become a sore point with the next generation of Calhouns and was looked upon somewhat disapprovingly by the Charleston newspaper, the *News and Courier*. In particular, the grandsons, in negative editorials in the paper, alluded to Clemson's wish to remove Calhoun's body for burial at Fort Hill as a conspiracy to inflate the worth of his estate and make his property more valuable for sale.

Simpson, in response to Clemson's request to include this stipulation as a provision of his bequest, pointed out to him, "I desire very much to talk with you about the removal of the remains of Mr. Calhoun. There are some difficulties in the accomplishment of this object, which I desire to state to you and in order that you may fully comprehend them I will be plain and unreserved. The only representatives left to Mr. Calhoun are the grandchildren and yourself, who is not a blood relation. Of this number you are in favor of the removal, and the others are opposed to it."

Simpson went on however to applaud the entire concept of Clemson's vision for an institution when he remarked,

I never felt more relieved in my life and were you to do this act of public spirited generosity—that instant every slander and lie that have been uttered against you would be stamped as false and baseless fabrications. That moment you would pass in the minds of the people from a money-seeking individual to a liberal patriotic and public-spirited citizen. Every slander against you would be brushed away, and for all time to come your name will be linked with the name of Mr. Calhoun and the memories which cluster around Fort Hill.⁴⁹

In addition to the final revisions of his will, Clemson's later years were devoted to seeing to fruition several avenues of preserving the legacy of his father-in-law, John C. Calhoun, beginning with the preservation of Fort Hill. It had become, as Clemson had hoped, a tourist attraction following Calhoun's death, and Clemson referred to Fort Hill as a Mecca for pilgrimages. Clemson promoted the house through articles and photographs. Perhaps the most widely circulated article (a travel description) about Fort Hill during the Clemson period was published in the *Scribner's Monthly* in 1883, for which Clemson was interviewed:

Everything is substantially as Mr. Calhoun left it, and all is plain and worn. The old-fashioned side-board was constructed of historic wood, and besides much family plate, it was ornamented by two great polished horns of African oxen, handsomely mounted in gold, a gilt clock of the time of Louis XVI, and other lesser articles of vertu, all gifts to Mr. Calhoun. Another interesting relic was the old straight-backed, sprawl-legged armchair, which Washington used at Trenton. In the more reserved 'parlor,' beyond this room are many family portraits in antique frames, including a queer one of Mrs. Calhoun's mother when a girl, with her hair done up in an inconceivably bushy manner.



This stereopticon photograph, ca. 1880, of the formal dining room at Fort Hill includes the *U.S.S. Constitution* ("Old Ironsides") sideboard, given to John C. Calhoun by Henry Clay. Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.

The author goes on to write,

The library has its sides filled with bookshelves, and these are packed with volumes of every description, though largely the literature of the law and the rostrum....A marble bust of the senator occupies a pedestal in the corner, and here are the table at which he wrote, the chair in which he sat, the pictures that please his taste. It is a dark and somber room, though; there is not a bit of brightness or light to relieve the sober array of books, the heavy furniture, the dark paint and dull, grained ceiling.



Above: Stereopticon photograph, ca. 1880, showing Thomas Clemson seated on front porch of Fort Hill. Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.

Below: Relic Room of Fort Hill, showing a portion of Thomas Green Clemson's art collection, ca. 1896. Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.



The article concludes, "It still remains in the family, but a purchaser for the larger part if not the whole, would probably be welcomed."⁵⁰ Although Clemson had considered sale earlier, his plans with Anna for a college precluded considering a sale again.

The best photographs of Fort Hill during Clemson's later years were a series of stereopticon slides, which were produced with Clemson's blessing and with the goal to share images of Fort Hill with a wider audience. The series included the now famous black and white images of Clemson around Fort Hill. It may have been one of the conditions of the photo shoot that Clemson pose in front of each façade of the house. The famous photograph of Clemson seated on the north portico was part of this series, as were one in his rocking chair on the east lawn and another lying down, as sunbathers do today, on the south lawn of Fort Hill.

Two interior photographs were also shot. The first, which includes the Constitution Sideboard, pans the state dining room, which was also used by Mr. Clemson as his sitting room. The corresponding photographic image is of the parlor and aimed toward the right side of the mantel. This photograph shows a very crowded room in the vein of many other Victorian parlors. It appears as if the photographer asked Clemson to place many of his most prized possessions in that side of the room, which may have been enhanced by the depth of field of the stereoscope. In this corner of the room is the Clark Mills bust of John C. Calhoun, a porcelain bust after the Hiram Powers bust of Calhoun. The photo



**Stereopticon photograph of the Fort Hill Parlor, ca. 1880.
Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.**

also shows the miniature painting of Clemson as a young man in Paris and the marble bust of his deceased daughter Cornelia (Nina) Clemson by Hiram Powers from a death mask. The furnishings in the image include his King Léopold Chair, the étagère in the corner, and Clemson's own painting of the Madonna and Child to the right of the fireplace.

In that same year (1883) and five years before his death, Clemson offered this assessment of his state of affairs: "I am growing old; I have been bereaved of all my family and live on a plantation some what isolated distant four miles from the town of Pendleton in Anderson Co., S.C. I live in the County of Oconee on the Seneca River." He went on to say, "This is a beautiful place & having been the residence of J. C. Calhoun is much visited & is become a kind of Mecca, much in some respects like Mt. Vernon."⁵¹

Thomas G. Clemson often drew a parallel between Fort Hill and Mt. Vernon in his desire to preserve the dwelling house as a museum. It is interesting to note that Anna Calhoun's roommate in the Barhamville finishing school was Anna Pamela Cunningham who devoted herself to the preservation of Mt. Vernon. It is then not surprising that one of Clemson's proposals regarding Fort Hill was that if the state did not accept his bequest he wanted the estate donated "to the women of South Carolina who by some legally constituted association such as now holds possession of Mt. Vernon may act as trustee for the preservation of the home of the illustrious man who spent his life in the public service of his country and who dignified a State which so long trusted and honored him."⁵²

The revisions to his will by both James H. Rion and Richard W. Simpson honored Clemson's wishes that Fort Hill remain intact and, following his death, open for the inspection of visitors.

In other ways, his attorneys sought to keep him mindful of the chain of title of Fort Hill when Clemson was nearly eighty years old; Clemson understandably became forgetful of the chain of title to Fort Hill or perhaps the forgetfulness was calculated wishful thinking on Clemson's part. His longtime attorney James Rion in one very lengthy letter sought once and for all to set him straight. What follows in Rion's chronology was the convoluted and complicated deed history of Fort Hill which went to the root of the issue. The later animosity between Clemson and his son-in-law Gideon Lee made Clemson's granddaughter Floride Isabella an unwilling pawn in a chess game between two stubborn old men miles apart which essentially would end in a draw. Lee did not allow his daughter to visit the old man, but eventually she did receive the portion of Fort Hill land (not the home site), which Anna had set aside cordially with Gideon years earlier.

Rion's tone with Clemson in the following is abrupt and directly to the point. As a close family friend and a protégé of Calhoun, Rion was justifiably direct: after all, Anna had been as close as a sister to him. He begins with Clemson by reciting the land transactions: "*You never bought Fort Hill, nor paid one cent for it. Mr.*

Lee never bid for you or any one. *No one ever paid a cent* for the place. I will *again* explain it to you and I hope this will be finally satisfactory. I fear every day, of your having a difficulty with Mr. Lee (about as for whom, I have no concern, except I don't like him.) on account of your *unjust* charges against him." Rion's uneasiness regarding Lee's intentions would later come to fruition.

Then, somewhat out of frustration with Clemson whose memory may have been fogged by advanced age, James Rion succinctly goes through the course of events of the chain of title. He outlines them as follows:

1. John C. Calhoun owned Fort Hill.
2. Mrs. Floride Calhoun owned Fort Hill.
3. She sold the place to Andrew P. Calhoun.
4. Andrew mortgages the place to secure purchase money.
5. Mrs. Calhoun brought actions against Andrew to foreclose the mortgage. The court decided he owed \$45,000 and decreed the place sold to foreclose the mortgage.
6. Mrs. Calhoun *willed* $\frac{3}{4}$ of the mortgage to Mrs. Clemson and $\frac{1}{4}$ to her daughter or if dead her child (now Floride Isabella Lee *your* granddaughter)—Mrs. Calhoun died.
7. Then at sale under Order of Court at Walhalla Jan 1872 the place was bid in so as to conform to Mrs. Calhoun's will $\frac{3}{4}$ for Mrs. Clemson and $\frac{1}{4}$ for Mrs. Lee.
8. You did not attend sale, Mr. Lee did not attend sale, Edward Noble as Attorney only attended sale,—no money was paid (except a small amount for costs) no money could have been paid—the title so says—the place was *bid in* for the debt, and those to whom the debt were *willed* by Mrs. Calhoun thereby owned the place.
9. You never did or *could* have bought or *paid* for the place.
10. Mrs. Clemson and Mr. Lee (for his daughter) desiring to divide the place according to their interests, on 5 November 1873, E. B. Colhoun for Mrs. Clemson [and] M. L. McCay for *Miss* Lee divided the land 818 acres for *your wife*, and 288 for Mr. Lee as guardian for his daughter. Now observe all this time *you* have no interest in Fort Hill, owning not a *square inch*, nor having *paid one cent*.
11. Mrs. Clemson made a will and gave you Fort Hill or her 818 acres.
12. On Mrs. Clemson's death you inherited Fort Hill as the Devisee of your wife.

All this is of Record, and you *must* understand it, and *never again* claim that you bought or paid for Fort Hill. When you do so, you not only accuse Mr. Lee;—but you claim that *Mrs. Clemson* to the day of her death claimed to own, what *you* had bought and paid for. You *grieve* me when you adhere to such *mistaken* notions.⁵³

Having clarified the chain of title and written his last will and testament under the direction of James H. Rion with later revisions by Richard W. Simpson,⁵⁴ Thomas Clemson penned very few letters during his last two years of life. Near his death, he was confined to the first floor of Fort Hill because he could no longer go up the staircase. Clemson's dying wish was to see his long absent granddaughter. One of his enticements was to have her come see his paintings. And he assures young Floride that she would have someone her own age as a companion: "I would like you to see Fort Hill now that I have my paintings. Hester has her organ and plays quite well, by the time you come, she will play very well.... Hester is smart, has a good music talent, and is remarkably well educated. I think you would be well pleased with her if you know her."⁵⁵

The Prince family, both Essie and her mother Jane Prince, were very much a surrogate family for Thomas Clemson. While Essie was like an adopted granddaughter, Jane Prince, faithfully and dutifully, almost as a daughter taking care of an ailing elderly parent, saw to his day-to-day needs.⁵⁶ Right before Clemson's death, one of the most poignant letters sent from Fort Hill to his granddaughter was authored not by Clemson, but by his housekeeper's daughter Essie Prince, a teenager, who was writing to another teenager, Floride Isabella Lee, in Carmel, N.Y.:

Mr. Clemson received you & your father's letter a few days since, he rec'd his dressing gown & pajamas some weeks ago. The poor old gentleman has been very ill. We have been looking for him to die. We are all sorry to hear of Mr. Lee being sick, but if he could only hear his prayers or realize how he longs to see you surely you would come & see him. He appears better but we don't think he can possibly get well. The Dr. has been coming every day and says that Mr. Clemson has bronchitis. The dear old man said the other day that he has almost given up all hope of seeing you in this life. In the dead hours of night he often cries out, 'O Lord is it possible I will have to die without ever again seeing my only grandchild.' He has prayed to be spared to see you, but unless you come very soon I fear you will not gaze on him in life, but sad to say it will be in death. My mother stays by him night & day and does every thing she can for his comfort in fact he will not permit anyone to wait on him but her. We have stood faithfully to him for seven long years & intend to remain so to the end.

I am with respect
Yours very truly,
Essie Prince.⁵⁷

And what Essie had predicted soon came true. A newspaper article, entitled "A Glorious Gift: Thomas G. Clemson's Bequest to the Farmers of South Carolina," noted:

Miss Lee, a very young lady, the dead man's only grandchild and great granddaughter of Mr. Calhoun. Miss Lee has not been to Fort Hill before since she was a small child, and there was a very picturesque scene soon after her arrival when the old family servants, some of them with snow white hair and beard, gathered in the old fashioned, moss covered porch of the homestead to see and pay their loyal respects to the youngest representative of the family with which they have been identified so long.⁵⁸

As historian Ernest Lander so aptly surmised, "The meeting was no consolation for Thomas Green Clemson."⁵⁹ Floride Isabella Lee was provided in Clemson's last will and testament what had been agreed upon years earlier by Anna and Gideon: essentially 288 acres, family portraits, silver, etc. Although Gideon Lee disagreed with the will, Clemson was very specific that the Fort Hill home be preserved as a part of the "high seminary of learning." Ironically, Clemson's granddaughter and only heir would soon meet and several years later marry her cousin, Andrew Pickens Calhoun II, son of Duff Green Calhoun and grandson of Andrew Pickens Calhoun—Anna Calhoun Clemson's eldest brother and the firstborn of John C. Calhoun. As the family Prayer Book editorialized about their marriage, "so ended the feud."⁶⁰

Thomas Clemson handpicked the original life trustees for the institution that he envisioned. Many of them, such as Simpson, had known Clemson for a long time and knew his wishes for the institution to bear his name and for the preservation of Fort Hill. Clemson knew that others, like Benjamin Tillman, had similar objectives for the farmers of the state. And even others, like D. K. Norris, had strong ties to industry and particularly textiles. The first organizational meeting of the constituted Board of Trustees was held in the shadow of Fort Hill under an old oak tree where provisions of the will were read and agreed upon.

Although he did not live to see the scientific institution that bears his name, Clemson had certainly envisioned the college. Mary Rion, widow of James Rion, wrote to R. W. Simpson just a month after Clemson's death and related, "he took me out on the Hill top of the farm in front of Fort Hill and said Mrs. Rion I want the building which I wish erected for education purposes located right here & wish a monument to Mr. Calhoun in front of it so that both can be seen from the R.R."⁶¹

A newspaper account, entitled "The Old Calhoun Home," highlights many of the items that Clemson left in his will for the Fort Hill museum. The article describes it all in great detail:

The point towards which the visitor at Fort Hill turns with most interest is the stately old mansion on the hill, where Calhoun lived and worked. The house must have been impressive in its day, and it still wears the air of some ancient ancestral hall. It is a frame building with tall-whitewashed brick columns sup-

porting the roofs of two spacious verandas, the one facing northward, the other to the east. The walls are white, relieved by blinds of green. Inside, everything is practically as it was in Calhoun's day. The rooms are papered and furnished with heavy, cumbersome, old fashioned furniture, which, with the low ceiling and narrow doorways and passages, give the interior a not over cheerful aspect.

A long, narrow apartment opening on the east front of the house is the art gallery, containing a rare collection of pictures and bric-a-brac. Here are a chair given to Mr. Clemson by the King of Belgians, another chair said to have been used by George Washington, a sideboard made from the hull of the old frigate "Constitution" presented to Calhoun by Henry Clay, to whom it was given by the officers of the frigate, and other quaint souvenirs of Calhoun's life. This room will be fitted up and retained as a museum of Calhoun's relics... Calhoun's old library is a little, single room house in the yard a few steps from the mansion. Its tables and shelves, with many of the books—some of them are relics in themselves—are those used by the great statesman in his daily labors. The desk he wrote on is still there, and in one of its drawers are the remains of his supply of goose quill pens.⁶²



Sketch of John C. Calhoun's office, from an illustrated article on Fort Hill in *Scribner's* magazine, ca. 1883. Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.

The preservation of Fort Hill is stated specifically in Thomas Clemson's last will and testament: "it is my desire that the dwelling house on Fort Hill shall never be torn down or altered, but shall be kept in repair, with all the articles of furniture and vesture which I hereinafter give for that purpose and shall always be open for the inspection of visitors." Clemson goes on to say that "for the purpose of adorning the Fort Hill residence as provided in Item 4 of my will, all of my

permanent furniture, relics and articles of vesture, pictures and painting, including the large painting or picture of John C. Calhoun now hanging in my sitting room and not otherwise disposed of herein, and all of my books.”⁶³

In his codicil, Clemson further notes that he specifies the “executor to employ such person as he may deem necessary to take charge of the Fort Hill dwelling house and the articles therein donated” and finally, “I authorize and empower my executor to expend such sums of money as he may deem necessary to keep the Fort Hill dwelling house and premises in repair.”

Simpson and the trustees saw to it that the old main building was built on the hill a short distance from Fort Hill.⁶⁴ Today, Fort Hill is preserved, and the old main building, later named Tillman Hall, sits on the hill. However, instead of a monument of Mr. Calhoun in front of Tillman Hall, a bronze statue of Thomas Green Clemson greets visitors to the Clemson University campus some 200 years after his birth in Philadelphia. This is a fitting memorial to Clemson and his vision of a “high seminary of learning” for his adopted state of South Carolina.

Notes

1. Ernest McPherson Lander Jr., *The Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson: The Decline of a Southern Patriarchy* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1983), 35; the book's frontispiece displays the Calhoun-Colhoun-Clemson family tree. Thomas and Anna Clemson's first child was a daughter. Very little is known of this infant girl born on 13 August 1839. She died within a month, and her burial location is unknown. However, Thomas Clemson's caregiver, Jane Prince, noted that she was told the daughter was buried at the Old Stone Church in Pendleton, SC, but no baptismal records, gravestone, or cemetery records with her name have been found. The second child of the Clemsons was their only son John Calhoun Clemson. He was born at Fort Hill on 17 July 1841, died on 10 August 1871, and is buried at St. Paul's in Pendleton. A Civil War veteran, he was thirty at the time of his death and unmarried. The Clemsons' third child was Floride Elizabeth Clemson, born on 29 December 1842. She married Gideon Lee Jr. and had one daughter, Floride Isabella Lee. Floride Elizabeth died on 23 July 1871, and is buried in Carmel, NY. The fourth child of the Clemsons was Cornelia Clemson, born 3 October 1855. She died at age 3 in Maryland at The Home on 20 December 1858. A bust of Cornelia Clemson is in the parlor at Fort Hill. Named for her aunt and Anna's sister Cornelia Calhoun, she was fondly called Nina by her parents. In 1872, her body was moved to the Rock Creek Cemetery in Washington, DC, where she was listed as age 3 years, 2 months, and 17 days and having died on 20 December 1858 of scarlet fever in Prince George's County, MD. Her burial site was owned by Anna Calhoun Clemson, along with seven vacant sites that were never used. See Correspondence, 24 February 2000, Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University, Clemson, SC.
2. Susan Clemson Richardson recounted that she had been a slave at Fort Hill and had been given by Calhoun to the Clemsons as Anna's personal maid. She recounted sleeping in a room adjacent to the Clemsons so she could be awakened to care for the small children. See Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.
3. The wallpaper and the matching border were reproduced in 2003.
4. Thomas G. Clemson and Robert E. Lee were both 54 in 1861 and, like Lee, TGC made a similar decision to resign from his federal job with the Department of the Interior Patent Office and his post as superintendent of agricultural affairs in order to enlist with the Confederacy.

5. Charles M. McGee Jr. and Ernest McPherson Lander Jr., eds., *A Rebel Came Home: The Diary and Letters of Floride Calhoun 1863–1866*, revised edition (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 90.
6. TGC to Tazewell Taylor, 18 October 1865, Clemson Papers, Special Collections, Clemson University Libraries, Clemson, SC (hereafter cited as SCCUL).
7. TGC to Tazewell Taylor, 28 May 1866, Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
8. TGC to James Edward Calhoun [aka James Edward Colhoun], 24 June 1866, *Ibid.*
9. Minutes of the Pendleton Farmers' Society, 8 October 1868, *Ibid.*
10. Alester G. Holmes and George R. Sherrill, *Thomas Green Clemson: His Life and Work* (Richmond, VA: Garrett & Massie, 1937), 146.
11. *Ibid.*, 146.
12. TGC to Jas. Ed. Colhoun, 14 March 1867, Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
13. D. W. Lee to TGC, 29 January 1867, *Ibid.*
14. See Lander, *Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson*, for the unpleasant effects that the events had on the family. The family animosity began with the overindulgence of John Calhoun with financing Andrew's Alabama estate also called Cane Brake in which Clemson invested—an investment he came to regret bitterly. Local lore recounts a rift between Floride Calhoun and her daughter-in-law Margaret; there is even one story of Mrs. Calhoun's being served tea at Fort Hill with a piece of her own china but from a cracked cup.
15. Anna Calhoun Clemson to Andrew Pickens Calhoun, 10 March 1865, Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
16. Mildred Calhoun Wick provides a dramatic account as related to her by her father, Pat Calhoun: her grandmother Margaret "turned to Father and Rasmus, the young black boy assigned to be Father's constant companion. 'Pat, Rasmus,' she said, 'you run deep into the woods and hide until the soldiers leave and it's safe for you to come out.'...Unknown to her, they left the safety of the wood and hid behind some trees near the house...They [soldiers] took food, liquor and money, and put small objects into their pockets." Pat Calhoun, then eight years, old related in later life, "it was the most terrifying experience of my life." Mildred Calhoun Wick, *Living with Love* (Newport, DE: Serendipity Press, 1986), 18.
17. McGee and Lander, eds., *A Rebel Came Home*, 87.
18. While Fort Hill, John C. Calhoun's estate, had survived the tumultuous Civil War, his mortal remains in Charleston had been relocated to an unmarked grave for safekeeping by the rector of St. Phillip's in Charleston.
19. Floride Calhoun was buried in St. Paul's Episcopal Church graveyard in Pendleton, SC.
20. The freedmen and women signing this 1868 document were: Felix Collins, Pinckney Cunningham, Cato Sherman, Jessie Mickleburg, Daniel Coscam, Edward Reed, Quash Richardson, Bob Pedigrew, Jonas Coscam, John Lagree, Frank Spencer, Jonas Jackson, Osborn Preston, Ben Brown, Wash., H., Stephen Green, and Thomas C. Abbot. Clemson Papers, SCCUL. The corner of the document is torn and is missing; only the first name "Wash." remains. The contracts survive for only three years: 1868, 1869, and 1871. The numbers of tenants or sharecroppers ranged from fifteen to twenty employees. Several of the freedmen continued for multiple years. The Reid, Greenlee, and Fruster families are not listed as employees at this point. However, Bill Greenlee, along with Jim and Francis Fruster, would be African American employees at the time of Clemson's death years later. It is interesting to note that the slave last name of "Calhoun" appears nowhere after the war; however, numerous African American Calhouns trace their roots to Fort Hill.
21. TGC to R. W. Simpson, 16 December 1868, Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
22. Anna Calhoun Clemson to James Edward Calhoun, 8 June 1869, *Ibid.*
23. Anna Calhoun Clemson to Louisa Washington, 7 March 1873, *Ibid.* A transcription of the letter is included in Julia Wright Sublette, "The Letters of Anna Calhoun Clemson, 1833–1873" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1993), 892.
24. A newspaper account entitled "Fatal Accident" relates, "A terrible accident occurred at Hunicut's Crossing on the Blue Ridge Railroad last Thursday evening resulting in the death of Mr. John Calhoun Clemson, grandson of Hon. John C. Calhoun and only son of Hon. Thos. G. Clemson of Pendleton. It appears from the testimony taken at the inquest...that a lumber train belonging to the Greenville Railroad ran into the passenger train of the Blue Ridge Road at the place designated and that Mr. Clemson in attempting to get into the second class car

- was thrown violently against the facing of the car door and fatally injured in the region of the heart one of his ribs penetrating that organ." Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
25. There is a tradition that John Calhoun Clemson was married to Jane Prince and that her daughter Essie was the offspring of John Calhoun Clemson. This tradition is especially recounted in the documents and oral tradition of the Boggs family. See family genealogy typescript of 14 September 1871 in Aaron Boggs Papers, SCCUL. The typescript has a notation on page 2 that "John Calhoun Clemson married Jane 1870. Hester a daughter of John Calhoun Clemson & Jane born April 14, 1871 at Mi Casa, Pendleton, S.C." Anna Clemson's correspondence is silent for the year of 1871.
 26. William Henry Trescot to TGC, 19 October 1873, Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
 27. Cited in Franklin Parker, "George Peabody, 1795–1869: His Influence on Educational Philanthropy," *Peabody Journal of Education* 49, no. 2 (January 1972): 139; original source is a letter from George Peabody to the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, 7 February 1867, Archives of George Peabody College (now Vanderbilt University), Nashville, TN. In his bequest the philanthropist established the Peabody Education Fund to "encourage the intellectual, moral, and industrial education of the destitute children of the southern States."
 28. James Shepherd Pike (8 September 1811–29 November 1882). Pike authored a series of articles for the *New York Tribune*, which was published as *The Prostrate State: South Carolina under Negro Government* (New York: n.p., 1874).
 29. Joseph Henry to TGC, 10 September 1874, Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
 30. The funeral notice simply states, "The Friends and acquaintances of Mr. & 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. 24, 1875," *Ibid.*
 31. James H. Rion, 25 September 1875, *Ibid.*
 32. George Peabody of New York.
 33. TGC to W. W. Corcoran, 29 October 1878, Clemson Papers, SCCUL; see also Holmes and Sherrill, *Thomas Green Clemson*, 152–153.
 34. James H. Rion to TGC, 18 December 1884, Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
 35. William Henry Trescot to TGC, 21 December 1884, *Ibid.*
 36. J. B. Ferguson, Maryland Commission of Fish & Fisheries, to TGC, 3 January 1879, *Ibid.*
 37. TGC to George North, 21 January 1871, *Ibid.*
 38. TGC to those whom it may concern, 19 February 1877, *Ibid.*
 39. James H. Rion to TGC, 19 August 1883, *Ibid.*
 40. TGC to William MacLeod, 18 January 1876, William MacLeod Papers, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. A copy of the letter is in the Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University. Clemson's offer of the paintings for sale received a response that MacLeod, on behalf of the newly established Corcoran Gallery of Art, was not at liberty to expend funds for acquisition.
 41. James H. Rion to TGC, 6 November 1883, Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
 42. A record of a vision Anna C. Clemson had of her father, John C. Calhoun, ten years after his death, was transcribed by Ernest Lander and appears in McGee and Lander, eds., *A Rebel Came Home*, Appendix IV, 173.
 43. John Gray to TGC, 28 December 1875, Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
 44. N. B. Wolfe to TGC, 20 February 1878, *Ibid.*
 45. Floride Lee to TGC, 30 January 1886, *Ibid.*
 46. Robert Mercer Taliaferro Hunter, 1809–1887, *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress Online*.
 47. W. P. Starke to TGC, 29 January 1883, Clemson Papers, SCCUL. Starke quotes from a letter that Rion had written asking him to take up the Calhoun biography project following Hunter's dismissal.
 48. Franklin Jameson, *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun*, Fourth Report of the Manuscripts Commission, American Historical Association, 1900, 12.
 49. R. W. Simpson to TGC, 11 January 1882, Clemson Papers, SCCUL; see also Holmes and Sherrill, *Thomas Green Clemson*, 155.
 50. Ernest Ingersoll, "The Calhoun Summer Home," *Scribner's Monthly* (Century), 21 (1881): 893–895. This article includes two hand-drawn sketches: one of the exterior of the house and office showing the detached kitchen and one important sketch of the interior of Calhoun's

office which attest to the fact that Clemson kept the house very much as a museum to his father-in-law even during Clemson's lifetime.

51. TGC to W. P. Jackson and George Seufferle, 8 August 1883, Clemson Papers, SCCUL. Jackson and Seufferle were acting as agents for Clemson in regard to the rental of The Home in Maryland.
52. Holmes and Sherrill, *Thomas Green Clemson*, 157.
53. James H. Rion to TGC, 16 July 1886, Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
54. James H. Rion devoted much of his life and career to assisting both Anna and Thomas Clemson. As a young protégé of John C. Calhoun, he essentially grew up at Fort Hill and felt a great debt and duty to repay Thomas Clemson in managing his estate. Rion is the author of Thomas Clemson's original will and testament. An attorney in Winnsboro, he predeceased Clemson when he died suddenly on 12 December 1886. Clemson received a telegram the next day, 13 December. The following day, Thomas Clemson wrote a short one-page letter to Richard Simpson noting that "it may be impossible that the death of so distinguished a man should have passed away so suddenly without your knowledge. It now becomes necessary that I should see you." See TGC to Richard Simpson, 14 December 1886, Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
55. TGC to Floride Lee, 26 April 1887, *Ibid.*
56. Both Jane Prince and her daughter Essie were well provided for in Clemson's will. When interviewed by Alester Holmes on 9 March 1928, Mrs. Prince stated of Fort Hill, "I went there in January 1881. I was there all told, eleven years, but during his life I was there seven years, then the state retained me on... The Mr. J. F. Calhoun wanted something to do with the college." Here Jane Prince makes reference to the family of James Francis Calhoun who moved into the west side of the house and whose family and daughters' (particularly Ida Calhoun) duties were to show visitors through the segregated museum relic rooms. In 1928, President Sikes's interpretation of the will was to open the entire house as a museum. The second restoration began in 2000 and was completed in 2003.
57. Essie Prince to Floride Lee, 25 February 1888, Clemson Papers, SCCUL. Essie Prince was, in the words of her mother, special to Mr. Clemson: "the apple of his eye and the bane of his existence." He doted on the young girl. He personally taught her French, violin, piano, and organ lessons. Thomas Clemson's pump organ is currently on loan to Woodburn Plantation in Pendleton. Essie Prince married Hal Boggs at Fort Hill in May 1888. Jane Prince was provided for in Clemson's estate. See newspaper article by Earl Mazo, "Former Fort Hill Housekeeper Cherished Relics Left Her by Thomas G. Clemson," *The Tiger* (Clemson University), March 1938, and Earl Mazo, "Clemson Praised by Housekeeper," *Greenville News* (Greenville, SC), 8 March 1938, Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.
58. See "A Glorious Gift: Thomas G. Clemson's Bequest to the Farmers of South Carolina," newspaper clipping in the Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
59. Lander, *Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson*, 257.
60. Calhoun Family Prayer Book, Fort Hill Collection, Clemson University.
61. Mary C. Rion to R. W. Simpson, 7 May 1888, Simpson Papers, Clemson University, Special Collections, Clemson University Libraries. Mary C. Rion (1829–1901) was very close to Clemson as had been her husband. An avid gardener, her book *Ladies' Southern Florist* was published in 1860.
62. "A Glorious Gift: Thomas G. Clemson's Bequest," newspaper clipping in the Clemson Papers, SCCUL.
63. Last Will and Testament of Thomas Green Clemson.
64. Tillman Hall, formerly known as Main Hall, was named for Benjamin Ryan Tillman in 1943 on the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the college. A full-length painting of Tillman was commissioned for the renamed building.